Space, time, **tradition**

Studies undertaken
at the Doctoral School
of the Budapest
Liszt Academy

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Musica scilicet ars
at the Music Academy of Franz Liszt

The Music Academy has come to an historical turning point. By 22 October 2013, the birthday of its founder Franz Liszt, its historic palace will have been entirely renovated and refurbished. It is complemented by the Academy's other modern premises, opened two years ago, bearing the name of György Ligeti. The European Union and the Hungarian State have provided considerable funding for Franz Liszt's Music Academy, one of the distinguished and internationally renowned centres of higher music education, to develop an infrastructure that befits this venerable institution. In addition to tangible material changes, there the Liszt Academy has undergone intellectual renewal as it has expanded its activities. This establishment is no longer only a university of music, but also a university of music and musicology, as well as a concert centre. Consequently, research will gain prominence in the field of musicology and the performing arts. In this context the term "concert centre" means that the results of scholarly research will be presented to audiences in the form of concerts and other musical projects.

The Doctoral School of the Liszt Academy was founded with a view to providing specialised postgraduate courses to the most outstanding instrumentalists, composers and music scholars, to opening the world to them with the help of international professors, world-famous artists and scholars, and most importantly, to helping them inspire each other to crown their studies in the spirit of medieval "ars" as a craft, an art and a science.

"Active professional development at the Doctoral School of the Liszt Academy" – the winning project of the National Development Agency's tender under the Social Renewal Operative Program [TÁMOP] in 2012 – gives high priority to supporting scholarly and artistic research and to publishing the best works. Numerous research workshops operate at the Liszt Academy, so we are truly spoiled for choice. These include the Franz Liszt Memorial Museum and Research Centre, the Zoltán Kodály Memorial Museum and Archives, the Pedagogical Institute of Music in Kecskemét, the Church Music Department which also provides research premises to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in the field of medieval music, the Folk Music Department which

in co-operation with the Hungarian Academy of Sciences' Institute for Musicology and the Hungarian Heritage House now has research capabilities, and last but not least the Musicology and Music Theory Department. Contrary to international practice, Zoltán Kodály and Bence Szabolcsi founded this Department at the Music Academy, not a university, to take the message that, whether in theory or in practice, music should be studied by musicians.

This book presents about a dozen summaries of brilliant doctoral dissertations covering a colourful variety of areas and authors including musicologists, church musicians, instrumentalists and singers, as well as composers. What these papers have in common is quality, and the editors picked the finest works of recent years. Originality shines through with novel topics, fresh attitudes and thought-provoking aspects. What makes these papers exciting is their inherent curiosity: the reader is offered innovative answers to genuine issues.

I am proud to recommend this book to every discerning musician. I also warmly recommend it to inspirational teachers, no matter in which area they work. This is a document of a new chapter in the history of the Liszt Academy which I believe will stand the test of time, as have done many others in the establishment's glorious past.

Budapest, 11 June 2013

András Batta
Rector
(English translation by Miklós Bodóczky)

Gabriella Gilányi

The Gregorian Office Tradition of Aquileia in the Context of the *Temporale*

This study is a condensed version of the author's PhD dissertation, bearing the same title and defended in 2007 (research director: László Dobszay).

The diocesan offices of medieval Italy form one area of Gregorian research that has been explored only superficially. Most of the source material is still unexplored: there remains such a quantity of unresearched codices in libraries and collections that international collaboration on assessing and analyzing their content is long overdue. However, the work of two emblematic figures in Italian research into Gregorian, Giulio Cattin and Giacomo Baroffio, has led to a recent increase of interest in the Italian source materials from historians of music and liturgy. This research has also come to focus on the Gregorian sources of the northern Transalpine border regions.

Writers have seen Aquileia, center of today's Friuli province, as one of the chief medieval dioceses in this respect. The knowledge I gained of Aquileia's varied Gregorian source materials and the support I received from my consultant, László Dobszay, led me to circumscribe my findings about the material in a work of dissertation length and scholarly intent. Based on my specialist competencies, I placed the musical elements of the Divine Office to the fore, but I was also drawn to an interdisciplinary approach of examining systematically the historical background, liturgy, codex attributes, and musical notation.

As my title defines, I decided to narrow my subject to the diocesan office of the documented medieval period of Aquileia, and more specifically to the office liturgy and chant repertory *of Temporale* feasts and periods,[1] and to examine this by the fullest possible system of criteria.[2] It emerged from the increasingly differentiated layers revealed that the surviving office codices of the 11th–15th centuries are unique and invaluable to the musical and cultural history. The medieval office liturgy that these

[1] The office rites have been less thoroughly investigated in the international literature, although the office, with the mass, is a main pillar of medieval liturgy, with a more varied liturgical content than the mass itself, more melodies, and a repertory that steadily increased over the centuries.

[2] The Sanctorale part of the Aquileian office rite containing the music for saints was not examined.

sources preserve forms an unexampled blend of liturgical elements from the neighboring Central European and Italian traditions with the liturgical material of Aquileia, shaped and conserved for centuries.

1. Problems of terminology

A breakdown of the Aquileian office into chronological or geographic spheres and assigning the variants to them is not impeded simply by the variety of the source materials. Even the term "Aquileia" can be defined several ways in different historical periods. The dissertation's first chapter (1–3) sets out to clarify terminological questions. A distinction can be made between Aquileia as a geographic concept, when and where it referred to, and what type and weight of power (ecclesiastical and secular) this geographic unit possessed. On that basis the history of Aquileia concerns a significant province of the Roman Empire and a later ecclesiastical center. Narrowing this down to the Middle Ages and the church, we can talk separately of the extensive Aquileian patriarchate, the diocese of exceptional rank, and the city of Aquileia, center of the patriarchate and permanent seat of its patriarch at any time.[3]

Defining the patriarchate of Aquileia under canon law is complicated further by a split of the episcopal see in 6th century. The name Old Aquileia went to the old center under the authority of Rome, while Grado (New Aquileia) passed to Byzantium, so that the southern area moved in a direction governed by the Eastern Church.[4]

But the literature raises another distinction between Old and New Aquileia in discussion of the Western Christian patriarchate.[5] This takes us back to our starting point: introduction of Gregorian chant in 9th-century Aquileia is the watershed. The Gregorian chant material after the Franco-Roman reform is referred to in later sources as the *ritus patriarchinus*. In this *ritus patriarchinus,* use of the new, central variant of the rite ensured unity with Europe, and beyond that unity there came separate liturgical traits, as happened in all medieval liturgical traditions.

This study treats as the medieval Aquileian office that of the Aquileian patriarchate under 11th–15th-century Rome, i. e. the form of the newly organized liturgy and Gregorian chant that arose presumably in a Frankish environment in the 8th–9th centuries as it gradually assumed an individualized form over subsequent centuries. More specifically, this is a distinct North Italian liturgical usage based on the Franco-Roman

[3] Note that there was no continual, exclusive center to the diocese. Disasters, earthquakes, and Barbarian raids caused the patriarchate to move at certain times, e. g. to Grado, Cormons, or Udine.
[4] The liturgy of Grado, subordinate to Byzantium, falls outside the investigation.
[5] See Giulio Cattin, *Musica e liturgia a San Marco: Testi e melodie per la liturgia della ore dal XII al XVII secolo,* vol. 1 (Venice: Fondazione Levi, 1992), 38.

rite, fed also from the Mediterranean heritage. The investigations show it developed into an individual liturgical tradition by absorbing office elements from the neighboring South German and Italian traditions.

2. The method of evaluation

Exposing the layers within the sources for the Aquileian office rite entailed rethinking some questions of methodology and assigning requisite methods of examination. (See Chapters I.2 and 3, entitled *The significance of examining some medieval liturgical traditions* and *Motives for researching the Aquileian office rite,* pp. 3–11.) I was faced when deciding a method of examination with the fact that the criteria of research into Gregorian chant had changed markedly in recent decades. Some weighty questions inescapable earlier (e. g. the theories of origin and the development of Gregorian genres) had been steadily relegated: there had been a typical shift in recent times toward specialization and partial problems, in international and Hungarian literature.[6] More recent examinations, by placing source research to the fore, start out from tangible, interpretable material – for concrete information on the Gregorian style of chant, which arose out of oral tradition, can be had only from written sources of several centuries later – and strive for an objective, text-based, evidence-backed approach, as opposed to the theories and ideas in the 1950s–1970s, based simply on historical grounds.[7]

A narrower subject allows deeper study and specialization provides security through a narrower field to examine, it means that an author's conclusions are being drawn

[6] In the second half of the 20th century, work on the origin of Gregorian chant accelerated significantly with the study of the so-called Old Roman codices (and in part under the influence of these studies). The problem of the roots and connections of the Gregorian and Old Roman chant repertories aroused lively debate, through which there became clearly visible the schools of those who would continue argumentation for and against the theories of the researchers (e. g. Stäblein, Hucke, Lipphardt and Waesberghe). For a summary of the main theories of origin see David Hiley, "Recent Research on the Origins of Western Chant", *Early Music* 16/2 (May 1988), 203.

[7] The most recent researches into the origin of Gregorian chant argue from analysis of the repertory, texts and music: "There has been far too much speculation on too few sources, with reliance on inaccurate or erroneously interpreted medieval literary reports, and on insufficient study of the musical repertories." Paul F. Cutter, "The Old-Roman Chant Tradition: Oral or Written?", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 20 (1967), 167. These up-to-date examinations use methods of comparing sources/traditions/repertories, for which basic systems of criteria were devised in the 1970s, in dissertations designed to compare the Old Roman and Gregorian repertories. See for example Paul F. Cutter, *The Old-Roman Responsories of Mode 2* (Princeton University, 1969); Joseph Dyer, *The Offertories of Old-Roman Chant: A Musico-liturgical Investigation* (Boston University, 1971); Edward Nowaczky, *Study on the Office Antiphons of the Old-Roman Manuscripts* (Brandeis University, 1980).

from a few chosen items in a single codex.[8] Such approaches are dangerous. The main problem is neglect of any comprehensive examination of the material. This is essential within each specialist field, as a survey of small parts does not necessarily yield the same result as examining the whole, so that the researcher may arrive at erroneous or only partly defensible conclusions. There are areas of Gregorian research (e. g. surveys of single office rites) where reliable information can stem only from examining the whole repertory.[9] Bearing these points in mind, I too chose the more traditional method of examination: simultaneous analysis of the whole material in order to arrive at a general picture of the rite. Still, reconstruction of the strata of individual rite variants meant altering that method of work beyond a certain point: the partial problems that arose along the way called for a sampling approach. The outcome of that methodological approach is presented in the final chapter, where I discuss case studies of special problems.

Unlike surviving sources of the mass, office sources show strong differences in choice of chant, repertory, and melodic shapes between the traditions of medieval Europe. The nature of the liturgy in so varying in time and space often provides the researcher with examination criteria. Ruth Steiner's invitatory examinations of the early 1980s placed the regional and local aspects of office research in the foreground.[10] Steiner's approach opened new vistas at that time, but she was not alone: several others had taken the same road independently. The information in Hesbert's first and second CAO volumes publishing 28 early office sources side by side[11] had been used in a novel way by the Hungarian school of Gregorian research, by focusing on the elements that were specific to the local rites of medieval Europe. The Hungarian CAO–ECE project, initiated by László Dobszay in 1988, aimed at reconstruction of different office traditions of Central Europe in a database, which made the rite variants comparable with each other.[12] So Dobszay followed the lead of the Hesbert work, but instead of seeking the ancient form, he identified the individual components of the office tradi-

[8] E. g. researchers describing a given tradition may be content to draw the conclusions available from examining the offices of local saints, which simply amount to a few separate chants.

[9] See László Dobszay, "A Breviarium Strigoniense jellegzetes pontjai" [The typical points of Breviarium Strigoniense], *Ars Hungarica* XVII/1 (1989), 37–40; idem, "Reading an office book", in *Ruth Steiner Festschrift* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 48–60.

[10] Some invitatory antiphons and psalm tones she treated as local developments, so as to distinguish rites by surveying a single Gregorian genre. See Ruth Steiner, "Reconstructing the repertory of invitatory tones and their uses at Cluny in the late Eleventh Century", *Musicologie médiévale: Notations-Séquences, Actes de la Table Ronde du CNRS à l'IRHT, Orléans-La Source, 6–7 Septembre 1982, Paris, 1987,* in Ruth Steiner, *Studies in Gregorian Chant* (Variorum collected studies series) (Norfolk: Galliard, 1999), 175.

[11] See René-Jean Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium officii* [CAO], Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series maior, Fontes 7–12 (Rome: Herder, 1963–1979).

[12] László Dobszay and Gábor Prószéky, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii–Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae. A Preliminary Report* (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézete, 1988).

tions, so making plain the common – universal – elements of some Franco-Roman office traditions.[13]

Thus two needs coincide: Hungarian research into Gregorian office traditions could in the last two decades combine processing and study of own-source material with examination of relevant Central European rites', and beyond it, raise primarily the prospect of maximizing the information gained about the Hungarian office liturgy itself.

The possibility of studying the office liturgy of Aquileia arose initially through the CAO–ECE project. This, in its earlier introductory volume, had registered a few Aquileian sources for the Advent period and established an ideal, "valid" Aquileian office version, which can be placed among the office variants of Central Europe.[14]

Aquileia's is certainly a Central European diocesan liturgy closely connected to the directly neighboring archbishopric of Salzburg, especially in the early periods. There are not only historical works to vouch for the church influence of 11th–15th-century Salzburg: My researches suggest that this influence also applied strongly to the content of the office liturgy. Furthermore, the earliest Aquileian office sources have survived from the very period, the 11th–12th centuries, when its musical items can be documented for the first time, through the South German neume notation added to the chant texts.[15]

3. The remains and research history of the early Aquileian liturgy

Although it is not central to the dissertation, one introductory section, I.2, also looks at the early Aquileian liturgical tradition before the Franco-Roman reform (pp. 3–6). It states what sources and data point indirectly to the musical culture of a prestigious diocese in early times, before it was squeezed out by the standardizing efforts of the reform, as were the ancient rites of Ravenna, Benevento, and even Rome. Research history points to only a fragmented, sporadic data from which to draw conclusions. For instance, some idea can be had from the sequence, trope and liturgical drama-poetry of Patriarch Paolinus in 8th century.

A retrospective approach took hold in the 1970s of research into the music of Aquileia.[16] In other words, information about unknown earlier material was extrapolated from known later material. These researches did not yield much, perhaps because

[13] László Dobszay, "Local compositions in the Office Temporale", in *Max Lütolf zum 60. Geburtstag Festschrift,* ed. by Bernhard Hangartner and Urs Fischer (Basel: Wiese Verlag, 1994), 65.
[14] See Dobszay–Prószéky, A *Preliminary Report,* 27.
[15] The oldest office form of Aquileia has survived in the late 11th-century San Daniele breviary (Civ–SD).
[16] As with examination of the Old Roman sources of the 11th–13th centuries.

drawing conclusions about earlier music of Aquileia from Gregorian proved even riskier than imagining early Roman chant from later Old Roman material. Little success was had in the 1970s by Michel Huglo, who sought to identify special musical elements in the Aquileian sources of the 11th–13th centuries, where he discerned signs of pre-standardization Aquileian musical culture.[17]

One shortcoming of the literature is that it deals only with the local compositions to be found in the medieval Gregorian chant repertory of Aquileia. Raffaela Camilot-Oswald researched versified offices of Aquileian saints, and looked at regional contacts by comparing the offices for St. Hermagoras in sources from Venice and Aquileia.[18] Jurij Snoj looked at the offices for Sts. Hilarius and Tacianus and for the Cantianus brothers of Aquileia.[19] De Santi attempted to reconstruct and interpret the special Aquileian customs,[20] while Planchart examined the musical expansion of the material through the Aquileian troper.[21] An important part of Aquileia's musical culture includes some early polyphonic works preserved in the Cividale sources. This mainly aroused interest among Italian researchers, Giulio Cattin being among those to deal with the music found there.[22]

So research has centered mainly on curiosities whose Aquileian origin is undoubted, such as sequences and dramas of Paolinus, verse offices and tropes of Aquileian saints, and the primitive polyphony of Cividale. The problem arises from the resulting disproportionate emphasis placed by scholars on unusual, yet presumably secondary liturgical elements, melodies outside Gregorian, or local, late medieval Gregorian developments. Yet the literature fails to mention the Aquileian features of the Gregorian melodic repertory after the Franco-Roman reform. As can be seen in Camilot-Oswald, there is not even real agreement on whether the liturgy of the post-reform period can be treated as a distinct Aquileian rite, or merely as an office tradition that differs from

[17] Michel Huglo, "Liturgia e musica sacra aquileiese", in *Storia della cultura veneta dalle origini al Trecento Storia della cultura veneta* 1, ed. by Gianfranco Folena (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1976), 312–325.

[18] Raffaela Camilot-Oswald, "L'ufficio di s. Ermagora nella tradizione manoscritta di Aquileia/Cividale e a San Marco: esame comparativo delle fonti", in *Da Bisanzio a San Marco, musica e liturgia. Quaderni di Musica e Storia* 2, ed. by Giulio Cattin (Venice: Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi, 1997), 209.

[19] Jurij Snoj, "Two Aquileian Poetic Offices", in *Historiae, Musicological studies* 65/8 (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 2003).

[20] Angelo de Santi, "Rito e melodia aquileiese pel canto del Liber generationis", *Rassegna Gregoriana VI* (1907), 517–520.

[21] Alejandro Enrique Planchart, "Notes on the Tropes in Manuscripts of the Rite of Aquileia", in *David Hughes Festschrift* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 333–369.

[22] Giulio Cattin, "La tradizione liturgica aquileiese e le polifonie primitive di Cividale", in *Le polifonie primitive in Friuli e in Europa. Atti del congresso internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 22–24 Agosto 1980, Miscellanea musicologica 4,* ed. by Cesare Corsi, Pierluigi Petrobelli (Rome: Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1989), 117.

the rite variants of Europe's South German church centers only in some respects.[23] The latter negating assumption is rebutted by the actual Gregorian sources, as the words *ritus patriarchinus* is joined with rubrics such as *secundum consuetudinem Aquileiensis ecclesiae*[24] and notes about specific, unique solutions: *sed aquileiensis ecclesia hoc non utitur.*[25] These codex notes underline the rite's individuality in several places in the liturgy, even before the unique features of content are examined.

Based on these, I sought answers to several major questions. Ultimately how does the medieval Aquileian office emerging from the sources compare with other rites? What are the specific layers and sub-traditions of this rite? How do they relate to each other and to other medieval rites? Which correspondences and differences are significant and which superficial? The sketch of the historical background[26] is followed by chapters on the paleographic and codex-related examinations of the sources, of repertory and liturgy analysis, and of musical analysis, from which the chronological and geographical variants of the Aquileian liturgy emerge step by step.

4. The Aquileian source materials

There was a tangible, characteristic body of sources available for exploring the office of Aquileia: a codex containing eight full and seven incomplete offices. (For the interpretation of these see Part II of the assessment, pp. 23–57). These present two clearly divergent office variants: the rite of Aquileia Cathedral and the liturgical practice of the collegiate chapter of Cividale, as a local variant. Unfortunately no book or fragment that includes notation has survived to offer information on the early state of the Aquileian office. Nor do we know about 9th-century conditions that followed the Franco-Roman reform, as the sources only cover the period after 11th century. The earliest Cividale breviary with neumes is from 11th century, the latest sources examined from the end of 15th century.

As for books containing the chants of the office in medieval Aquileia, there are some antiphoners and breviaries of 11th–15th centuries available to scholars. (See the dissertation's source list, p. III.) The basis for the register is the 1960 catalog of Emilio

[23] See Raffaela Camilot-Oswald*, Die liturgischen Musikhandschriften aus dem mittelalterlichen Patriarchat Aquileia,* Subsidia II, Teilband 1–2. Einleitung, [Abbildungen,] Handschriftenbeschreibungen (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1997), Vol. XXVIII.

[24] According to the customs of the Aquileia church.

[25] However, the Aquileia church does not prescribe it.

[26] See *Thesis,* I.4, 12–22 on the history of the diocese, antecedents in the Roman period, early Christian Aquileia and the post-Carolingian period, and the history of the Aquileia Basilica and Cathedral.

Goi, which lists sources containing material from the Aquileian mass and office,[27] can be supplemented by the Udine catalog of Cesare Scalon.[28] Apart from the catalogs and registers mentioned, I also used when choosing the sources the work of Raffaela Camilot-Oswald: the concise, accurate description of the surviving liturgical manuscripts for the mass and the office found in *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi*.[29] On getting to know these works, I expanded the list with one codex from the end of 11th century and three from 15th century, and with that finalized circle of source materials to use in the investigation. The new discoveries, the 15th-century Kranj antiphoner preserved in Ljubljana (two complementary volumes),[30] can be found in the source list attached to the CANTUS index internet database associated with Ruth Steiner;[31] the correspondence between the contents of the two codices and the books of Aquileian rite kept in Gorizia was pointed out to me a few years ago by László Dobszay. The San Daniele breviary, whose provenance is also the patriarchate of Aquileia, may have been used at Cividale or at San Daniele del Friuli, adjacent to Cividale. The content of this finely decorated book with German neumes was analyzed earlier by Giacomo Baroffio.[32] The most recent source, an Aquileian breviary printed in Venice in 1496, does not appear in the collections of manuscripts.[33]

Surviving sources can be grouped first of all by repository. Offices containing Aquileian sources have emerged at the Biblioteca del Seminario Teologico Centrale in Gorizia: three antiphoners marked -A, -B, and -D (Aqu-A, -B, -D).[34] The highly ornated Kranj codex is to be found in Ljubljana Archiepiscopal Library (Kr-18, -19). Cividale is the richest repository: the Museo Archeologico Nazionale owns several breviaries and antiphoners from the 11th–15th centuries (Civ-30, -41, -44, -47, -48, -49, -57). The early German breviary with neumes is at San Daniele del Friuli (Civ-SD), and the Aquileian breviary printed at Venice in 1496 (Aqu-1496) can be found in sev-

[27] Emilio Goi, "Catalogo dei codici liturgici aquileiesi ancora esistenti", in *Quaderni della cultura. Scuola Cattolica di cultura di Udine,* Part I, IV/19 (1966–67), 4–22, IV/20 (1966–67), 4–24.

[28] Cesare Scalon, "La biblioteca arcivescovile di Udine", in *Medievo e umanesimo* 37 (Padua, 1979), 153–154, 309–311.

[29] See Note 23.

[30] Facsimile publication: *Antiphonarium ecclesiae parochialis urbis Kranj* [1491], 2 vols., ed. by Jurij Snoj and Gabriella Gilányi (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2007).

[31] A *Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant.* Indices of chants in selected manuscripts and early printed sources of the liturgical office. Project founder: Ruth Steiner, Catholic University of America. Project director: Terence Bailey, University of Western Ontario. (<http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/>, retrieved 4 January 2007).

[32] Giacomo Baroffio, "Un importanto libro liturgico: il breviario di San Daniele", in *Antiqua habita consuetudine. Contributi per una storia della musica liturgica del patriarcato di Aquileia* (Trieste: Edizioni Universitá di Trieste, 2004), 43.

[33] GW 5258 (online database: <www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de>).

[34] The abbreviation system for the sources follows for convenience that of the CAO–ECE volume: Gabriella Gilányi and Andrea Kovács, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii–Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae*. *IV/A Aquileia (Temporale)* (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2003), 35–37.

eral libraries. Copies in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and the British Library were actually used.[35]

Aquileia has yielded an ample and varied stock of source materials from the 11th–15th centuries. The breakdown by repository shows there are three basic groups of sources for the Aquileian patriarchate's *Temporale* office: the 11th–12th-century breviaries from Cividale, the 13th–14th-century Gorizia antiphoners, and the 14th–15th-century codices containing antiphoners from Cividale.

5. Examination of the codices

Acquaintance with the content of the source materials reinforced the grouping by repository in some ways, but in others it altered it to some extent. Analysis of the rubrics revealed that the books kept in Gorizia are likely to have come from the city of Aquileia and been used in the cathedral there.[36] The Gorizia group could be rated the most reliable sources of Aquileian liturgy. The antiphoners date from the 13th–15th centuries, at the height of the art of Gregorian chant and medieval codices, which in Aquileia coincided with a release from the South German clerical and secular control.[37] At the same time, the German neume notation in the books gave way to a transitional, supple form of Italian square notation.

Paleographical and codicological investigation of the codices meant examining the layout and notation of the sources and source groups. I also recorded notating customs, consistencies, peculiarities of the rubric texts. Codex examination was intended mainly to establish a hierarchy based on what relations they bore to each other.

The scholarly value of a source of liturgical music depends also on its extent and condition. All three groups in Aquileia include complete, intact books, but some incomplete ones as well, confined to the office only for some liturgical times. The various sources contain the office liturgy for these feasts and periods:

[35] Ref.: Inc. c. a. 243, I. A. 21739.
[36] The arrangement of the books and text of the rubrics allow the Kranj antiphoners and the printed Venice office books to be included in this basic source group.
[37] After German-speaking patriarchs up to 1251 there came Italian prelates again.

	Civ-SD	Civ-91	Civ-93	Civ-30	Civ-41	Civ-44	Civ-47	Civ-48	Civ-49	Civ-57	Aqu-A	Aqu-B	Aqu-D	Aqu-1496	Aqu-18	Aqu-19
Advent	×	×	×	×	×		×			×	×	×	×	×	×	
Nativitas	×	×	×		×		×			×	×	×	×	×	×	
Epiph.	×	×	×		×		×			×	×	×	×	×	×	
Post Ep.	×	×	×		×		×			×	×	×	×	×	×	
D. Sept.	×	×	×		×		×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	
Quadr.	×	×	×		×				×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Pascha	×	×	×		×	×		×		×	×	×		×		×
D. Trinit.	×	×	×			×		×		×	×	×		×		×
Corp. Xti						×		×		×		×		×		×
Psalter.	×	×	×		×	×	×			×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Post Trin.	×	×	×			×				×	×	×		×		×
Dedicatio	×	×	×			×				×	×	×		×		×
Mort.	×	×	×			×				×	×	×		×	×	×

The conclusions from examining the codices can be summed up as follows:

1) There may have been two *scriptoria* in Aquileia: in Cividale and in Aquileia Cathedral. They probably confined themselves to meeting local demand and did not take outside orders.
2) The arrangement of the musical items in the sources is typical of the *scriptorium,* and their use is likely to have been very local. For instance, the three antiphoners kept in Gorizia are remarkably similar in liturgical content, arrangement, and appearance. They are books that belong together, presumably with a direct, common link of origin. They reinforce and legitimize each other and the rite they contain. The same applies to the individual volumes of the two Cividale groups of sources.
3) The principles of presentation in a given liturgical milieu concerned may have given rise to principles of content, and in reverse: the sources of the rite were carefully executed and reflect the high standards and rank of the ecclesiastical institution. Thus the source group of Aquileia Cathedral consists of exceptionally carefully prepared books, while those of the Cividale collegiate chapter are decorated more modestly and inscribed in an enlarged, cruder fashion. This reflects liturgy of subordinate importance.
4) The 11th–12th-century breviaries show German influence, corroborated by the inclusion of Aquileian and German saints in the litany for All Saints. The putative Cividale origin is supported by the presence of its patron saint (St. Donatus, 21 August), and by a list of stipends of chaplains in nearby villages, in Civ-91, folio 5^{r}. Civ-SD has the text of a later papal bull that refers to Lenten observances in Cividale.
5) Second in the chronology are the Aquileia Cathedral sources held in Gorizia: Aqu-A and -B may have come from the same workshop, judging by the exceptional dec-

oration, the rubrics and the "transitional" notation found in both, where the square notation is more supple and graphic than later. The connection of all three codices with the cathedral is stated in the colophon,[38] and confirmed by the appearance of local saints (Hellarius and Tatianus, Cantius, Cantianus, Cantianilla and Prothus, Hermachoras and Fortunatus, etc.) and by the expression *aquilegiensis ecclesiae, metropolitanus,* which appears regularly in the rubrics.[39] The Aqu-D antiphoner has later, standardized square notation, presumably also from Aquileia. Overlaps of content suggest it was copied from Aqu-B. The differences in presentation between Aqu-A and Aqu-B on the one hand and Aqu-D on the other can be explained by the ages of the sources: by the 15th century, more modern decorating techniques and simplified, enlarged square notation were being used in the Aquileia workshop.

6) The most items are found in the manuscript group of the 14th–15th centuries, but Civ-57 is the only complete antiphoner of the seven. Two types of notation appear also in Cividale: a more archaic, cursive, 14th-century form in the Civ-41, -44 and Civ-57 antiphoners. The other cathedral sources with square notation are the work of a more practiced 15th-century Cividale workshop. This type of notation and presentation also appears in Aqu-D: this is a large, ornate handwriting using the later, standardized square notation.
7) There is a note stating that the Kranj antiphoner were made to an order from Augsburg, outside the patriarchate. (The offices for Udalricus and Augustinus are alien to Aquileia but typical of Augsburg.)[40] The two-volume Kranj codices using German Gothic notation may have been copied from an Aquileian paragon, a codex of square notation. This is suggested by the fact that the Kranj sources contain the version of the cathedral office. Hence I placed them in that source group.
8) The Aquileian breviary is a Venetian print for Aquileia Cathedral. It confirms the content of the 13th–14th-century antiphoners, while representing as a book the continuity over several centuries of the Aquileian liturgical *consuetudo*. This is the most reliable source for studying the chant repertory of Aquileia. It includes all details and serves as a basis for reconstructing some missing liturgical points (e. g. the *per annum* hymns and the special *Magnificat* antiphons and responsories of the Lenten Compline.)

[38] E. g. in Aqu-B 12r: "Incipit ordo officii secundum morem et consuetudinem aquilegensis ecclesiae per circulum anni."
[39] Meaning episcopal liturgy, i. e. for cathedral use.
[40] The note appears at the end of Kr-18 at 245v. See also *Antiphonarium ecclesiae parochialis urbis Kranj* [1491], ed. by Jurij Snoj and Gabriella Gilányi, 9–10.

6. Liturgical examination of the Aquileian office

Central to the study is liturgical analysis of the Aquileian repertory (Part III, pp. 58–136) using a newly devised system for examination based on experience in the CAO–ECE program. By stratifying the source material (as shown earlier in relation to codex-related and paleographic examination), I pick out first the common "Aquileian" attributes of the whole rite, working systematically through the feasts of the Aquileian *Temporale* office. The aim is completeness: to record all elements unique to the Aquileian office that distinguish it from other rites.

The biggest challenge in evaluating this vast body of data was to decide whether a chant repertory and office structure supremely typical of Aquileia could be isolated in surviving sources. The medieval office liturgy of Aquileia arose out of elements that entered at various times with varying intensity, so that it was not easy to sort the variants. The documented sources of Cividale collegiate chapter used different offices in the 11th–15th centuries to some extent. Office variants also existed side by side, e. g. two liturgical variants of the same date at the cathedrals of Cividale and Aquileia. Any source or source group could have preserved only one form of the office grasping a frozen moment, a current state in the *consuetudo*. Moreover, Aquileian office liturgy was subjected to waves of European fashion affecting its structure or repertory. Items appeared and disappeared. Even chance decisions could intervene.

Under those conditions I found it especially important to identify general principles of structure and repertory present in each group of sources and not typically found together in other rites.

Inestimable help in processing the repertory of the Aquileian office sources came from the CAO–ECE database of the Old Music Department at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences' Institute of Musicology. This defined comparative examination of material as the method of examination.[41] The customary local variations in the office liturgy typical of Aquileia prompted rethinking and altering the form of the CAO-ECE database. I placed the items of the three sub-traditions in liturgical order, side by side, so that the differences between the groups of sources were immediately apparent, along with the departures in certain sources that I had listed in the register earlier.

[41] Under the CAO–ECE program in 2003, Andrea Kovács and I registered all musical items in the Aquileian sources in the liturgical order of the church year: Gabriella Gilányi and Andrea Kovács, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii–Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae. IV/A Aquileia (Temporale)* (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2003).

Characteristic points of structure in the Aquileian office liturgy as a whole

The first chapter concerned (III.1, pp. 58–73) explores the attributes with encyclopedic thoroughness. Here only the main structural and repertory elements can be summarized.

The office liturgies for Advent, which begin the church year, is one part of the *Temporale* to display great local specificity. Rites differ in their Advent offices mainly in the ratio between their choice of *per annum* chants or proper items for the specific liturgical function. Some are more characteristic in this way and some less. The Aquileian Advent office seems highly differentiated by European standards.

1) Common to the source groups is that the five psalms of the first Vespers on Sunday are supplied by a single antiphon *(antiphona sola)*. This is a simpler prescription, for instance, than the five-movement A *diebus antiquis* set found in Hungarian sources, but more varied, with greater emphasis on the proper items, than Salzburg practice, where only *de psalterio* chants are prescribed.
2) The Aquileian hymn structure in the Advent season is clear: the order of the four Advent weeks have full validity for the whole season. *Veni redemptor* appears in the first and second Vespers and the Compline hymn *Conditor alme* was sung through the four weeks of Advent, as was the *Vox clara* item of Lauds.
3) The 3+3+3 antiphon cycles in the Matins can probably be traced back to Italian structural patterns.[42] However, the choice of chants at Aquileia does not follow any Italian rite: none of the nine items can be found in them. Aquileia arrived at its own synthesis, adopting only the nine-item structure from its southern neighbors, but borrowing several pieces of the set from Central Europe.
4) The Little Hour items for Advent are uniform in the Advent season. The antiphons *Veni et libera nos, Paratus esto Israel, Tuam Domine excita, In tuo adventu* do not have specific liturgical places in Europe; they appear everywhere with different functions. Amid this medieval variety, the special order of these antiphon items at Aquileia can be considered to define the rite. Only in Central European rites can similarly developed, stable systems be found.

One remarkable Aquileian feature is a double set of Matins antiphons in the octave of Christmas, for the feasts of St. Stephen and St. John: one on the feast and one on the octave (*Hesterna die/Beatus Stephanus, Qui vicerit faciam/Johannes apostolus).*

The patriarchate sources show several specific structures for the six weeks of Lent:

1) The most specific feature of the rite is the unique composition of Vespers. The *antiphona sola* in the first four weeks is *Advenerunt nobis,* which is replaced in the

[42] The nine-item order appears already in the Old Roman antiphoner I-Rvat SP B 79. The same can be traced in the Advent Matins of later Italian antiphoners (Ivrea, Verona, Benevento).

codices by *Animae impiorum* in the fifth week. The responsories of the first Sunday Vespers form a special series.[43]

2) Matins in Lent was sung in Aquileia with a new *antiphona sola* for each nocturn, with the same items for the first two weeks, then with pieces changing weekly.
3) Specific to Aquileian hymn order in Lent was to have a different system for each Hour. The sources set new items for Vespers for the first four weeks. Only on the fifth Sunday comes a change, when the hymn *Vexilla regis* is sung for two weeks. The structure $4 \times 4 + 2 \times 1$ applies to the Aquileian hymns for Vespers, but with Lauds the same items appear for four weeks *(Clarum decus),* followed in the fifth week by a new hymn *(Rex Christe)*.[44] Compline follows the order $2 \times 1 + 2 \times 1 + 2 \times 1$.[45]
4) A responsory series for Compline, found sporadically in Europe, appears in its fullest form in Aquileia *(Convertimini ad me, Illumina oculos, Custodi nos Domine, In pace in idipsum, In manus tuas, Dixi conscendam),* but the occasional choice from this repertory is variable within the rite.
5) The Aquileian feature of the Palm Sunday office is to have three processional antiphons without assignation at the Little Hours.[46]
6) The Aquileian source groups all choose the same invitatory for the first three weekdays of Lent.[47]

The exceptional feature of the material for the Easter period in the Aquileian antiphoners is that it differs from other periods in giving detailed rubrics for the liturgical events, e. g. the great Vespers of Easter.

1) On Sundays in the Easter period in Aquileia the Easter Sunday office was repeated; material specific to Sunday was said on Monday. The sources draw attention to this departure from the Roman custom in rubrics: *In Aquilegiensis itaque ecclesia sic cantamus ad matutinum ut in die sancto Pasche, et in hoc non observamus Romanum ordinem.*
2) Certain specifics of the *per annum* office are worth noting, e. g. the Monday prime antiphon, the *Domine exaudi preces,* is a local rarity.

Detailed analysis of the repertory shows the presence of strong variants among the source groups: there was broad latitude for variation in Aquileia. But the entirety of identifying marks nonetheless distinguishes the office of the patriarchate, which is an amalgam of pieces from the Central European repertory and Italian structures.

[43] The Aquileian responsories for Vespers: 1D *Angelis suis mandavit,* 2D *Vidi Dominum facie,* 4D *Audi Israel praecepta,* 5D *Circumdederunt me,* 6D *Ingressus Pilatus*.
[44] $4 \times 1 + 2 \times 1$. Except in the early Cividale breviaries, where there is no change of item (6×1).
[45] The six Lenten weeks use three hymns at Compline: *Christe qui lux, Audi benigne, Jesu redemptor seculi.*
[46] a1 *Occurrunt turbae,* a2 *Pueri Hebraeorum… tollentes,* a3 *Pueri Hebraeorum… vestimenta*.
[47] Feria 2: *Ubi tentaverunt me,* feria 3: *Quadraginta annis,* feria 4: *Quibus juravi.*

Development of liturgical consuetudo *– Office variants within the rite Mainstream and sub-traditions: differences of liturgy between the Aquileia and Cividale*

The next chapter of analysis (III.2, pp. 73–85) points to geographic and chronological variability within the tradition that reveal impacts of outside fashions and local decisions to change. It discusses the features of the sub-traditions in all possible combinations of comparison with the source groups: it compares the liturgies of Aquileia and Cividale at various points in time, the earlier and later Cividale source material, and the variants of the 11th–12th and 13–15th centuries. The main findings of the detailed analysis found in the dissertation are these:

Comparing the sources from Aquileia Cathedral and the collegiate chapter of Cividale showed the latter's liturgy to be a distant variant. It is interesting, for instance, to see the cases where important liturgical points changed:

1) In Advent, for instance, Aquileia Cathedral introduced a new *antiphona sola* each week at Vespers; Cividale repeated the same one.
2) The cathedral's invitatory *Surgite vigilemus* for the third Sunday of Advent, was a bolder choice than Civilade's *Dominum qui venturus est,* a frequent medieval item.
3) Aquileia's hymn *Corde natus est* for the Compline of the Christmas office was likewise less usual than Civilade's *Veni Redemptor*.
4) Among the prominent features of the Aquileia Cathedral office was the sequence *Letabundus exsultet* for the second Vespers of Christmas. (Cividale retained the usual *A solis ortus*.) The only other use of it I have found is at San Marco, Venice.
5) Matins in the office for St. John the Apostle began in the cathedral liturgy with the invitatory *Crucifixum regum,* a Central European rarity. Both source groups for Cividale have the usual *Adoremus regem apostolorum* instead.
6) The source groups start with different emblematic antiphons in the autumn *per annum* historiae. For example, the antiphon after the inscription *Historia Regum* is *Cognoverunt omnes* at Aquileia, but *Loquere Domine* at Cividale.

More important than the selection of items are differences in the structure of the Hours in the offices of the two centers:

1) In the office of St. Stephen the Martyr, the sets of antiphons assigned to the feast and to the octave are exchanged. The main position is taken in Cividale by the better known *Hesterna die* series; the *Beatus Stephanus* group of antiphons were sung only in the octave.[48]

[48] For the double saint offices of Christmas see Zsuzsanna Czagány, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii– Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae*. *Prague* (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1996), 42. Further findings are described in her lecture "Frühe Historien der handschriftlichen Überlieferung aus Aquileia und ihre mitteleuropäischen Beziehungen", delivered at the conference entitled *Il canto liturgico di Aquileia, del Patriarcato e delle regioni vicine europee,* in Venice in 2002.

2) The set of antiphons for the second Vespers of Epiphany in the sources of the two source groups are not new material, but repeats. However, these two mean different series and different messages. The Aquileia sources prescribe the antiphons for the Epiphany Lauds (*Ante luciferum* etc.) for Vespers as well, while Cividale unusually assigns the set beginning *Tecum principium* from the second Vespers of Christmas, so forging a link between the Christmas season and the weeks after Epiphany. The Aquileian sources make a sharp break: the Nativity theme conclude in the early days of January.
3) One special example of the local variants concerns the Septuagesima Vespers, when Alleluia was sung for the last time before it was omitted from the Lenten liturgy. Several levels of Alleluia commemoration can be found in medieval rites, some with stronger thematic determination, others only with a farewell item. The Vespers at Aquileia placed greater emphasis on bidding farewell than the Cividale office did. In the latter the *Alleluia alleluia* is an antiphon sung before the psalms; here Aquileia prescribes a farewell responsory of its own *(Alleluia audivimus)*. The liturgy editors of Cividale here began the story of Genesis at Vespers *(R. Formavit igitur),* so that the farewell to the *Alleluia* remained central only in the liturgy of Aquileia Cathedral.
4) The usage of the responsories in the Lenten Matins also varies between the two groups of sources. Septuagesima is uniform: the codices prescribe chants about Adam, which are to be repeated at Sexagesima in Cividale, while Aquileia Cathedral takes the Bible narrative further with responsories about Noah. At Quinquagesima the Noah responsories there were repeated but new items about Abraham were introduced. Cividale had to merge the histories of Noah and of Abraham at Quinquagesima. The practice at Aquileia Cathedral has new sets for all three weeks. This practice is characteristic of Central European sources such as Esztergom, while the simpler Cividale variant is what crops up in Western and German-area rites.
5) Although it was usual in medieval Compline services for Lent to sing a *responsorium breve,* some Central European rites (and the bulk of the Aquileian sources) assigned a *responsorium prolixum.* Also specific to Central Europe is the characteristic new-style series of *Nunc dimittis* antiphons at Compline. In both cases specific versions for Aquileia Cathedral and Cividale were found.
6) At Easter, the Aquileia Cathedral antiphoners are detailed in a way unusual in this book type, while the early Cividale breviaries have a modest liturgical instruction, and so a more modest Vespers and Easter service than in the cathedral there.

Changes in the Aquileian office liturgy between the 11th–12th and 13th–15th centuries

There is a separate section (III.2.2, pp. 85–93) on chronological variants of the office rite of Aquileia. The starting point is that the office in the Cividale breviaries records

the 11th–12th-century state of liturgical usage, from which the content of the 13th–15th-century Aquileia and Cividale manuscripts depart at some times in the annual cycle. Here are the main observations:

1) The early breviaries contain fewer proper items, preferring to conform with conservative South German practice in using *de psalterio* chants (e. g. in the antiphon of the Advent and Lenten Vespers). The bald structure of the office for Trinity is an archaism;[49] paucity is also found in the offices of the Dedication and of the Dead.
2) A major difference: the early source group lists extra *Benedictus* and *Magnificat* antiphons for the Sundays of Advent and Lent and after Easter and Trinity, but the later Aquileian sources either eschew such non-functional, superfluous items or reassign them elsewhere to specific functions.
3) South German influence is apparent in many choices of item in the early Cividale sources (Adv D4 *Vigilate animo* invitatory, the Little Hour antiphons at Christmas, the *responsorium breve* of the Pentecost Little Hours, the hymn *Nocte surgentes* – surprisingly – in the Pentecost office for Matins, and the generous use of hymns in the *per annum* material as well.)
4) The 13th–15th-century Aquileian and Cividale sources show several local features unknown in the early Cividale source group (e. g. the *Dominum qui prope est* invitatory, new-style compositions for the Lenten Complines, and extra great responsories*: Lamentabatur Jacob* and *Occurrerunt Maria et Martha*.
5) Typical of the later sources are item structures that use more proper chants, e. g. in the hymn structure of the Lenten Compline and the richer antiphon series for Easter.

The chronological differences examined cannot be explained simply as reflections of medieval office fashions. They mark changes in church-history relations and local needs as well. It was natural for Aquileia to distance itself from the liturgy of its northern neighbors after South German supremacy ceased. The books of the 13th–15th centuries already hold medieval offices with an Italian tinge.

14th–15th-century elements in the Cividale office

The third source group, the liturgy of the later Cividale antiphoners, promises more interesting results than the first two (III.2.3, pp. 93–102). The late office tradition at Cividale collegiate chapter is a more curious amalgam. In many ways it keeps to a local Cividale tradition, being close in content to the earlier breviaries, but the more modern, flexible parts follow the office of Aquileia Cathedral. These are the most interesting structural features:

[49] E. g., it prescribes for Vespers only one *antiphona sola (O beata et benedicta),* as against the five O-antiphons of later sources.

1) It was general in the Middle Ages to begin singing Advent O-antiphons at Vespers on St. Lucy's Day (13 December); all twelve were heard by 23 December. The later Cividale books still begin the cycle on 13 December, but in the last week of Advent they attach other antiphons to the *Magnificat* at weekday Vespers.[50] This is one of the most interesting choices in the late Cividale group as it is found nowhere else.
2) There is a tendency to use different Vespers responsories in the late medieval Cividale office books. On the feast of St. Stephen the Martyr, for example, a proper chant *(Sancte Dei pretiose)* is preferred to the last responsory of the Matins.[51]
3) It is rare in the Mediterranean to assign a responsory to the Thursday after Ash Wednesday. That found, *Domine puer meus,* is known only from Italian, Aquitainian, Franciscan, and English sources, with no sign of it elsewhere in Aquileia or Central Europe.
4) The invitatory for the second Sunday in Lent is not the South German choice *(Quoniam Deus magnus)* but the possibly Western item *Adoremus Deum quia*. There is a similar difference for the third Sunday in Lent.
5) In the Matins for Holy Saturday, the late Cividale sources prescribe the responsory *Domine post passionem* as the closing item, which can be documented only in the Mediterranean region.[52]
6) One of the most typical Cividale innovations in the *per annum* material is a special set of *Magnificat* antiphons for weekdays, taking their text from the psalm used as a canticle. Neither the *per annum* office of Aquileia Cathedral nor the earlier Cividale sources draw on this archaic material.[53]

Three source groups, three different uses

There are flexible structural points in the office rite of Aquileia where the three source groups offer three solutions, i. e. three separate versions within the rite (III.2.4, pp. 102–111). The differences come in various liturgical places, including antiphons assigned for the Vespers of the four Advent weeks, antiphon choice for the Christmas Hours, the distribution of canticle antiphons in the octave of Epiphany, antiphons for the Little Hours of Lent, responsory series of the Lenten Matins, surplus antiphons for the second Vespers of Ascension Day, material for the week after Pentecost, and the responsory/antiphon lists of summer and autumn *historiae*.

[50] Civ-II: f2 *Jerusalem respice,* f3 *Maria autem conservabat,* f4 *Ecce ancilla Domini,* f5 *Intuemini quantus,* f6 *Tu Betlehem terra Juda*.
[51] For example, on the fourth Sunday of Advent and at Epiphany.
[52] E-Tc 44.1, I-MZ 15/79, I-Rv C.5, I-Rvat SP B 79.
[53] See the dissertation Chapter VI.6: "Ferial *Magnificat* antiphons from the 14th–15th-century Cividale sources and from the Mediterranean".

Office variants within the source groups

The narrowest range of liturgical examination consists of analyzing the relations of individual sources to their source group, to identify variants within the latter. At individual level, the relations of source to source become decisive. It is revealing to reconstruct momentary editorial decisions and effects of outside fashions on the office – changes of which traces remain only on single sources.

The chronological differences are again most obvious in the Aquileia Cathedral source group (pp. 111–121). The 15th-century Kranj antiphoner and the printed breviary add several new structures and solutions to the office structure in Gorizia antiphoners – the *versiculus sacerdotalis* only appears there,[54] allocation of items is more precise,[55] the repertory of proper items is richer (note the new additions to the Lenten Complines),[56] superfluous items are often dismissed,[57] and at some points the liturgy gains a more varied set of items.[58] The breviary often supplies needful information for mapping the Aquileian office. For instance, only from there do we know what hymns were sung in the Little Hours of the *per annum* period.[59]

The Kranj antiphoner from the Eastern edge of the patriarchate often takes a separate path. Sometimes it brings a better-known medieval version rather than an Aquileian curiosity,[60] but it can also happen that the content is more interesting than in the patriarchate's other sources.[61] The Kranj version of the Office of the Dead, for instance, is unique not only in Aquileia but throughout Europe.[62]

[54] See the Advent or Christmas Matins in the printed breviary.

[55] E. g., the Gorizia sources place the nine Advent antiphons for Matins in one group, while Kr-18 and Aqu-1496 divide them among the nocturns in the usual way.

[56] As a characteristic of the Lenten period, Aqu-A, -B and -D assign no *responsorium prolixum* for the Sunday Compline services. The new-style *Convertimini ad me, Illumina oculos meos, Custodi nos Domine, In pace in idipsum, In manus tuas Domine,* and *Dixi conscendam* known in Central Europe, seem to have reached Aquileia finally in the 15th century; the whole series appears in the printed breviary.

[57] For instance, the *super populum* antiphons following the Lenten Lauds *(Quis scit si, Cognoscimus Domine)* were notated in the early Aquileian sources of Gorizia, but not in the two 15th-century codices.

[58] For example, the summer invitatory proper in the *per annum* after Trinity *(Regem magnum adoremus)* does not yet appear in the early sources, where there is only a single *per annum* invitatory, *Praeoccupemus faciem*.

[59] I *Jam lucis orto,* III *Nunc sancte nobis,* VI *Rector potens,* IX *Rerum Deus tenax*.

[60] The invitatory assigned to the Fourth Sunday of Advent in European usage is usually *Dominum qui venturus est,* not the *Dominum qui prope est* of the Aquileia Cathedral sources.

[61] The antiphon series *O beata et benedicta* for the office of All Saints appears with verses, not as in Aquileia.

[62] The office can be found in both Kranj antiphoner volumes, but the usage does not have quite the same content in each: Kr-18 follows Aquileia in choice and order of items, but Kr-19 has some items of its own. The first antiphon of Matins in Kr-19 is *Ne derelinquas me,* where the mainstream sources have *Dirige Domine.* There are narrow South German and Italian occurrences of *Manus tuae Domine* and *Ne tradas Domine,* but I could not document *Deus aeternae in cuius* from the Middle Ages.

The relations between the three antiphoners kept in Gorizia were clarified by the paleographic examination, but analysis of the liturgy suggests convincingly that Aqu-B may have been the master copy for Aqu-D. The 13th-century Aqu-A, however, differs in some elements and represents a more archaic office than the other two. It is a stripped-down version: the Lenten Compline services are not supplied with propers, and it does not prescribe the tropes of the Christmas responsories or include the sequence *Laetabundus* used as the Vespers hymn. Aqu-A has a fewer surplus Lenten antiphons, and the chant order is different from that of Aqu-B in several places. The version of the canticle antiphon series for the Christmas octave differs substantially.

In the 11th–12th-century Cividale group (pp. 122–131), the repertory and choice of items is uniform and most changes insignificant. No differences of structure or assignment appear, only the presence or absence of some items, or differences of liturgical assignation. Again in the Cividale breviaries, the differences correspond with chronology. Interesting in this respect are the way the 11th-century San Daniele breviary and the latest Civ-93 stand alone at some points in the liturgy.

The alternatives found in the San Daniele codex are related to South German rites, notably that of Salzburg. It has a richer order of hymns,[63] but the repertory and the structure are simpler and more conservative here. This appears mainly as avoidance of primarily Mediterranean features. (Note the spare assignment of antiphons for Advent Sunday,[64] for example, or in the case of the *per annum* Matins antiphons.)[65]

The youngest of the breviaries, Civ-93, differs most from the solutions in the earlier Aquileian books.[66] On the whole, through some common elements, it lies closer to the later office of Aquileia Cathedral than to Civ-SD or -91.

The 11th–12th-century Cividale office is represented in the clearest way by Civ-91. It is a reliable source well supplied with rubrics, its only real curiosity being the antiphon series *Apprehendite disciplinam* for the summer/autumn *per annum,* for which -91 is the only medieval document found so far.

[63] Salzburg hymn choice is seen, for instance, in the Christmas Lauds *(Christe redemptor),* the first and second Complines *(Veni Redemptor; Corde natus), and* the Vespers for St. Stephen the Martyr *(Stephanus primo),* St. John the Apostle *(Solemnis dies),* and the Epiphany octave *(Gratuletur omnis)*.

[64] The Civ-SD copyist followed South German traditions in assigning only one item to the nocturns of the Advent Matins, not the 3 × 3 series typical of Aquileia. Furthermore, the three chosen items *(Scientes quia hora–Nox praecessit–Hora est iam)* are precisely the ones used in the Salzburg rite.

[65] The *per annum* office of Civ-SD still lacks the special Cividale series of antiphons *Beati qui in lege* and *Apprehendite disciplinam.* It has only the well-known series beginning antiphon *Servite*.

[66] Such places were found, for instance, in the Christmas office. In the Lauds, the stable, fivefold antiphon series is broken in Civ-93 between 4 and 5: *Gaude et laetare* and *Betlehem non est minima* give way to *Rex pacificus* and *Magnificatus est rex,* but Civ-93 follows later Aquileian antiphoners in not giving a hymn for Christmas Matins or Lauds. The reduced series in -93 for the canticle antiphons in the octave of Christmas is more modern (nine items listed as opposed to 14 in the other two books), and the assignment is more sparing for Lenten weekdays too.

In the late Cividale group of sources (pp. 131–136), the Civ-57 antiphoner preserves the 14th–15th-century Cividale rite most clearly. It is a full *Temporale,* whose content is confirmed by the incomplete antiphoners of Civ-30, -47, -48, and -49. The Civ-41 and -44 antiphoners form a sub-group containing earlier work, notated, it would seem, by the same hand. The two volumes complement each other, although the Easter period can be documented from both codices.

With the differences, the starting point here is the autonomy of Civ-41 and -57. The analysis led me to think that Civ-57 represents the local separatism of the office of Cividale collegiate chapter, while Civ-41 and -44 are closer in content to the sources from Aquileia Cathedral. This is confirmed in the following typical examples (Civ-41 and -44):

1) The Matins responsory order for St. Stephen the Martyr conforms to Aquileia.
2) The invitatory for the feast of St. John the Apostle is optional, but Civ-41 introduces *Crucifixum regem,* a speciality of the sources of Aquileia Cathedral.
3) For Lent, Civ-41 has the *super populum* antiphon *Cognoscimus Domine,* not otherwise found in Cividale.
4) The Cividale office for Trinity has *per annum* antiphons for the Lauds; Civ-44 gives the mainstream Aquileian proper series *O beata et benedicta*.
5) The emblematic opening antiphon of the *per annum* stories differs markedly in the offices of Aquileia Cathedral and Cividale, but -44 uses the former.[67]
6) The *Laudabilem virum* invitatory for the story of the Prophets is a specialty of Aquileia, found in Civ-44 but not in Civ-57.
7) The office for the feast of the Dedication in Civ-44 is the Aquileia Cathedral version (with identical Little Hours items and Lauds antiphons).
8) Cividale sources give canticle antiphons for the 25th Sunday after Pentecost *(Cum sublevasset oculos, Illi ergo homines),* except for -44, which assigns items similar to the ones in Aquileia Cathedral sources.

Civ-41 and -44 show several features of their own. These are specific to them, not elements from the Cividale or Aquileian offices.

1) A separate responsory series is prescribed for weekdays at the end of the Matins for Advent Sundays. The source does not follow the usual practice of selecting from the Sunday material, but assigns separate items for the weekdays, of which some *(Dicit Maria putas, Ecce Dominus cum splendore, Montes Sion)* are rarities documented from the Mediterranean region, but *Salutis nostrae Redemptor* is known so far only from Civ-41.

[67] *Historia Regum,* Aqu-Civ-44 antiphon: *Cognoverunt omnes,* Civ-57: *Loquere Domine.* Historia Sapientiae, Aqu-Civ-44: *Sapientia clamitat,* Civ: *Sapientia Aedificavit*.

2) Generally speaking, Civ-41 and -44 preserve several superfluous items slowly being dropped from the office (mainly old Mediterranean pieces). They include songs from the ample antiphon repertory of *per annum* stories, e. g. about Job.[68]
3) The last major difference comes in the Office of the Dead. Civ-44, unlike the other Cividale sources, adds surplus items to the regular responsory set for Matins.[69]
This series does not occur elsewhere in the patriarchate, only in this one antiphoner.

7. Comparative examination of the melodies

The next chapter (IV., pp. 137–183) examines the melodies in the Aquileian office tradition. The aim was to study the musical variants of chants in the Aquileian office sources, in order to establish the character and importance of the differences between sub-traditions of the same rite but different times and places, and see how the variants could be arranged hierarchically, i. e. which are significant and which superficial.[70]

The melodic survey could begin with antiphoners that mark pitch with a stave system. The first step was to see how the Aquileian and Cividale codices each recorded the same melodies. Since there was no way I could transcribe all the melodic material, I selected a representative sample from the repertory. Two principles applied in choosing the items for comparison: random and concentrated. I chose a hundred items from the *Temporale* office of the codices in a way that gave equal numbers of chants to each season. I then transcribed the entire musical material in a single genre. The choice in this case fell on the invitatory, which could be easily circumscribed, but was stylistically varied, in other words, very suited to comparative examination.

There were big differences in the variation scale, nature and importance. I counted hundreds, indeed thousands of variants where the change affected one or two notes, but those whose variations affected deeper layer were a small fraction of the whole.

I arranged the types of variations within the rite into a hierarchy, ranging from negligible to significant, as follows:
1) paleographic differences: inclusion or omission of liquescent notes; variation of ligature groups;

[68] *Ne reminiscaris Domine* takes its text from the story of Tobias and should logically be attached to the next story. It ignores the general European and Aquileian practice of starting with this.
[69] Responsories: *Credo quod redemptor, Qui Lazarum resuscitasti, Rogamus te Domine, Absolve Domine*.
[70] See also Gabriella Gilányi, "Aquileiai énekváltozatok. Egy középkori zsolozsmahagyomány dallamainak variálódási lehetőségei" [Aquileian melodic variations. Variant possibilities in the chants of a medieval office tradition], in *Inter sollicitudines*. *Scholarly session for the centenary of Pope Pius X's motu proprio on church music.* Budapest, December 2003 (Budapest: MTA-TKI LFZE Egyházzenei Kutatócsoport/Magyar Egyházzenei Társaság, 2006), 179–195.

2) "surface" variations of melodies: some melodic lengthening or shortening, passing notes, or differences of inflection;
3) many different notes in formulas;
4) formula variation not involving a change in length (shortening or lengthening);
5) pentatonic/diatonic variants;
6) differences of closing formulas;
7) emblematic melodic beginnings;
8) variations of longer melodic sections, marked differences in various components
9) tonal changes, transpositions

Findings: The comparison showed a wider range of musical variations than I had envisaged, revealing in the Cividale melodic material innumerable superficial variations and several at significant points, compared with the Aquileia Cathedral versions. The variants were uniform within a group: individual sources displayed the same variants.

1) Of the Aquileia Cathedral antiphoners, the musical relationship of the Aqu-B and -D is clear: the two contain the same melodies. A point of reference here was that the 13th-century Aqu-A of a century earlier contained a separate version at several points.
2) There was no reconstructing the melodic notes from the Cividale stratum of the 11th–12th centuries notated in neumes, but it was possible to identify the melodic formulas and moving in part. In most cases the early source group matched later Cividale sources, offering Cividale alternatives to Aquileia Cathedral versions. Still, the picture was not quite uniform, as in some cases the neume series of the 11th–12th-century breviaries were reminiscent of Aquileia Cathedral sources, and in a few (e. g. with emblematic beginnings or formula variations) distinct melodies could be sensed behind the neumes.
3) I found a correlation between the age of the musical stratum and the melodic variation in it. With items from the oldest layer of the Gregorian music (early antiphon types, *responsoria de psalmis*), formula variation was more typical. These could be shown, item by item, to contain settled, relevant solutions (e. g. the same ending formulas), which in general marked a rite at primary level. I did not find characteristic type differences in the later chants. It was as if new compositions had left room only for free, spontaneous, superficial variation.
4) One big achievement in the chapter concerns Gregorian dialects.[71] Melodic comparison shows that the Gregorian practice of Aquileia Cathedral was typically pentatonic in sound, while Cividale gave the semitones of the sound system equal rank,

[71] Peter Wagner was the first to describe this difference of sound. He called the pentatonic version the German dialect, as he had first analyzed it in German sources. See Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien, II: Neumenkunden* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, [1962²], Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1912¹]).

so it preferred the diatonic. This difference can be explained by Italian contacts that belong to the Western dialect territory. The linkage is supported by features of the codices, common liturgical structures, and uniquely Italian items in the repertory.

8. Medieval connections of the Aquileia *Temporale,* in terms of the item repertory

Special Aquileian items

Chapter V (pp. 184–224) sets out to identify, classify and describe the items alien to the rite and to discover medieval occurrences to some of the items specific to Aquileia.[72]

In fact there are hardly any items in the Aquileian office *Temporale* that cannot be found in the repertory of other medieval rites. Though several Gregorian items in the office look locally specific at first sight, only a few can be called isolated local pieces; most can be traced in Italian, Aquitaine, German, or occasionally Hungarian rites. On surveying the repertory, the unique items in the Aquileian office liturgy can be placed in three groups. 1. Certain items arrived from the south, from Mediterranean rites, as can be seen from the fact that they are also given in early medieval Mediterranean sources. 2. Some items are known in Central European, notably German tradition, or spread from there in the direction of North Italy (and Aquileia). 3. Some Aquileian source groups contain local pieces for which there are no further data, or which occur only in a narrow area of North Italy, of which a few are specific only to Aquileia.

Interesting results were obtained by mapping the influences and spread of the special items. This shed light, for instance, on a primary Mediterranean district which preserved after the Carolingian period something of the unity typical of the early Christian centuries. Some of the examples shown could be remnants of a practice in the great ancient liturgies, even the Old Aquileia, of a practice whose ancient liturgy can only be presumed, for want of written remains.

It is not possible in this summary to reproduce the research findings for each item (pp. 184–225), but I append in the tables below a list of the grouped chants.

The 11th–12th-century connections of the Aquileian hymn repertory

The Aquileian office includes a genre, the office hymn, whose examination reveals an obvious system of repertory connections, which I discussed in a separate section.

[72] See Gabriella Gilányi, "A gregorián zsolozsmaliturgiák zenei repertoárja. Rítus-meghatározó tételek a középkori Aquileia officium-hagyományában" [The musical repertory of Gregorian office liturgy. Rite-defining items in the medieval tradition of the Aquileian office], *Sic itur ad astra* 16/1–2 *[= Zene- és tánctörténeti tanulmányok]* (2004), 261–281.

Table 1: Items of Mediterranean origin

***Incipit*, appearance in Aquileia**	**CAO–ECE**	**Position**	**Appearing in CANTUS index**
Dixit Dominus ad Noe (Aqu)	16050	D60 VAm	CH-Fco 2, D-Ma 12o Cmm 1, E-Sa 5, E-Tc 44.1, -44. 2, H-Bu lat. 118, I- Ac 693, I- Ad 5, I- Nn vi. E. 20, I-Rvat lat. 8737
Pater fidei nostrae (Aqu)	16480	D50 VAm	CH-Fco 2, D-Ma 12o Cmm 1, E-Sa 5, Tc 44.1, -44. 2, H-Bu 118, I- Ac 693, I- Ad 5, I- Nn vi. E. 20
Si manseritis in sermone (Aqu)	20910	Qu 1f5 LAb	E-Tc 44.2, Gottschalk, F-AS 465
Si veritatem dico (Aqu)	20920	Qu 1f5 VAm	Gottschalk only
Dum dormiret Jacob (Civ-41)	21250	Qu 2D N3R3	E-Tc 44.1, I-BV 19, I-Far, I-MC 542, I-PCsa 65, I-Rv C.5
Filiae Jerusalem (Aqu, Civ-I)	25450	6f4 VAm	E-Sa 5, E-Tc 44.1, 44. 2, F-Pn lat. 1090
Domine post passionem (Civ-II)	26520	6Sabb N3R3	E-Tc 44.1 I-MZ 15/79 I-Rv C.5 , I-Rvat SP B.79
Venit homo ad Jesum (Civ-57)	30670	P 1f2 LAb	7 Mediterranean sources
Beati qui in lege series (Civ-I, Civ-II)	41481-	Ann N1–3 aa	Various item-by-item appearances
Saepe expugnaverunt (Aqu)	43190	Ann f4 V a3	E-Tc 44.1, 44. 2, F-Pn lat. 1090, CH-Fco 2, D-Ma 12o Cmm 1, I-Ac 693, I- Ad 5, I-MZ 15/79, I-Rv C.5, I-Rvat SP B.79, I-BV 19, I-Far, I-MC 542, I-Nn vi.E.20, I-PCsa 65
Magnificemus Christum (Civ-II)*[1]	43091	Ann f2 VAm	5 Italian sources + E 611, F-Pn. 12044
Exsultavit spiritus meus (Civ-II)*	43161	Ann f3 VAm	Graz, To, AI, 2 English, 3 Italian
Quia respexit Deus (Civ-II)*	43231	Ann f4 V Am	F-AI 44, I-Lc 601, I-PCsa 65, I-Rv C..5 + 3 Italian
Laudate nomen Domini (Civ-II)*	43260	Ann f5 V a3	8 Mediterranean + Nl-Uu 406
Esurientes humiles (Civ-II)*	43301	Ann f5 VAm	5 Mediterranean + E 611, F-AI 44
Suscepit Israel (Civ-II)*	43371	Ann f6 VAm	Kl, AI, 4 Italian sources
Abraham et semini ejus (Civ-II)	43441	Ann Sabb VAm	I-Far, I-PCsa 65, F-AI 44, GB-WO F.160
Lugebat autem David (Civ-II)	43870	Ann HReg VAm	With *incipit,* in Italian, French, Spanish, German and Franciscan sources
Ingressus Raphael (Civ-II)	44620	Ann HTob VAm	7 Italian and all Franciscan
Adaperiat Dominus cor (Aqu)*	44929	HMacc Inv	English and Italian sources
Laudabilis populus (Civ-II)	45520	Ann HPro VAm	Only in Pn 1090
Civitatem istam (Civ-II)	45521	Ann HPro VAm	2 Italian, 1 Carmelite, F-AS
Sacris solemniis (Aqu)	40811	Corp CH	French, English sources, 2 Franciscan, Vor-285
Circumdederunt me (Aqu, Civ-II)	46970	Mort Inv	F-Ca 38, I-Ao 6

[1] Items marked with an asterix are dealt with in detail in the last chapter on case studies.

Table 2: Items of Central European origin

***Incipit*, appearance in Aquileia**	**CAO–ECE**	**Position**	**Appearing in CANTUS index**
Agnoscat omne (Civ-I)		Nat LH	Mainly German sources
Sancte Dei pretiose (Civ-I)	11530	Ste LH	German and French sources
De Patre verbum (Civ-I)	11990	Joh LH	Only Kl, here: MH
Solemnis dies (Civ-I)	11621	Joh NH	Nowhere
Gratuletur omnis (Civ-I)	13650	Epi CH	Only Kl, here: LH
A Patre unigenitus (Civ-I)	14050	Epi LH	3 sources: F-Pn 15181, GB- AB 20541, D-MZb
Angulare fundamentum (Civ-I)	46540	Ded LH	5 sources: German, English
Christe cunctorum (Civ-I)	46172	Ded NH	French, Austrian, Italian sources
Ut nox tenebris (Aqu)	20990	Qu 2D V1H	Nowhere
Laus Trinitati (Civ-I)	40640	Trin V2H	Nowhere
Crucifixum regem (Aqu-Civ-II)	11620	Joh Inv	Prague, Hungary, Bamberg
Rex omnis terrae (Civ-I)	13140	Circ N2 a2	German sources
Cum appropinquaret Jericho (Aqu-K-Civ-II)	16770	Qu D50 LAb, V2 Am+	Austrian sources
Vado ad patrem (Aqu, Civ-II)	21613	Qu 2Sabb Ia	Only German sources
Tantum Domine (Aqu)	15453	Epi 3D V2 Am+	A-Gr 29, A-LIs 290, E-611, I-PCsa 65, N-Uu 406
Convertimini ad me (Aqu)	20080	Qu 1D CR	A-Gu 29, A-VOR-287, A-Wda D-4
Illumna oculos (Aqu)	21015	Qu 2D CR	See previous
Dixi conscendam (Aqu)	24320	Qu 6D	See previous +A-KN 1015
Vadis propitiator (Civ-II)	26160	Qu 6f6 N3 R3	Esztergom 6f4 VR, I-Far
Nisi quis renatus (Civ-II)	32132	P 2f VAm	Austrian sources
Hodie secreta caeli caro (Civ-I)	33120	P 6f5 L Ab	Austrian, Italian, Dutch sources
Laudabilem virum (Aqu)*	45339	HPro Inv	Only 3 Austrian
Praecipita Domine (Civ-II)	45479	Ann HPro R	Nowhere
Templum hoc sanctum (Civ-II)	46171	Ded N Inv +	Nowhere

The survey showed a clear correspondence between the Aquileian hymn repertory of the 11th–12th centuries and the reformed hymnal of the German center of the Benedictine reforms at Hirsau (V.2, pp. 225–235).[73] There are two possible explanations. One is the 11th–12th-century fashion for monasticism in the region, whereby several new abbeys came to be founded in the patriarchate.[74] The new Benedictine monasteries may have been the means by which Aquileia met with the Benedictine of-

[73] See also Gabriella Gilányi, "Aquileia, Salzburg és Hirsau kapcsolata – A 11–12. századi himnuszrepertoár" [Connections among Aquileia, Salzburg and Hirsau – the 11th–12th-century hymn repertory], in *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok 2008* (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2008), 39–70.
[74] The two most important foundations were Rosazzo and Moggio.

Table 3: Items specific to the district of Aquileia

***Incipit* and appearance in Aquileia**	**CAO–ECE**	**Position**
Laetabundus exsultet (Aqu, Civ-II)	11030, 11130	Nat V2 Seq
Cognoscimus Domine (Aqu, Civ-I, Civ-II)	20750	Qu L Ap
6 antiphons of *Apprehendite disciplinam* series (Civ-I):	41481-	Ann D N1–3 aa
Apprehendite disciplinam, Domine sub umbra, Deus meus adjutor, Ab occultis meis, Mitte nobis Domine, Domine praevenisti nos	41481-	Ann D N1–3 aa
Domine exaudi preces (Aqu, Civ-I, Civ-II)	42040	Ann f2 Ia
Declinate a me maligni (Civ-II)	42080	Ann f2 VI a
Ignitum eloquium (Civ-II)	42110	Ann f2 IX a
Israel potestas ejus (Civ-41)	42981	Ann D V a5+
Abraham et semini ejus (Civ-II)	43441	Ann Sabb VAm

fice and its more developed system of hymns, which is a fundamental trait of monastic traditions. However, it is easier to imagine that Aquileia came to include this differentiated set of hymns in its liturgy through the mediation of the diocesan rite of Salzburg. This supposition is supported by analogies between the Aquileian and Salzburg hymn repertories, which are stronger than those shown by a comparison with Hirsau. As the fashion for Benedictine monasticism declined and Aquileia was freed from South German control, its office rite gradually departed from the pattern: its hymn repertory was simplified down to a diocesan one (e. g. the Matins hymns disappeared), while gaining some new local items.[75]

Connections between the Aquileian patriarchate and Hungary

The chapter on the more distant connections of the repertory has a section on the parallels between the Aquileian and the Hungarian (Esztergom) office rites in the 11th–12th and 13th–15th centuries (V.3, pp. 235–251).[76] The account documents several points in common between the Hungarian and North Italian repertories, melodic styles, church institutions, and cultural background.

The chapter begins by summarizing the historical contacts from Early Christian times (trading and cultural ties along the Amber Road, the foundation of Early Christian dioceses in Pannonia) to the late Middle Ages and the Angevin King Louis the Great. There is a symbol of respect and friendship for Aquileia in a contemporary miniature to be found in Hungary's *Képes Krónika* (Illuminated Chronicle).[77]

[75] For example the Lenten *Ut nox tenebris*.

[76] See also *Antiphonarium ecclesiae parochialis urbis Kranj [1491],* ed. by Jurij Snoj and Gabriella Gilányi, 18–23.

[77] *Képes Krónika* (parchment, c. 1360): There is a scene in the 8th folio showing the inhabitants of Aquileia fleeing by water before the invading Hun Attila and founding Venice.

Comparison of the office liturgies included examining the musical styles and liturgical structures. The most elementary identity can be found in the musical dialect: the 13th–15th-century musical version of Aquileia (primarily of the cathedral) and the Gregorian chant of the main Hungarian tradition at Esztergom both belong to the Central European dialect area, with refined melodies, typical interval leaps, closing melismas, and pentatonic elements in the psalm tones.

There are several parallels between the office content in Aquileia and Esztergom, especially in the early, 11th–12th-century layers of their rites. On the one hand both have a strongly South German character (German items, liturgical structures, and South German neume notation without pitch indications). On the other, the early liturgical books of the two rites – the first fully notated, 11th-century antiphoner, the Codex Albensis, and the 11th-century San Daniele and 12th-century Cividale breviaries differ essentially in liturgical content from the later Esztergom and Aquileian sources respectively. They are transitional because of the Germanic liturgy and do not show their clear provenance, because there was no truly typical Aquileian or Esztergom liturgy at that time.

The similarity of the two early repertories is exemplified by some common Mediterranean items. These are primarily Italian pieces, points of contact that did not enter the sources through German mediation.[78]

Liturgical parallels between Aquileia and Esztergom can also be drawn in later centuries. Both rites changed over time: the office liturgy of Esztergom, which gained its final form in the second half of 12th century, lost its Germanic traits and embraced several Italian structural elements, as well as new local items. Similarly, Aquileia underwent after the end of German secular rule, a process of re-Italianization, of which the Aquileia Cathedral and Cividale books present two different versions.

As for the liturgical content, it is characteristic of later tradition in Aquileia and Esztergom to place superfluous items in unusual positions, simply to keep them in use.[79] (The more conservative German rites simply drop the extra items.) The order of the Advent responsories for Matins[80] is exactly the same in Aquileia and Hungary, which makes the kinship between them quite clear. Comparison of the Lenten materials reveals structural identity (cf. the proper responsory materials of the Lenten Matins, the antiphon and hymn systems for Vespers, and the rich Compline chant material).

I was unable to establish from the examination a direct contact between the two rites, the signs of which lie mainly in regional ties. The offices of Aquileia and

[78] For instance, only rare occurrences of the post-Epiphany series of Matins antiphons *Beata qui in lege* or the invitatory *Crucifixum regem* for the feast of St. John the Apostle are found in Europe. See Janka Szendrei, "*»Laetabitur deserta«* Olasz repertoárdarabok a közép-európai gregoriánumban" [Italian repertory pieces in Central European Gregorian], *Magyar Egyházzene* 9 (2001–2002), 193.

[79] At Advent, for example, the two office rites draw a lot from the common Advent antiphon repertory and find places for the rest in Matins, Vespers and the Little Hours.

[80] See René-Jean Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium officii* [CAO], *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta,* Series maior, Fontes 7–12.

Esztergom contain the general structural and melodic elements of the Central European region, and these clearly distinguish them from the Western liturgical traditions. It was certainly not Aquileia that passed items and office structures on to Esztergom directly, but some other Italian diocese – perhaps the historically important Venice.[81] To sum up, the later office, in Aquileia and in Esztergom, displays an Italian type of richness and variety. This characteristic liturgy did not arise simply as a passing fashion; it became a distinguishing mark of both rites.

9. Some case studies

The last, perhaps most interesting chapter gathers up some subjects and problems that arose during the research into the Aquileian office liturgy (VI, pp. 252–317). Here the examination may focus on a single item or group. Yet the chapter yields the most new findings, applicable to office research as a whole and allowing general conclusions to be drawn.

Neumes and formulas – on note-grouping of chants

I first examined a seemingly secondary variant type of notation (VI.1). Even with medieval codex copying, it became general for each copyist to phrase notes differently into ligatures, without essentially affecting the melody itself. It was shown by an authoritative quantity of comparative material that this notational freedom (or liberty taking) appears mainly in one type of formulas specific to a group of sources, e. g. cadences. Furthermore, it can be linked with the 13th–14th-century type of square notation found in Aquileia: an experimental method that copyists probably used with some uncertainty.[82] Although the pitches were marked, the notes in the neumes remained together in this type of notation, so the details found in the early notations (e. g. differentiated forms of liquescent notes) largely remained, which differed from the practice with the uniform square notation used after the 15th century, or the designation of notes in later printed Italian sources.

Laudabilem virum, Adaperiat Dominus cor
A virtual series of invitatories in the autumn offices

The second case concerns the special invitatories *(Laudabilem virum, Adaperiat Dominus cor)* of scriptural *per annum historiae,* widespread in Aquileia, but found sporadic-

[81] This may also explain the Italian elements in the Codex Albensis. See Note 79.
[82] Behind the spread of square notation is seen the domination of a simpler form replacing archaic ones, so that authors are not inclined to concern themselves with the interesting transitional forms of square notation either.

ally in the Middle Ages (VI.2, pp. 259–274).[83] Examination of these revealed a hidden series of medieval invitatories. The second-tone invitatory type reconstructed from the *Temporale* for the autumn period formed a homogeneous group of office chants whose items were a legacy from an old sphere of Mediterranean sources. (And yet they could also be identified in Aquileia and Esztergom.) The interest lay not only in the process of collecting these pieces – the successive appearances – but in understanding the concept itself: the compilers' purpose with the series may have been to extend the ideas of All Saints' feast over the whole autumn period.

Lenten responsories in the light of the Aquileian repertory and other European office traditions

The next section discusses chronological layers in the Lenten responsory sets, based on some forty sources or source groups from various places (VI.3, pp. 274–291).[84] The Lenten office gained its developed medieval form by adopting office elements in various periods. If these layers are separated, the parts are found to have been chosen from the *per annum* chant repertory or to use proper chants in various ways. Remarkable differences can also be found between rites in keeping the repertory intact or treating it flexibly. Here the examination proved that the Aquileian Lenten responsory series is related to Central European traditions. The accord with the Esztergom and Salzburg materials is notable, while no relations appear in a southerly direction, to material from other Italian dioceses.

Two Aquileian responsories in a European context. Early permeability of the office and mass repertory – Further findings from an examination of the Occurrerunt Maria et Martha *responsory*

These two sections examine two Lenten responsories *(Occurrerunt Maria et Martha, Lamentabatur Jacob,* VI.4–5, pp. 292–300 and 300–305). Office-structure and musical analysis of the two rare items and comparison of them with other medieval materials

[83] See also Gabriella Gilányi, "Laudabilem virum, Adaperiat Dominus cor – Egy virtuális invitatórium-széria az őszi zsolozsmákban" [A virtual invitatory series in the fall offices], in *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok 2006–2007* (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2007), 27–41.

[84] See also Gabriella Gilányi, "Ad Magnificat, Hebdomada per Annum – Egy g-tonalitású antifónasorozat Dél-Európában" [An antiphon series in G in Southern Europe], *Magyar Zene* 45/1 (2007), 53–63.

had a remarkable outcome: it proved the possibility of transfer between the Gregorian and Ambrosian traditions, even between the early Mass and office rites, while the literature stressed the closed, untouched nature of these liturgies.[85]

Ferial Magnificat antiphons in 14th–15th-century Cividale sources and in the Mediterranean

Finally, I examined an ancient Mediterranean antiphon series in G, which appears in Cividale (and a few Mediterranean sources) for the *per annum* weekdays (VI.6, pp. 306–317). The examination shows that the series, which employs text from the *Magnificat* canticle, may have entered the repertory in ancient times, as homogeneous pieces in the same mode (G). Thereafter it was adopted into some Franco-Roman rites, consequently its tonal unity was broken. Some texts with melodies in other modes were inserted to even it out musically and to make the musical material more varied. Gregorian melodies are strongly variable, the scale of variation depending on the age and the geographical distance of the sources. The series was preserved in its fullest form in the early Mediterranean traditions; it is found only sporadically in the north. Tracing the *Magnificat* series in this way shows when and by what steps in the Middle Ages a musical layer seen as obsolete fell behind, as well as what attempts were made to save it and to what extent they succeeded.

* * *

Studying the Aquileian rite and tracing content differences among the source strata, while seeking unity among them, was an exciting task over many years. It was interesting to see how a universal structure and melodic material gained its Aquileian complexion, in what ways the variations in the rite occurred, what links Aquileia to other medieval rites, and what divides it from them. The search for answers opened new lines of research in several directions. I hope these will advance in years to come.

(English translation by Brian McLean)

[85] See Gabriella Gilányi, "Lamentabatur Jacob, Occurrerunt Maria et Martha. Responsories in the Lenten Office of Medieval Aquileia", in *Papers Read at the 12th Meeting of the IMS Study Group Cantus Planus, Lillafüred/Hungary, 2004* (Budapest: Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2006), 583–594.

Andrea Kovács

The *Officium defunctorum* of Tomás Luis da Victoria and the Tradition of Masses for the Dead

This is a condensed version of the author's DLA doctoral dissertation: *A halotti mise története a 17. századig – Tomás Luis da Victoria: Officium defunctorum* [History of the Mass for the Dead up to the 17th cenutry: Tomás Luis da Victoria: *Officium defunctorum*], defended in 2002 (research director: Katalin Komlós).

This study examines how the *Officium defunctorum* – Office of the Dead – of Tomás Luis da Victoria relates to the traditions of Masses for the Dead. Parts 1 and 2 examine the earlier history of the genre, from its beginnings to the 17th century. Part 3 considers Victoria's work.

1. The history of Masses for the Dead up to 1570

All ages and cultures exhibit rituals, of various kinds, to do with all the aspects of death and mourning. The long developing tradition of Christian burial took over some features of Graeco-Roman practice, while rejecting or reshaping others. Ritual lamentations of wailing women were replaced by psalms and cremation by burial, while the graveside rites held on specified days (which St. Ambrose forbade in Milan and of whose existence St. Augustine knew in Hippo) gained eschatological meaning, foreshadowing the feast *(refrigerium)* to be held in the kingdom of God.

Aristides and Tertullian already spoke in the 2nd century of prayers and Masses for the Dead to be held on certain days after the funeral. It became general in all rites to have rituals on the third day and on the anniversary of the funeral. In addition, the Latin church held a Mass for the Dead on the seventh and thirtieth days, as did the Eastern church on the ninth and ninetieth days.

Documents of Christian burials in the first half of 4th century describe the rituals in some detail, especially where important persons were concerned. Examples are the descriptions by St. Gregory of Nazianus of the funeral of St. Basil the Great, by St. Gregory of Nyssa of that of St. Macrina the Younger, and by St. Jerome of the deaths of Ss. Paula and Fabiola and the funeral of St. Paul the Hermit.[1] These early Christian

[1] James McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge UP, 1987), 73, 141 and 143.

writers occasionally mention the use of special prayers for the dead, but far more frequent are references to psalm-singing before and after the funeral. Particularly interesting within the first millennium is a 7th-century Visigoth document that contains probably the earliest full description of a burial rite. It states in detail "what the clergy of any city have to do if their bishop falls victim to a fatal illness" (tolling bells, washing and dressing the body and placing it on the bier, while psalms and worship are recited and sung unceasingly up until the grave is sealed).[2] This liturgical custom may have extended at that time to the whole area, not just for bishops, but for lower clergy and laymen as well.

The presumably 7th-century *Sacramentarium Leonianum* and *Gelasianum* are the earliest two manuscripts to include groups of prayers and other items for the Mass for the Dead. Both follow the Roman rite, and contain passages for recital by the celebrant of various masses, but omit responses by the choir or congregation. Both include several formulae for the purpose: five under the title *Leonianum super defunctos,* while the fuller, better organized *Gelasianum* has seven:

1. Commendatio animae defunctis
2. Missa pro defuncto sacerdote
3. Missa in natal. sanctorum, vel agendum mortuorum
4. Missa pro defuncto nuper baptizato
5. Missa pro defunctis desiderantibus poenitentiam, et minime consequentur
6. Missa pro defunctis lucis
7. Item alia in die depositionis defuncti, VII et XXX dierum[3]

The other major document of early liturgical history is the *Sacramentarium Gregorianum* of the same period, which contains a rather different Roman rite than the previous two.

Initially, Masses for the Dead probably differed only slightly from other masses. The 8th-century Amalarius, a pupil of Alcuin, states that a Requiem Mass has no Gloria, alleluia, Credo or kiss of peace, but his statements cannot represent general practice, as sources show the movements composing it were not uniform in the Middle Ages, but varied by period, location and tradition. An example is the Mozarabic liturgy, which probably retained alleluias in the Mass for the Dead for as long as the liturgy remained in use.

[2] Quoted by Herbert Thurston, "Burial, Christian", in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Gilmary Society, 1907–1914), III, 76.

[3] Fernand Cabrol, "Gelasien (Le Sacramentaire)", *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1924), VI, 761.

Of the rites of the Proper in the Tridentine Requiem, the source of the introit, gradual, and communion texts *(Requiem aeternam* and *Lux aeterna)* is the Bible,[4] while the tract *Absolve, Dominus* comes from a medieval prayer, and the offertory *Domine Jesu Christe* from a prayer of recommendation of the soul. The sequence *Dies irae* is the latest addition to the Proper for the Mass for the Dead. The Ordinary rites in the Requiem Mass omit the Gloria and the Credo, but otherwise only depart from the customary in the last sentence of Agnus Dei *(miserere nobis),* which is replaced on both occasions by *dona eis requiem,* and in the final prayer *dona nobis pacem,* for which *dona eis requiem sempiternam* can be substituted.

Although these texts are the oldest rites in the Mass for the Dead, many other pieces are found in medieval sources. The introit *Requiem aeternam* appears not only with the psalm verse *Te decet hymnus Deus,* but with the versicles *Miserere mei, Domine, Anima ejus, De profundis,* and *Et sicut in Adam* in medieval codices. One early version of the antiphon runs *Rogamus te, Domine Deus noster* Ps. *Et sicut in Adam.* The responsory *Subvenite sancti Dei,* which is now part of the funeral liturgy, was used earlier as an introit. The processional *Respice Domine, in testamentum tuum* can also be found in 15th- and 16th-century Requiems, either as an alternative, or as the regular introit to the second Mass of the Dead. Other processional texts used are *Si enim credimus* Ps. *Et sicut in Adam,* and *Sicut portavimus imaginem* Ps. *Et sicut in Adam*.

The earlier gradual text was *Qui Lazarum resuscitasti,* which today is a responsory for the second versicle of the nocturn of the First Matins for the Dead. The second text appearing in Beneventan sources, *Convertere anima mea,* soon disappeared from this place in the Roman liturgy.[5] The 11th-century gradual *Missa in agenda mortuorum* from Saint-Yrieix has as an alternative the gradual *Si ambulem in medio umbrae mortis,* which became general in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.[6] The Passau gradual features *Animae eorum* V) *In memoria aeterna,*[7] whereas the text *Si enim credimus* is found in some early sources. The gradual *Requiem aeternam* crops up in many medieval codices, but not always with the same versicle as the one used in today's Mass for the Dead. Many early sources replace *In memoria aeterna* with *Anima ejus in bonis demorabitur*. This versicle is already found in the 12th-century and appears later in

[4] Introit: 4 Esdras 2:34–35, Psalms 64:2–3. Gradual: 4 Esdras 2:34–35, Psalms 111:7. Communion: 4 Esdras 2:34–35.

[5] Dom Jacques Froger (éd.), *Le Codex 123 de la Bibliothèque Angelica de Rome (XIe siècle). Graduel et tropaire de Bologne* (Bern: Lang, 1969) = *Paléographie Musicale* [hereafter: *PM*], vol. 18, 149^{v}. *Le Codex VI. 34 de la Bibliothèque Capitulaire de Bénévent (XIe–XIIe siècle). Gradual de Bénévent avec prosaire & tropaire* (Solesmes: Desclée, 1992) = *PM,* vol. 15, 265^{v}.

[6] *Le Codex 903 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (XIe siècle). Graduel de Saint-Yrieix* (Solesmes: Desclée, 1992) = *PM,* vol. 13, 237, fol. 119^{r}.

[7] Christian Väterlein (ed.), *Graduale Pataviense, Wien 1511, Faksimile.* Abteilung *Mittelalter,* vol. 24. (Kassel, Basel and London: Bärenreiter, 1982), 174.

French and Spanish graduals. Other versicles found with the main part of the gradual are *Convertere anima mea* and *Qui Lazarum resuscitasti*.

The tract *Absolve Domine* was in many early sources, but *De profundis* (Psalms 129:1–4) appears as well. Another earlier variant is to use the text *Convertere anima mea* from Psalm 114. The 11th-century Saint-Yrieix gradual mentioned contains the tract *Sicut cervus,* but the gradual *Si ambulem* appears there as an alternative.

The offertory *Domine Jesu Christe* consisted originally of several verses, which were steadily dropped from later liturgical books, except for *Hostias et preces*. Other offertory texts were *Domine convertere et eripe; Erue, Domine, animas eorum; Illumina oculos meos; Miserere mihi Domine; O pie Deus; Subvenite sancti Dei.*

The biggest difference appears in the many texts for the communion, several of which persisted in the Office for the Dead or burial service. The antiphon *Ego sum resurrectio* was once part of the communion and later of Lauds in the Office for the Dead. Two other early communions are *Credo quod Redemptor,* the responsory after the first lesson in the first nocturn of Matins, and the last sentence beginning *Chorus Angelorum* from the antiphon *In paradisum*. Another early communion text is *Omne quod dat,* also a Vespers antiphon in the Office for the Dead. The next comes in the 12th-century Sankt-Gallen manuscript: *Dona eis Domine requiem sempiternam et reple splendore animas sanctorum, et ossa eorum pullulent in loco suo*.[8] *Absolve Domine* is one of several communions to appear in 11th–15th-century manuscripts of Masses for the Dead. The text is most frequent in Southern French, Austrian, German and early Lotharingian sources, but found also in geographically remote places such as St. Yrieix, Bologna, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Burgos. Also used as communions were *Animas de corpore; Audivi vocem de caelo; Partem beatae resurrectionis; Pro quorum memoria; Sicut Pater suscitat mortuos;* and *Tuam, Deus, deposcimus.*

The Spanish liturgical sources of the 14th–16th century show some typical traits in the composition of items in the Mass for the Dead. The commonest gradual is *Requiem aeternam,* found in the sources with two versicles *(Animae eorum; In memoria aeterna)* of equal popularity. However, another text *(Si ambulem in medio umbrae mortis)* also appears from time to time with this liturgical function. The region's most varied picture appears with the text choices for the tract. *De profundis,* the commonest tract in the Mass for the Dead in Central Europe, is widespread in Spanish and Mozarabic sources as well and was linked with the burial service. The next alternative is *Sicut cervus,* also found quite frequently outside the Iberian peninsula in liturgical books from Northern Europe and from Salisbury, and acting as the exclusive tract for the pre-Tridentine polyphonic Spanish Requiem. The third item, used in regions influenced by Catalonia

[8] *Codex 339 de la Bibliothèque de Saint-Gall,* éd. par André Mocquereau (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1992) = *PM,* vol. 1, 114. See also: *Le Codex VI. 34 de la Bibliothèque Capitulaire de Bénévent (XIe–XIIe siècle). Gradual de Bénévent avec prosaire & tropaire* (Solesmes: Lang, 1992) = *PM,* vol. 15, 266^{v}.

and Southern France, is *Dicit Dominus ego sum* V) *Et omnis qui vivit*. An offertory specialty is for both *Hostias et preces* and the second versicle *Redemptor animarum omnium* to be used in Andalusia and Toledo, even in the early 16th century.[9] A notably unusual communion developed in medieval Spain and Southern France, from the texts *Lux aeterna* and *Pro quorum memoria,* known and used throughout Europe. The latter was augmented after a time and linked to the previous *Lux aeterna* communion as a single antiphon without a versicle.[10] This special form remained in use in the area until 1570.

The variety and variability of the Proper for the Mass for the Dead began to decrease in the second half of the 16th century, as the reformed liturgy of the Council of Trent became the sole Roman rite, compulsory in every church except those which had used another liturgy for at least 200 years. The 1570 Missal of Pope Pius V endorsed only five of the many that had been used in the first half of the first millennium. These have identical musical movements, differing only in the prayers and lessons.

2. Polyphonic Masses for the Dead from earliest to the first 17th-century decade

The same period that brought a steady relegation of Gregorian chant also gave birth to one of the most important genres of church music, the polyphonic Ordinary of the Mass. Foremost in creating these in 1400–1570 were French and Franco-Flemish composers. Foreigners were in a majority among composers working in Italy, even in the 1550s, but they were steadily replaced by Italians, who took the lead in composing examples of the polyphonic Ordinary as well. This can be demonstrated best by the fact that only 200 masses appeared in print in Italy before 1570, but over 750, mainly by Italians, in the period 1570–1610.[11] However, polyphonic masses for the dead account for only a small proportion of Renaissance mass composition: to our knowledge only 138 polyphonic Requiems were composed in the two-and-a-half centuries between 1400 and 1650. One reason was the pre-Tridentine lack of uniformity in the Proper of the Mass for the Dead, another that polyphonic renderings of the Requiem were still not thought

[9] It contains a two-verse offertory: Missal del Cardenal Mendoza. Toledo, c. 1482–1495. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 18-5va, fol. dvi–dvi^{v}; Missale toletanum, c.1499, fol. cccxx–cccxxv; Missale Giennensis [Jaen] 1499, fol. clxxxiii.

[10] Claude Gay, "Formulaires anciens pour la messe des défunts", *Études gregoriennes,* II. (1957), 99. Gay found four such communions: Aquitania, 12th century; Bazas, 13th century; San Millán, a Benedictine monastery near Burgos, 12th century; Burgos MS 274, 13th century.

[11] Philip T. Jackson, "Mass polyphony", in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music,* ed. by Tess Knighton and David Fallows (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003), 120–122.

appropriate in some places, even in the 16th century.[12] On the other hand the number can be considered high by comparison with later periods, due primarily to the multitude of said or sung votive masses (Monday: Requiem, Tuesday: Angels, Wednesday: St. Andrew, Thursday: the Holy Spirit, Friday: the Holy Cross, Saturday: the Virgin Mary, and Sunday: the Holy Trinity), and secondarily to foundations set up by individuals or confraternities, tied to the celebration of Mass on a specific day in the year. These were most frequently for Mary, but also for Trinity, the Holy Cross, the Sacrament, or some local patron, because such a Mass would become a Requiem Mass after the benefactor's death, which may account for the relatively large number of polyphonic masses for the dead and (with the gradual cessation of this system of institutions) for the later decline.[13] Another theory is that the composition of Requiems may have been connected with the foundation in 1429 of the Order of the Golden Fleece, whose meetings always included a Mass for the Dead alongside those in honor of Mary, the Holy Spirit, and the Order's patron saint, St. Andrew. At the same time, the composer from the Franco-Burgundian region of polyphonic Requiems that thrived there and later in the Habsburg lands, also composed masses to the melody "l'Homme armé", which led to suspicions that these two were connected with the Order of the Golden Fleece.[14]

A polyphonic mass for the dead consisted of introit, gradual, tract, sequence, offertory and communion movements, alongside the Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei. In the period examined, only one Requiem appeared that included polyphonic treatment of all the nine movements: a modest work by Giovanni Matteo, singled out only as the one known complete, three-part Renaissance Requiem. It was not unusual for a polyphonic mass for the dead to include movements that did not belong to the Eucharist, but to the ensuing burial service or the Office for the Dead. One movement especially dear to the Renaissance composers was the responsory *Libera me* to the Absolution. Others they occasionally used in polyphonic Requiems were antiphons for the invitatory, Matins, and the Benedictus, and lessons from the Office for the Dead, obviously with the intention that these should be sung as part of the Office, not of the Mass. The responsories most frequently given a polyphonic treatment were *Peccantem me quotidie, Credo quod Redemptor,* and *Heu mihi Domine.* Also found in this period are separate Office series, contained most frequently at certain junctures in Matins, mainly lessons and responsories, worked up into polyphonic movements. Alternatively, the whole Matins and Lauds were treated, as was the case with the 1556 *Agenda defunctorum* of Juan Vásquez. The composition by Giacomo Moro and Estęvâo de Brito,

[12] Charles Warren Fox, "The Polyphonic Requiem before about 1615", *Bulletin of the American Musicological Society* 7/6 (October 1943), 6.

[13] Barbara Haggh, "The Meeting of Sacred Ritual and Secular Piety: Endowments for Music", in *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music,* 60–68.

[14] Haggh, "The Meeting", 64 and 66. William Prizer, "Music and Ceremonial in the Low Countries: Philip the Fair and the Order of the Golden Fleece", *Early Music History* 5 (1985), 113–153.

in which the movements of the Office and of the Mass of the Dead appear, counts as exceptional.

The surviving texts of the Proper found in Renaissance Requiems are not uniform. Just as there was no generally accepted version of the texts of the Gregorian Mass for the Dead before the Council of Trent, so similar variations appear in the polyphonic Requiems, especially the gradual and the tract. Three underlying traditions are outlined: the Italian, the Spanish, and the French. In general all three chose the same introit *(Requiem aeternam),* offertory *(Domine Jesu Christe),* and communion *(Lux aeterna)*. The main distinguishing marks between the traditions appear in the chants of the lesson. The Italian tradition usually chose the gradual *Si ambulem in medio,* the tract *Absolve, Domine* or *Sicut cervus,* and almost always the sequence *Dies irae*. The Spanish tradition preferred the gradual *Requiem aeternam* and the tract *Sicut cervus,* but left out the sequence. The last was omitted from the polyphonic Mass for the Dead in France as well, but the chosen gradual was *Si ambulem in medio* and the tract *Sicut cervus*.

The earliest polyphonic Requiem was probably a lost work by Guillaume Dufay, but there are reliable references to its existence. In his prescriptions for the music to be played at the death bed, at the burial, and on the day after the burial, Dufay requests that after the Sacrament, where the signs of the death throes are noticed, there be sung first the hymn beginning *Magno salutis gaudio,* then *Ave regina caelorum,* and on the day after the burial the Requiem. He also ordered the hymn to be sung *submissa voce* (falsetto) by eight church choristers, the motet by the server boys with their master and two more men, and the Requiem by twelve choristers.

The earliest surviving Requiem is by Johannes Ockeghem, probably composed after 1470. Those of Antoine Brumel, Pierre de La Rue, and Johannes Prioris seem to be from the 15th century, although in view of the prime of their composers, they may be from the 16th century, as that of Antoine Févin almost certainly is.

The art of the next two generations (c. 1515 – c. 1550) is marked by an upsurge of profane music and neglect of mass composition. Apart from the work of Prioris, only three others are known, by Jean Richafort, Claudin de Sermisy and Cristóbal de Morales. Jacobus Clemens non Papa, Pierre Cléreau, Simon de Bonnefond, Pierre Certon, and the Spaniard Juan García de Basurto may also have composed their Requiems in mid-century. Pierre de Manchicourt's piece is somewhat later (1560).

The Requiem of Philippe de Monte – an outstanding figure in the late polyphonic tradition of the Low Countries, contemporary with Lassus and Palestrina – fits in with the work of a somewhat earlier period than his own. Two other composers from the Low Countries to compose remarkable Masses for the Dead were Jacobus de Kerle and Jacobus Vaet. Their Spanish contemporary Francisco Guerrero brought out two (1566 and 1582). Juan Vásquez, also Spanish, produced his *Agenda defunctorum* in Seville in 1556.

Polyphonic Masses for the Dead became far more common, especially in Italy, after Pope Pius V had standardized the Missal in 1570. The first to appear, in that year, was by Vincenzo Ruffo. Giovanni Matteo Asola, a Venetian pupil of Ruffo who played a

big part in implementing the ideas of St. Charles Borromeo in a new musical style, produced seven Masses for the Dead. Another Italian musician whose Requiem coincided with Asola's, was Costanzo Porta. Palestrina's Mass for the Dead incorporated the offertory alongside the items of the Ordinary. (There has survived in manuscript in Spain a four-part Requiem that includes all the movements of a Mass for the Dead except the gradual, and is very likely to be by Palestrina.)[15] Lassus, Palestrina's great contemporary, composed two Requiems. The last great composer to figure in the history of the Renaissance Mass for the Dead was the Spaniard Tomás Luis da Victoria, from whom seven have survived.

Several lesser composers dealt with the Requiem form in the last 15 years of the 16th century and the first ten of the 17th century. First among them was the Franco-Spanish Joan Brudieu. His Spanish and Portuguese contempories were Manuel Cardoso, Gabriel Díaz Bessón, Duarte Lobo, Filipe de Magalhães, Joan Pau Pujol, and Mateo Romero.

The most active in composing Masses for the Dead in the late 16th century were the Italians. Apart from Asola, Giulio Belli was the only 16th-century composer to compose several (three). That of Cesare Tudino was published in Venice in 1589 in a small-format booklet of five-part masses. Jacopo Moro in his Requiem used the technique of a double choir. Felice Anerio published his in Rome in 1614. Other Italian Requiem composers of the period were Giovanni Francesco Anerio, Domenico Belli, Giuseppe Belloni, Stefano Bernardi, Giovanni Cavaccio, Giovanni Croce, Lorenzo Vecchi, Orazio Vecchi, Orfeo Vecchi, and Lodovico Grossi da Viadana.

The less well-known German composer Blasius Amon may have been the only one of his countrymen to produce a polyphonic version of the Mass for the Dead. Not until much later, in 1641, was his example followed in Innsbruck by the German Johann Stadlmayr. The French school, which had been paramount in the early part of the 16th century had vanished by the end of the century. Only two French Requiem composers can be found in the final decade: Jacques Mauduit, of whose work only an excerpt survives, and Eustache du Caurroy, whose work was sung up to the end of the 18th century at the funerals of French kings in the Abbey of Saint-Denis. Alongside them there exist several anonymous 16th-century Requiems that each appear in only one source.

The Renaissance Requiem composers, even after the liturgical texts had been standardized, could still decide for themselves which movements to set in several parts and which to provide with Gregorian melodies. The proportions between the two were also a personal choice or a matter of local tradition. Perhaps the Spanish composers went

[15] Robert J. Snow, "An Unknown Missa pro defunctis by Palestrina", in *De musica hispana et aliis: Miscelánea en honor al Prof. Dr. José López-Calo, S. J., en su 65 cumpleaños,* ed. by Emilio Casares and Carlos Villanueva (Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, 1990), 387–428.

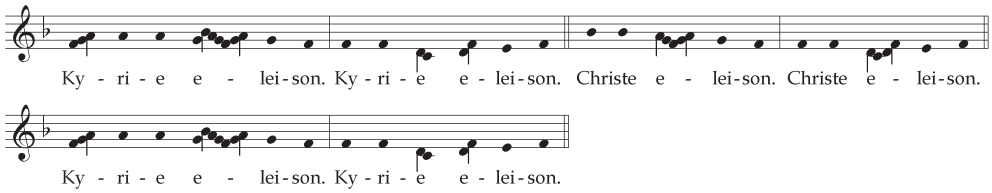
furthest in standardizing this. Despite many formal differences, they developed in the 15th–16th-century Masses for the Dead several common traits, of which undoubtedly the most important was broad, general acceptance of Gregorian chant as a composing basis. Some Renaissance Requiems omit the liturgical *cantus firmus* for an item or a passage, but this is unusual and lasts a noticeably short time. The *cantus firmus* features in a polyphonic Mass for the Dead 1) in long note values, 2) in *falsobordone,* 3) paraphrased, or 4) by introducing a head-motif or motto.

During the 15th–16th century, the Requiem Gregorian chants appeared in various versions, not just in the gradual, but in the polyphonic movements as well. Despite the differences, the Masses for the Dead in that period rest basically on the same Gregorian models. Spain is exceptional in its treatment of the Ordinary: the Kyrie is heard to a different melody than the usual one, which was long associated in the region specifically with the Mass for the Dead. This was employed in his Requiem by Basurto, in the *Agenda defunctorum* by Vásquez (Seville, 1556), and by Guerrero in the mass he included in *Liber primus missarum* (Paris, 1566, Example 1). All the Andalusian composers adopted the Sanctus chant printed in Processionarium Vallesoletani (1571, Example 2). The Sanctus of Morales brings a variant of the D-mode melody of Mass XV, which appears in modern publications (Example 3). The Agnus Dei melody with its broken triads appears primarily in the Andalusian Requiems, but sporadically in other Iberian Masses for the Dead as well (Example 4).

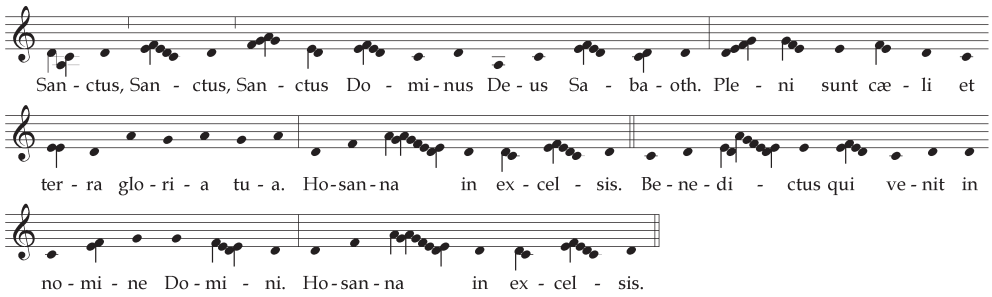
The Mass for the Dead by Richafort is unique in several respects. For one thing it is, to our knowledge, the only requiem written in canon. For another, while the Gregorian chant for each movement is heard from a treble in paraphrased *cantus firmus,* all movements but the *graduale versus* have the invitatory *Circumdederunt me* entering from two tenor parts singing in canon. This musical material is joined in the *graduale versus* and the offertory by musical material quite unknown in the genre: a fragment of a Josquin's song "Faulte d'argent", likewise sung in canon.

The outward means of a cyclic structure are not usually present in a traditional requiem, as each movement brings a different Gregorian chant. So unity has to be achieved by other means: the essential unity of Gregorian, and the distinct stylistic tradition enshrined in the movements of a Mass for the Dead.

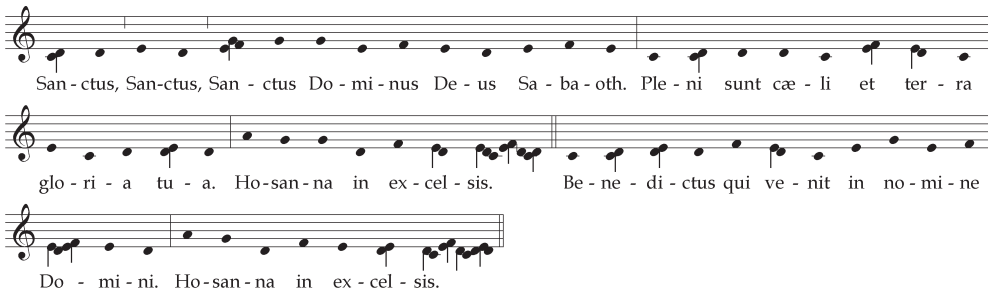
The one movement that features in every Renaissance Requiem is the Kyrie. It generally has three sections of medium length, although the sections were considerably shortened toward the end of the 16th century. One of the shortest of all occurs in Belli's four-part Requiem. At the other extreme is a solution employed at the end of the century, where the three main sections may be divided into several smaller passages. The best examples are Masses by Prioris and Ockeghem. The latter divides each into three typical sub-sections, while Prioris organizes his Kyrie in a less usual way. The first section, like Ockeghem's, is the three-part unit of *Kyrie eleison*. The second has only one part: a twice-heard *Christe eleison*. The third is in two parts: first the closing *Christe eleison,* then the first of the last *Kyrie*s. The final section again falls into two parts: the



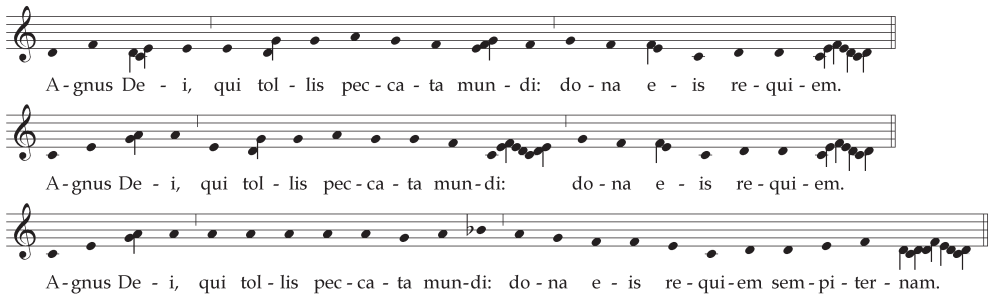
Example 1: The Kyrie of the Spanish Mass for the Dead



Example 2: The Sanctus melody of *Processionarium Vallesoletani*



Example 3: The Sanctus melody employed by Morales



Example 4: The Agnus Dei melody of the Andalusian Masses of the Dead

last two *Kyrie*s of the second *Kyrie* group. Other departures from traditional practice in the Requiems of Brumel and Sermisy, where the second *Kyrie* group is divided into two sub-groups. From the second half of the 16th century onward, division of the Kyrie into three parts became standard in requiems, as it was in Ordinaries of the Mass, and with few exceptions there is no change of mensural sign or change (reduction) in the number of parts in any section of the movement.

Use of Gregorian intonation was general Renaissance practice in most Requiem movements, but not in the Kyrie. This was never preceded or broken into by a Gregorian chant. The commonest key signature for Kyrie movements was one flat, found in all Requiems but three. La Rue's remarkable Funeral Mass for four or five low parts transposes the *cantus firmus* a fifth down and uses a two-flat key signature. The Kyrie of Févin's Solemn Requiem gives two kinds of key signature: the upper parts have one flat, but the bass has flats except at the beginning, where he leaves the one flat. The four-part Mass of Lassus is the only one with no key signature.

Did the Renaissance composers use the same procedures for setting Ordinary movements of the Funeral Mass as for corresponding texts in the Mass cycles? Fundamental differences are found if the Kyrie of the polyphonic Masses for the Dead by three 16th-century composers working in Rome, Morales, Palestrina, and Victoria, are compared with the first movement of their polyphonic Ordinaries of the Mass. Except in the case of Palestrina (where it occurs in only six Masses of the 86 cycles), it is quite common to have a change of signature between adjacent sections of a movement. It is harder to make general statements about the number of parts. Palestrina only reduces the number in the middle section of the Kyrie *(Christe eleison)* in his masses for five to eight parts (21 masses), while this never occurs at all in works by Morales. Victoria, however, does so much more often, not only in masses for five to twelve parts, but in both Funeral Masses in his four-part *Missa Quarti toni*.

The other Ordinary movements of the Requiem, the Sanctus and Agnus Dei, occur in all the works examined except Ockeghem's Mass for the Dead, which includes no polyphonic movements at all in any part after the offertory. Typically the Sanctus has a similar part number and time signature to the Kyrie, but only four Sanctus movements use the key signature of one flat (by Lassus, Porta, Tudino, and Amon). There are major differences in the structure of the movement. Many composers handle the section beginning *Pleni sunt caeli* as a unit, i. e.+*Pleni sunt caeli* with *Hosanna,* while others divide it in two *(Pleni sunt caeli+Hosanna)* or two and an opening intonation. If the first *Hosanna* is set as an integral part of *Pleni sunt caeli,* then similarly the second is often linked to the Benedictus. Where, as was often the case, the latter was a separate item, the second *Hosanna* did not usually repeat the first musical material, but brought partly or wholly new music in. With the Sanctus movements, four works emphasize Benedictus by reducing the number of parts. Certon and the four-part Requiem of Lassus leave out the bass, while the five-part Lassus Mass and the six-part Ruffo omit the bass and the second tenor.

The keys of the Sanctus were not handled uniformly. Most composers set a Gregorian chant only for the first word, using a tenor or a treble. Lassus preferred a bass, and Ruffo set the passage in all six parts. Of all the Masses for the Dead, only seven do not set the Sanctus for a single part,[16] which works to spotlight the appearance in some cases of other intonations in longer sections of the movement. Victoria in his four and six-part Requiems has the treble or the second treble sing the text *Pleni sunt*. It is more general to introduce the Benedictus with a Gregorian chant, but there was little agreement on the length of text to set in that way. Eight Requiems confine the intonation to the word Benedictus, in the tenor or treble part,[17] while two extend it to the first three words, *Benedictus qui venit*.[18] Most Renaissance Requiems avoid the intonation before the inner units of the Sanctus.

The Sanctus movement of the polyphonic Ordinary of the Mass is more uniform than in the Requiem, in structure, meter, number of parts, and intonations. Structurally two main groups of similar prevalence can be distinguished. The main feature of one is to divide the movement into four passages: *Sanctus,* or often *Sanctus + Pleni sunt* with an internal division; *Hosanna I, Benedictus, Hosannah II,* or with the music of the first *Hosanna* returning for the second. Only in two cases does Palestrina eschew the most general internal division of *Sanctus + Hosanna,* in favor of detaching the *Pleni sunt caeli* passage of text, so extending to the *Hosanna* not only the number of parts but the meter. The other group makes a unit of the *Sanctus* and the first *Hosanna,* but divides the Benedictus from the second *Hosanna*. It is far less common in polyphonic Ordinaries of the Mass to follow the structure used by 16th-century Roman composers for their Requiem Masses in which the movement is divided into only two sections (the *Sanctus* with one *Hosanna* and the *Benedictus* with the other). Only in one cycle *(Missa Caça)* does Morales set the *Sanctus* continuously, without internal breaks. Victoria in two Masses *(Missa Ave maris stella* and *Missa Ave Regina)* used a less usual procedure unknown in Palestrina or Morales when he split *Sanctus* from the first *Hosanna,* but composed *Benedictus* through with the second *Hosanna*.

Turning to the mensural notation, it became general to set *Hosanna I* and/or *Hosanna II* to a meter with an odd number of beats. Reducing the number of parts in *Benedictus* is almost invariable in 16th-century Ordinaries of the Mass, but only sporadic in Masses for the Dead. The *Pleni sunt caeli* section appears in many masses with a reduced number of performers. It is worth noting that Palestrina, when reducing the number of parts, differed from other composers in not merely jettisoning one part from the original apparatus, but by avoiding polyphony and dividing the remainders, which had decisive consequences for the actual performing apparatus, and supports

[16] Brumel, Du Caurroy, Guerrero 1566 and 1582, Palestrina, Porta, and Vásquez.
[17] Certon, Guerrero 1566 and 1582, La Rue, Morales, Morales 1544, and Victoria 1583 and 1605.
[18] Brudieu and Clemens.

the hypothesis that these passages were to be sung by soloists. The notion that this was common practice is supported further by the fact that if the number of parts was not reduced, then each had to be sung by a single singer, signified in the score by the instructions *cum quatuor vocibus* or *quinque tantum vocibus.* Intoning hardly appears at all in the Sanctus movement of polyphonic Ordinaries of the Mass.

The Agnus Dei, the final Ordinary item of the Requiem, was handled in a similar way to the Kyrie, generally as three short sections. The only exceptions are the Masses for the Dead by La Rue, Porta, Tudino, Ruffo, and Amon, which treat it in two sections, and the one by Kerle, which consists of a single short section. The three sections are generally introduced in Gregorian intonation by either the tenor or the treble, although other voices may appear. Like the Sanctus, the Agnus Dei does not have a key signature except in La Rue, which has a double signature: one flat for the top four parts and two flats for the bass. The *cantus firmus* of this work appears a fifth lower, as it does in Lassus' four-part Mass. There is also a key signature of one flat for the Agnus Dei in Morales a 5, Porta, Tudino and Amon.

Treatment of the Agnus Dei movement in the polyphonic Ordinary of the Mass differs from that in the Mass for the Dead. The threefold division typical of the latter is found only in Morales' six Ordinaries of the Mass, not in the cycles of Palestrina or Victoria. A double structure is almost exclusively found. Only the *Pro victoria* mass of Victoria treats the text as a single unit. On the other hand, several omit the phrase *dona nobis pacem* from the final section – Palestrina in seven masses and Victoria in nine – although the *Missa Regina caeli* (Mass Book 12) and the last *Missa Vidi speciosam* cycle include only this section, omitting the one before. In the part treatment, it is conventional to raise the number of parts in the third solo section of the Agnus Dei, usually by one but sometimes more drastically (from four to seven). Departures from this are usually explainable in structural terms. The number of parts in the middle section of Morales' three-part movements steadily falls, so that in four cases the third section brings back the original solo, and in two *(Vulnerasti cor meum, l'Homme armé)* extra parts appear. Only once in Palestrina (*Missa Ave Maria:* 6th Missal) and once in Victoria (*Missa Quam pulchri sunt:* 1st Missal) is there a steady rise in the number of parts from section to section. Where the movement ends with the text *miserere nobis,* Palestrina (with the one exception of *Missa In illo tempore:* 10th Missal) leaves the solo unchanged, while Victoria raises it. The Agnus Dei of the Ordinary of the Mass differs from that of the Requiem in very seldom introducing intonation.

The introit and offertory movements of the Proper of the Mass for the Dead received polyphonic treatment still more often than those of the Ordinary. The next in order of frequency in this respect was the Communion, while the Gradual was so treated in 22 of the Masses examined, the Sequence in 14 and the tract in 10.

The three-section form of the Gregorian introit decides the structural plan of polyphonic treatment. Renaissance composers frequently divided the psalm in two, with the second part beginning *exaudi orationem meam.* The most important differences

among the various polyphonic introits lie in the choice of key and of number of parts. The initial Gregorian intoning of a polyphonic introit extends to the first word of the text *(Requiem)* and sometimes to two words *(Requiem aeternam),* although this procedure is followed only by the Spanish composers, apart from some works of Ruffo and Anerio. The psalm verse of the introit is likewise introduced by intoning: *Te decet hymnus Deus in Sion*. The Gregorian chants are most frequently sung by the tenor or treble, or occasionally by both, as Févin gives the initial intoning to the treble and that of the psalm to the tenor. The departures from the norm are as with the Sanctus and Agnus Dei movements (Lassus: bass, Victoria: 2nd treble, Ruffo: all six parts).

The key signature of most polyphonic introits is one flat, which Ockeghem and Brumel omit, but write out in the movement. Févin's introit, like his Kyrie, has a double key signature: he writes two flats for the bass in most movements. La Rue's introit is the only one in which the *cantus firmus,* marked with two flats, moves a full fifth lower, while the introit to the four-part Requiem by Lassus omits the customary key signature and transposes the *cantus firmus* a fifth higher.

Since the Gregorian graduals *Si ambulem* or *Requiem aeternam* were alternatives in the Mass for the Dead in the 15th–16th century, it is unsurprising to find polyphonic settings of both in various Renaissance Requiems. Most Masses for the Dead that included a gradual (about half of those examined) set the text *Si ambulem* to music, but this was omitted from the Gregorian Funeral Mass when the Missal was revised in the final decades of the 16th century, and *Requiem aeternam* substituted for it. The only post-reform 16th-century polyphonic Requiem to use *Si ambulem* is one by Du Caurroy. (The four-part Requiem by Lassus [1578] uses *Si ambulem,* but was probably composed before the 1570 Missal was introduced.) Du Caurroy's adherence to the older text may mean either that either they did not worry themselves about the liturgical reforms (at least in the northern countries) or that Pope Pius V's Missal had yet to reach Paris at the time of composition.

Although the gradual *Si ambulem* was more popular than *Requiem aeternam,* the latter was chosen by all the Spanish composers, none of whom failed to give it polyphonic treatment. The Franco-Flemish composers of the 15th–16th centuries preferred *Si ambulem,* or omitted the movement altogether from their Masses. The two non-Spanish composers to compose Funeral Masses that included the *Requiem aeternam* gradual were Amon and Asola.

The polyphonic *Si ambulem* movement in the form of the gradual+versicle was usually split, with the second half starting at *Virga tua* and set to music in an unusual way in the 16th century. In the opening versicle the number of parts in the previous section was generally cut by one or two. General Renaissance practice was to leave the close forms uniformly to one or several parts, but the number of parts in the vocal structure found at the *Virga tua* beginning was enhanced toward the end of the passage by the addition of further parts. In some works the entering parts joined in the movement surreptitiously, without any prior cadence or other compositional device, while

in others there was a dramatic effect after a cadence and caesura in the singing parts. A rather different treatment of *Virga tua* can be found in works by Févin and Kerle, who reduced the number of parts for the whole passage. Monte did not alter the vocal texture, whereas Ockeghem raised the number of parts in this passage. The treatment of the movement in Lassus' four-part Mass for the Dead differs from that of other composers, in dividing it into three, instead of two sections. A main section using the full apparatus is followed by a tenor and bass in the first part of *Virga tua,* returning at *ipse me* to the four-part arrangement. Lassus differed from others in scoring the first half for low, rather than the high parts found in other pieces.

Similar treatment of the vocal material is found in the few graduals that set the *Requiem aeternam* text. The Requiems of Morales and Guerrero reduce the number of parts at the beginning of the *In memoria aeterna* versicle (the former omitting the lower part, the latter the top three). In the other Funeral Masses that use *Requiem aeternam,* the number of parts in the main section and the versicle does not change.

The composers differ far less in their treatment of the gradual intonations, than in their choice of movements. Requiems that include *Si ambulem* all mark its first two words as intonation. The Spanish composers favoring the Gradual *Requiem aeternam* likewise have the first two words sung to a Gregorian chant. Amon, on the other hand, limits the intoning to the first word. Of the works examined, the three-part Requiem of Asola is the only one not to introduce the movement with intonation. Victoria, on the other hand, even begins the versicle of the Gradual in that way *(In memoria aeterna)*. The composers generally choose the same parts for the intonation as they had assigned in the introit, most often the tenor or treble.

There is not usually a key signature in the polyphonic Gradual movements. Monte, Guerrero (1566 and 1582), and Lassus use the four-flat key signature, but of the four, only Guerrero and Lassus transpose the *cantus firmus*.

Differences similar to those in the Gradual appear in the tract. All pre-Tridentine Spanish polyphonic Requiems hitherto found, along with the Funeral Masses of Févin, La Rue, Ockeghem and Vaet use the text *Sicut cervus*. The other composers set the one piece of the reformed Missal, *Absolve Domine*. The 1566 edition of the Guerrero 1566 Mass for the Dead had *Sicut cervus,* but this was exchanged for *Absolve Domine* in 1582, to conform with the 1570 Missal.

Division of the Requiem tract into three parts is found in all composers except Guerrero, Clemens, and Ockeghem. Guerrero does not set the last verse *(Fuerunt mihi)* of *Sicut cervus* and only gives polyphonic treatment to the first verse of *Absolve Domine*. Clemens composes through the whole text of *Absolve Domine* as a single coherent movement; Ockeghem divides *Sicut cervus* into four by taking the final sentence *(Ubi est Deus tuus)* separately.

Most works pick out some sections of the tract by using various part combinations. The commonest practice, first found in Ockeghem's Mass for the Dead, is for the movement to start in the treble and alto, then exchange these for tenor and bass in

the next verse, and give the last section to three parts: treble, alto and tenor. La Rue and Vaet depart from this only in having a final verse in four parts instead of three. Févin's tract begins in the tenor and bass, which are joined by a further part in each verse. Lassus' quite different solution is for the movement to be launched and concluded by the full choir, but to cut to three parts for the middle section. Only two tracts begin with intonation: by Lassus and Clemens. All polyphonic tracts, whether to *Sicut cervus* or to *Absolve Domine,* have the *cantus firmus* sung without transposition and do not write out in the flat prescription.

Dies irae is the longest separate movement of the Gregorian Mass for the Dead. Although it was favored from its first appearance, polyphonic settings of it are almost as rare in Renaissance Masses for the Dead as the tract pieces. This may be partly due to its relatively late arrival in the liturgy, and partly to a positive preference for the Gregorian version of the sequence. The earliest known Mass for the Dead to include a polyphonic Dies irae is by Brumel. He, Kerle and Morales remain the only composers to include a polyphonic sequence in a Mass for the Dead before 1570. However, such is found in all but one Italian Requiem composed or published between 1570 and 1600. (Palestrina's Funeral Mass omits the sequence, along with most of the items of the Proper.) No Mass for the Dead composed by a non-Italian in the last three decades of the 16th century contains a sequence.

Among the Requiems in which a sequence appears, only two set the full text, as the practice was to make alternate verses polyphonic and Gregorian. Giacomo Moro and Giulio Belli in their double-choir Masses for the Dead, give the full text of the sequence alternately to the two choirs. Many follow the form of the Gregorian item in their settings, i. e. forming three strophes whose music is repeated three times (1. *Dies irae* 2. *Quid sum miser* 3. *Qui Mariam*), then concluding the movement with the *Judicandus* and *Pie Jesu* sections. Examples of this practice appear in Belli's four-part and double-choir Masses for the Dead and in Tudino's Requiem. The typical formal solutions for the 16th-century polyphonic sequence is for composers to treat each verse as a separate unit, and although the appropriate Gregorian chant appears in each section as the *cantus firmus,* the polyphonic movements with the same melody are different in each case. Morales' Mass for the Dead is unusual in disregarding the strophic structure of *Dies irae,* and composing it through as a single continuous piece. Asola's Requiem for four deep parts, and the movement in the Masses of the Dead by Porta and Anerio reverse the usual order of polyphony and Gregorian by beginning with the latter and making the even verses polyphonic.

The flat key signature is not used in sequences where the *cantus firmus* is not transposed, but used consistently where it is transposed a fourth up or a fifth down.

Renaissance Requiems almost always include a *Domine Jesu Christe* movement, probably because this was an established part of the liturgy long before polyphony appeared. Furthermore, it took time to prepare the Eucharistic Host, so that a broad polyphonic composition was practical in all High Masses, not just Requiems. The typical

items of the offertory in Renaissance Masses for the Dead provided more than adequate time for preparing the altar, as this was the longest movement, unless the sequence also appeared. However, the Requiems of Brumel and Ruffo do not contain an offertory hymn, although the motet Ruffo wrote to the offertory text, published by Castilliones in the second edition of his 1542 book of motets, may have been used. The motet does not include the final sentence of the first part of the offertory or the versicle, but that does not preclude its use in the Mass, as such omissions could easily be made up with the requisite Gregorian chant.

The form of the polyphonic offertory basically coincides with its Gregorian model: it is a movement in two parts both ending with a *repetenda: Quam olim Abrahae*. Some Requiems handle the *repetenda* as a separate unit after the main part and the versicle, but it often appears as an integral part of both offertory sections. The number of parts is often reduced for the versicle *Hostias et preces,* but the second *repetenda* will return in all cases with its original performing apparatus. Ockeghem divides the main part of the offertory into three parts instead of the usual two (after the intonation: *Rex gloriae, Sed signifer, Quam olim*) and the versicle too is changed in form: the *Hostias* text is set in two parts and *Tu suscipe pro animabus* in three, so that there is a steady return to the four parts of the *repetenda*.

It is typical mainly of late 16th-century Requiems to set the offertory in a different mode, with the main section polyphonic. If the composer treats the *repetenda* as a separate unit, the *Hostias et preces* versicle returns after the Gregorian melody (Victoria's four-part Requiem). But in many other works the return of the *repetenda Quam olim Abrahae* cannot be accomplished because it is handled as an integral, inseparable part of the main section (Victoria a 6, Brudieu, Belli a 4, Tudino, and Moro).

The intonations specified in the offertory and in its versicle show as many differences as appear in the introit. The opening chant covers the first three words in most cases. Tudino's Requiem has a shorter passage of intonation *(Domine),* but the Spanish composers use a longer *(Domine Jesu Christe Rex gloriae)*. A few works do not prescribe any opening intonation. The words *Hostias et preces tibi Domine laudis offerimus* would be heard in Gregorian chant before the offertory versicle. Amon's is the one intonation to differ from the usual extent by omitting the first two words. On occasions the intonation of the versicle is left out altogether. Most Renaissance offertories do not use a flat signature. Those that do transpose the *cantus firmus* a fourth up or a fifth down.

The last sung movement of the Mass for the Dead, except for the final sentence, *Requiescant in pace,* is the communion *Lux aeterna.* This is omitted in only five of the known 15th–16th-century Requiems. Most composers set the text in a similar way, allowing for the two-section form of the *cantus firmus,* whose two sections (as with the offertory) end in the same words, *cum sanctis tuis in aeternum, quia pius es.* The repeated section was usually scored again at the end of the movement, though the changes there were not significant ones, but some Requiems composed in the early 16th-century prescribe an exact repeat of the *cum sanctis tuis* section.

Intonation introduced both parts of the communion hymn: for the antiphon always *Lux aeterna* and for the versicle *Requiem aeternam dona eis Domine*. There were cases of unspecified intonation in the original edition, but it certainly was used in performance, most often in the tenor or treble. Non-traditional exceptions appear in the introits of some Requiems. The opening intonation is lacking in Guerrero (1566), Belli (1595), and Moro (1599), where the communion begins with polyphony. Only one communion hymn has a flat signature. That in the Lassus' four-part Mass for the Dead marks a transposition down of a fifth in the *cantus firmus.*

The communion ends the sung movements of the Mass for the Dead, except in the one example of a polyphonic concluding *Requiescant in pace* and its *Amen,* the work of Juan Esquivel de Barahona (*Requiescant:* SSAT, *Amen:* SSATB). However, many 16th-century Requiem include special movements used in the burial and never themselves part of the Mass. The only widespread addition is a polyphonic rendering of the responsory for the Absolution. In some cases parts of the Office for the Dead were placed before the polyphonic movements of the Requiem, but many other composers inserted motets whose texts formed no part of the liturgy for the dead.

The plenary Mass, set to music continually down the centuries, the Requiem, and Ordinary of the Mass, differ from each other in the Renaissance period as cycles and in their same movements. Although the parody Mass became increasingly dominant in the second half of the 16th century, somewhat sidelining the paraphrase Mass and wholly supplanting the *cantus firmus* Mass, all settings of the Mass for the Dead belong to those two groups. In the Ordinary of the Mass, the basis throughout the cycle is provided by Gregorian chant, a secular melody, a polyphonic piece, or a movement built on some composing principle (such as canon). The Requiem has different Gregorian chants appear for each movement. This is underlined by the way that all movements of the Ordinary except the Gloria and the Credo begin with Gregorian chant, yet all the movements but the Kyrie in settings of the Ordinary of the Mass are divided by liturgical melodies. The Kyrie differs least in the two kinds of Mass cycle, in terms of divisions in the movements of the Ordinary. For except in the early 16th century, when the movement was scored according to the smallest internal units of text, both genres apply a threefold division. The structure of the Requiem's Sanctus shows far greater variety than it does in the Ordinary of the Mass. Whereas all three sentences of the Agnus Dei feature in polyphony in Masses for the Dead, the Ordinary of the Mass usually has the polyphony in two sections with different texts. Rare and almost unknown in the Requiems is the habit in the High Renaissance Ordinary of the Mass of raising *(Christe eleison, Pleni sunt, Benedictus)* or lowering the number of chants (the last Agnus Dei). The Ordinary movements of the Funeral Mass, hardly lightened by imitation and basically homophone, are far more restrained than their counterparts in the Ordinary of the Mass. Motion and bolder handling of harmony are found in motet-like movements of the Proper, above all the offertory.

3. Victoria's *Officium defunctorum*

The *Officium defunctorum* of Victoria, published in Madrid in 1605, commemorated the widowed Spanish empress, who had died on 23 February 1603. On 19 March a vigil was sung for her in the abbey, for which four singers were brought from Toledo Cathedral. Diego de Urbina, governor of Madrid, issued a report stating that the vigil lasted from 2.30 to 5 p.m.[19] It describes everything conscientiously, but fails to mention Victoria's *Officium defunctorum* or even of its composer. So its first performance may have been given on a much more imposing occasion on 21–22 April, in the Jesuit Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, built in 1567.[20]

According to the *Anales de Madrid,* the Jesuit order, which the widowed empress had supported very generously, had decided beforehand to outdo all earlier efforts to honor her memory.[21] The Office was sung by Don Tomás de Borja, the newly elected archbishop of Saragossa. A Latin oration was said at the conclusion of Vespers by Fr. Luis de la Cerda. After Mass on the following day, the oration as delivered by Fr. Jerónimo de Florencia, perhaps the most famous orator of the day.

> From the moment it was decided to hold these ceremonies, the superiors of the Society ordered every father to write in accordance with his ability every kind of verse and composition in Her Majesty's praise.[22]

Victoria's intimacy with the Society began in 1565 or earlier. This was not disregarded when a man responsible for the musical services was sought in Madrid.

In a long dedication to Princess Margaret, also associated with the Order, Victoria stated that *Officium defunctorum* was composed "for the funeral of the most sublime of mothers". Here as in his 1600 dedication,[23] he often makes Classical allusions. He praises the whole House of Austria, from Charles V downward, and lauds the Princess for choosing a monastic way of life. He calls this a *Cygneam cantionem* – swan song – not his, but that of the deceased Empress. Finally he expresses hope that the mercy of diving Providence will lengthen his days, so that he can serve the Empress with better works than this. The dedication is dated 13 June 1611.

[19] Quoted by Felipe Pedrell, *Tomás Luis de Victoria Abulense: Biografía, bibliografía* (Valencia: Manuel Villar, 1918), 142.
[20] Today's San Isidoro.
[21] *León Pinelo, Anales de Madrid: reinado de Felipe III,* ed. Ricardo Martorell Téllez-Girón (Madrid: Estanislao Maestre, 1931), 62. Jesuits in Spain and the Low Countries managed to say no less than 35,000 Masses for the soul of the Empress in the eight days after her death. See: Robert Murrell Stevenson, *La música en las catedrales,* 539.
[22] Téllez-Girón (ed.), *León Pinelo,* 222.
[23] *Missae, Magnificat, Motecta, Psalmi* (Madrid, 1600). The volume is dedicated to king Philip III.

To conclude the dedication is a Latin verse of 33 hexameters by Martín Pescenio, a fellow chaplain at *Descalzas Reales,* which explains the expression *Cygneam cantionem.* The verse concludes:

> Victoria, you bewail our generous patron in so moving a sad song that Eurydice mourning Orpheus or the song of the dying swan or the sobs of Philomena spring to our mind. Continue for a long time to heap praise upon praise! Become another Timotheus of Miletus! Rise up like a swan, on wings granted by Apollo in accordance with your name, which fulfills his happy prophesy.

Victoria composed two Masses for the Dead, of which the first appeared in the 1583 volume of Masses, which included all five Masses he had published by 1576 and some hitherto unpublished works. The *Missa pro defunctis* of 1576 and the *Officium defunctorum* of 1605 share many similar features. Both set to music the same texts, from the Mass for the Dead (the introit *Requiem aeternam,* the gradual *Requiem aeturnam,* the offertory *Domine Jesu Christe,* the communion *Lux aeterna,* and the Kyrie, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei). He gives the same key signatures for each movement (one flat for the introit and Kyrie, and none for the other movements). The order of the modes of the movements is the same (Ionic for the introit, Doric for the Kyrie, Mixolydian for the Benedictus, Agnus Dei, and communion, Aeolian for the gradual and Sanctus), while the intoned sections use the same Gregorian chant for the same texts. Also the same are the cadences of the movements and major intra-movement sections, although each movement of the 1605 work ends with a full triad, the earlier work ends most sections with a closing chord without a third (the introit versicle, the Kyrie, and the first section of the Sanctus being exceptions). The two works follow the same usage of parts, as both reduce the number of parts only for the *Christe eleison* piece of text in the Kyrie, by leaving out the bass in one case and the second tenor and bass in the other.

Differences appear in the choice of movements outside the Mass. Though both contain the responsory *Libera me* and the section *Tremens factus sum ego in timeo* even has identical music, the 1583 cycle appends two responsories to the Matins for the Dead *(Peccantem me, Credo quod Redemptor),* while the 1605 work attaches only one responsory *(Versa est in luctum)* and one lesson *(Taedet animam meam)*.

As Victoria's style becomes increasingly terse in the 1592 and 1600 books of Masses, so the 1605 whole Requiem and in its movements are shorter than those of 1583. The former has a gradual of 43+35 bars, an offertory of 133, and a Sanctus of 19+17, but the latter a gradual of 23+23 bars, an offertory of 78, and a Sanctus of 17+16. In the offertory of the *Missa pro defunctis,* the versicle *Hostias et preces* gives way to the *Quam olim Abrahae repetenda* in polyphony; the *Officium defunctorum* includes neither the versicle, nor the *repetenda Quam olim Abrahae,* in polyphonic or in Gregorian guise. The 1583 work sets in parts all three Agnus Dei sections, while the later one prescribes polyphony only for the first and third sections of text.

The *cantus firmus* of both derives from the Mass for the Dead in the *Graduale Romanum,* but the 1583 cycle entrusts it to the treble (except for the first part of the Kyrie, where the bass sounds the Gregorian chant that appears in long note values) and the 1605, unusually, to the second treble (except for two sections: *Christe eleison:* tenor; offertory: alto).

Examining the melodic line of the *Officium defunctorum* reveals several unusual features. Victoria on occasions uses intervals very rare in the Palestrina style: a downward minor sixth, a major sixth in each direction, an ascending major ninth, and a descending major fourth. Octave intervals in either direction are common, sometimes joined by various other intervals: on one occasion the ascending octave is followed by a descending octave, on others by a further ascending third or a descending fourth. Only on three occasions is the upward octave followed by a downward perfect fifth, although the reverse of this – a descending octave before an ascending perfect fifth – is much commoner. Relatively frequent is a descending perfect octave combined with an ascending perfect fourth. It is worth noting that these intervals occur most often in the bass, quite frequently in the first tenor, and relatively rarely in the second tenor, alto, and first treble parts, while the second treble singing the *cantus firmus* has one only once.

One feature of Palestrina's music is to try to fill leaps in as far as possible. This draws a clear, demonstrable distinction between the ascending and descending intervals: he fills in upward leaps far more carefully than downward. Often a second leap in the opposite direction is the response to a large downward leap, whereas a large upward leap is answered most often by a downward stepping movement. Victoria's work of 1605 has frequent pairs of leaps in the same direction. A descending fifth may be followed by a third in the same direction, or more commonly a perfect fourth of fifth, resulting in an aggregate leap of a seventh, octave, or ninth. On four occasions a downward perfect fourth is followed by a downward perfect fifth. More rarely there appear consecutive upward leaps, the intervals being 1) an ascending perfect fourth, then a perfect fifth, 2) two ascending perfect fourths, or 3) an ascending perfect fifth followed by a perfect fourth.

The most frequent melodic motifs in the Requiem are composed of four quarter notes in various combinations. One of the commonest consists of four ascending quarter notes. Similar in frequency is the opposite: four descending quarter notes. Only once is there a figure with a low returning note (F–E–F–G), nine times one with a returning third (C–D–E–C), and three times one with a C sharp–B–C sharp–A. Apart from the quarter-note series, it is worth remarking on a motif of two dotted half notes, two thirty-second notes, and one half note, one a stepwise descending motif and the other a formula with a lower returning note (E–D–E–F and G–F–G–A).

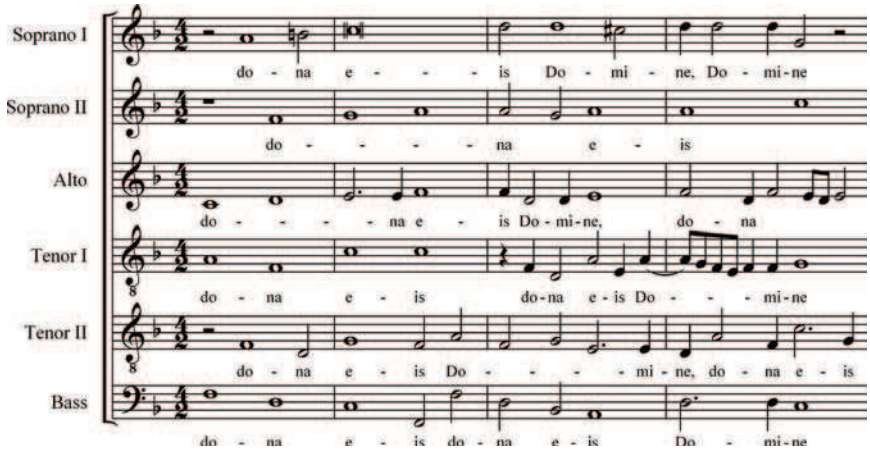
Note repetition occurs in the work in three forms: 1) *portamento,* 2) as a Landini cadence, and 3) a quarter-note figure that is also syllabification. Changing notes occur as 1) four notes with a rhythm of a dotted half note–quarter note–half note–half note, 2)

a four-note augmented form, and 3) an archaic three-note form. Cross relation appears only three times, between the notes C sharp–C and F–F sharp.

Of the non-harmonic tones, the 4–3 occurs most commonly. Less common are 7–6 (13 times in the work). A 9–8 retardation and a passing seventh occur twice, and a 6–5 and 2–1 once each, whereas a double, 6–5, 4–3 retardation comes four times, and a 9–8, 7–6 and a 9–8, 4–3 once each in the *Officium*. Of the four-note chords, all four inversions appear, usually with values of a quarter note. Chords of a seventh and a fifth/sixth appear with equal frequency, but third/fourth and seconds are far less frequent (four times and twice respectively).

The two-part form of the *Officium defunctorum* introit follows the antiphon/psalter structure of the Gregorian item. The first part is built out of three sections of an imitative nature:

1) *Dona eis Domine* (bars 1–15) performs imitation of two principal themes at once. Subject *(A)* takes the movement's Gregorian melody as its pattern, introducing melodies in this order with the following initial notes: A (C^1); Tr1 (A^1); Tr2 (F^1). Subject *(A)* with steps of a second contrasts with *(B)*, which opposes the dying third or fourth with a conspicuous fifth: T1 (A); T2 (F); T1 (F^1). The entry order by the two subjects is A (A)+*B* (T1) together, A (S1)+*B* (T2) together, and A (Tr2), *B* (T1) (Example 5).
2) *Et lux perpetua* (bars 15–21): the characteristic of the subject is that it starts with a great variety of descending intervals. The entry order of the parts, the initial notes and the descending intervals: T2 (C^1), 3; A (C^1), 3; Tr1 (A^1), 4+B (F), 3 at once; A (F^1), 3; T1 (B), 4+T2 (D^1), 3 at once; B (F), 8; A (F^1), 2.
3) *Luceat eis* (bars 21–33). The principal subject contrasts with the relative mobility of the previous by starting with almost all perfect prime intervals, from which the T2 and A parts depart in a few cases by livening the static nature of the melody with an entry second. The imitative parts in this section follow extremely close: T2 (C^1);



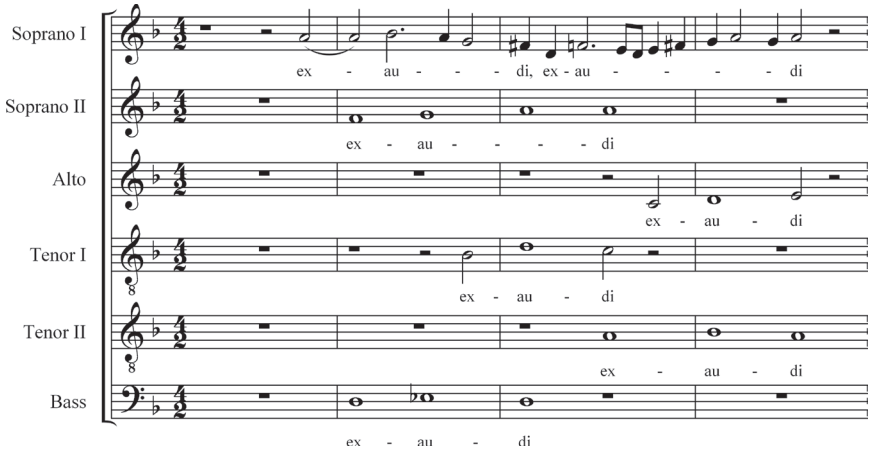
Example 5: *Officium defunctorum, Requiem aeternam* introit, bars 1–4

B (F); T1 (D[1]); S1 (F[1])+A (D[1]) at once; T1 (C[1]); B (F); A (D[1]); Tr1 (C[2]); T2 (F); A (D[1]); T1 (C[1]); T2 (F). All three sections end with an F Ionic cadence.

The second great unit of the introit, which provides a six-part setting of the psalm text, likewise divides into three sections, the basic characteristic being double-theme imitation. This part is less uniform in its scale than the previous, as the D Aeolian mode of the first two units is followed by the F Ionic mode of the third.

1) *Et tibi reddetur votum in Jerusalem* (bars 1–10). The first three syllables are homophone in structure, while the rest is present the psalm text with close entries mainly of pairs of parts: A (F[1])+T2 (F) together; Tr1 (C[2]), T1 (A)+B (F) together; Tr2 (A[1]). The three consecutive perfect primes give the main section of the subject a strong similarity to the theme of the third section.
2) *Exaudi* (bars 10–16). Victoria composed for this single word six bars of double-theme imitation. The introductory subject is a motif that ascends, then falls back (Tr1: A[1]; B: D; T1: B; T2: A). The second may originate from the Gregorian tune, with a melodic line ascending in steps (Tr2: F[1]; A: C[1]). Just as the first section has its counterpart in the main section, so this unit is akin to the first, with its introduction of double-theme imitation and a Gregorian principal subject.
3) *Orationem meam* (bars 16–27). This section can be seen thematically as a mirror image of the last. The introductory motif curls back in the opposite direction, i. e. the melody *(A)* descends and then returns (T1: D[1]; B: D; Tr1: D[2]), while the ascent is answered in this section by a rising *(B)* (A: F[1]; T2: F). The combination of the two brings about the following imitation order: A (T1); A (B); B (A); B (T2); A (Tr1).

The following movement is basically homophone. Only the *Christe eleison* section brings some variety in a reduction of the number of parts and the use of imitation based on the Gregorian principle theme: Tr1 (F[1]); A (C[1]); Tr2 (F[1]); T (F); Tr1 (D[1]); A (C[1]).

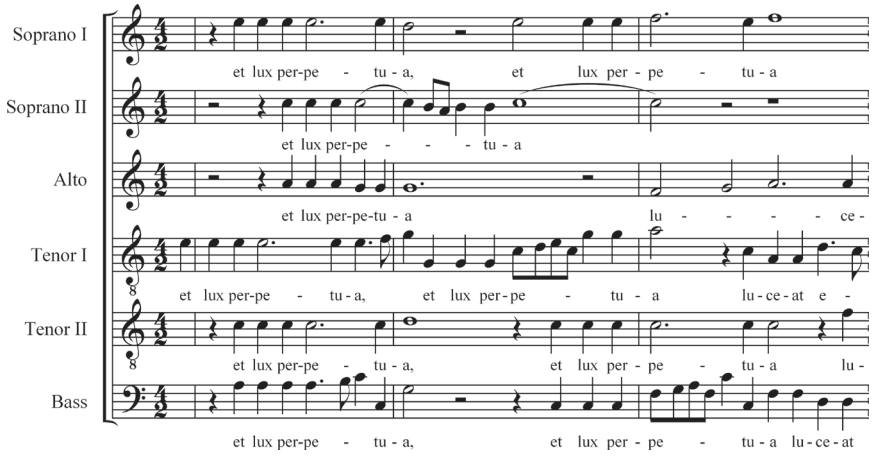


Example 6: Officium defunctorum, Requiem aeternam introit, bars 10–13

The gradual, like the introit, follows a structure of main section+versicle, and also divides into two units. The first consists of three short passages and the second of two. All the formal units are in A–Aeolian except the first passage of the versicle, which is in C–Ionian.

1) *Dona eis Domine* (bars 1–9). The subject, which drops a third and returns, again derives from a Gregorian chant. The parts join in rapidly until all appear (Tr2: C^2; T1: C^2; T1: F^1; B: F; T2: C^1; A: F^1). Only the bass alters the theme by adding a downward second to the downward third before regaining the melodic starting point.
2) *Et lux perpetua* (bars 9–12). The music to the same text in the introit appears here in a double-theme variant: the first *(A)* consists of four quarter notes with the same pitch (T1: E^1; Tr1: E^2; T2: C+B: A, together; Tr2: C^2+A: A^1 together), and the second *(B)* a refinement of the last made up of three quarter notes, four eighth notes, and one quarter note (T1: G; B: C). The imitation in these two themes takes the form of A (T1); A (Tr1+T2+B together); A (Tr2+A once); *B* (T1); A (T2)+*B* (B) together.
3) *Luceat eis* (bars 13–23). Again a double-theme passage follows. The alto and second treble sound the Gregorian chant a bar apart, starting from F^1 ; the other parts sing in imitation a subject beginning with a downward third, in which only the first treble is exceptional in consistently substituting a downward second for the third (T1: C^1; B: F; T2: F^1; T1: C^1; B: C^1; T1: D^1+T2: D^1 together; B: G; B: D).

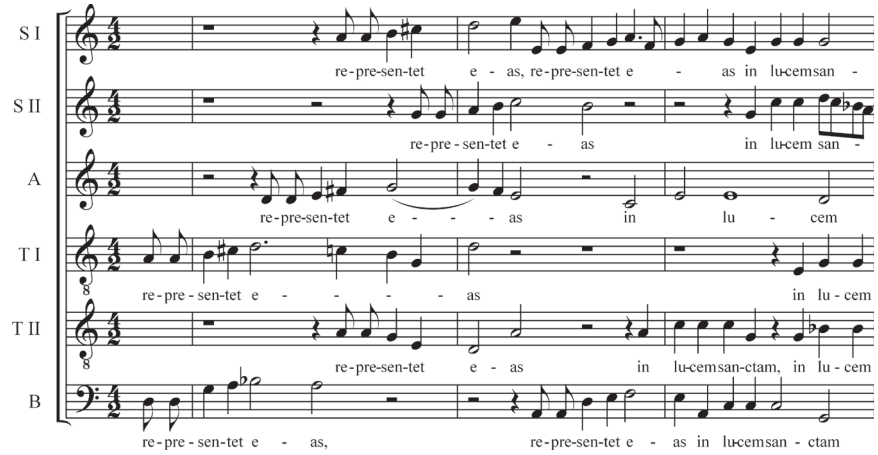
The versicle of the gradual, like that of the introit, begins with a homophonic section (*erit justus,* bars 1–9). Then it becomes livelier, and instead of imitation within a part, there is imitation between groups of parts. Bars 9–15 *(ab auditione mala)* is heard first from Tr2 (C^2); A (A^1)+T (F^1) together, then the Tr1 (F^2) parts, and then T2 (C^1), B (F^1), T1 (F^1). As with the first section to the *Luceat eis* text, there appears from bar 15 a Gregorian melody to canon-like material, accompanied by imitation from a subject moving in broader steps. But instead of the alto singing the *cantus firmus* with the sec-



Example 7: *Officium defunctorum, Requiem aeternam gradual,* bars 9–11

ond treble, this is now taken over by the first treble (Tr2: G^1; Tr1: C^2). The imitation on a theme using an upward third and a downward fourth is brought out as follows: A (C^1); T2 (C^1); B (F); T1 (F^1); B (C^1); T2 (D^1); B (G); B (D). Although there is no similarity with the third section of the main movement in the order of appearance of the parts, there is a strong one in the introductory notes.

1) *Libera animas eorum* (bars 1–8). This is a basically homophonic section with a G–Mixolydian cadence.
2) *Fidelium defunctorum de poenis inferni* (bars 8–21). This unit consists of six and eight bars, where the first part uses a theme of three notes at the same pitch for the imitation (see the introit: *luceat eis;* introit versicle: *reddetur votum;* gradual: *et lux perpetua*), while the second parts shifts this by a half or whole downward interval of a second. The order of imitation is: 1st part: Tr2 (H^1)+T1 (G) together; T2 (G)+Tr1 (C^2)+B (C) together; 2nd part: T2 (A); Tr1 (A^1); B (D); A (D^1); Tr1 (A^1); T1 (D^1); Tr2 (A^1). The scale of this unit is D–Dorian.
3) *Et de profundo lacu* (bars 21–25). This short section is also built on imitation of a theme of three notes of the same pitch (T2: A; B: D; Tr2: D^1; Tr1: A^1+A: D^1 together; T1: D+T2: F together), in a note series of F-Lydian.
4) *Libera eas de ore leonis* (bars 25–34). The first section of five bars uses free imitation to set the words *libera eas*. The theme, which begins with a downward third also appears in variations of downward and upward seconds (T2: C^1; B: F; Tr2: A^1; A: E^1; Tr1: E^1; T1: A). The theme of the second section of six bars *(de ore leonis)* rests on ascending intervals, usually fourths, but occasionally a third or an octave, and twice a fifth (Tr2: A^1; Tr1: E^1; T1: D; B: D; T2: G; A: D^1; T1: G). The scale is C–Ionian.
5) *Ne absorbeat eas tartarus ne cadant in obscurum* (bars 34–45). The principal theme here is headed by an upward second and third, or in reverse order, an upward third and second (B: C; Tr1: E^1; Tr2: C^1+T2: A together; A: C^1; T1: G; T2: F; Tr1: F^1). Victoria treats the expression *ne cadant* to dense imitation and several kinds of melodic line: 1) two consecutive descending thirds; 2) a descending second and third; 3) an ascending second and a descending third; 4) the reverse of that, i. e. a descending third and then an ascending second. The section is in the scale of D-Dorian.
6) *Sed signifer sanctus Michael representet eas in lucem sanctam* (bars 45–62). The first five bars *(sed signifer)* are composed in very dense imitation, in which no typical theme appears (Tr1: A^1+B: D together; T1: A; A: D^1+T2: D^1, together; Tr2: D^1; Tr1: G^1; T1: A; Tr2: A^1; Tr1: E^1+T2: A together). The next three bars set the name of St. Michael, naturally in imitation, for which Victoria uses a downward and a returning second (T1: E^1+B: A together; A: E^1; T2: D^1; Tr1: A^1; Tr2: G^1). The *representet eas* section is based on a stepwise ascending subject (Example 8), whose unusual feature consists of two half notes at the same pitch, both becoming separate bearers of syllables. The parts enter as T1 (A)+B (D) together; Tr1 (A^1); A (D^1); Tr1 (A^1)+T2 (A) together; Tr2 (G^1); Tr1 (E^1)+B (A) together. The last unit of the section *(in lucem sanctam)* follows the first in using free imitation, whose principal



Example 8: *Officium defunctorum, Domine Jesu Christe* offertory, bars 53–55

theme is most often an upward third or more rarely a fourth (A: C[1]; T2: A; B: A; Tr1: E[1]+Tr2: G[1] together; T1: E+T2: G together; T1: A + B: A together; Tr1: A[1]+Tr2: F[1]+T2: D together). All smaller units of the section end in D-Dorian.

7) *Quam olim Abrahae promisisti et semini ejus* (bars 62–78). This part, which acts as a *repetenda,* again splits into smaller units, with the descending intervals of the theme in the first four bars lending some unity (Tr1: F[1]+S2: A[1]+B: D together; T1: D[1]+T2: D together; A: D[1]); the second four are yet another case of a subject starting with notes of the same pitch (A: F sharp[1]+T2: A; Tr1: A[1]+B: D together; Tr2: D[2]; T1: D[1]). The notes in the closing passage are again in D-Dorian. Victoria did not compose the versicle of the offertory in polyphony; the complete edition does not include that or the Gregorian chant of the *repetenda.*

After the long, complex movement of the offertory, Victoria turns for the Sanctus to a rather simpler setting. Imitation parts appear in the bars 1–7 (*Sanctus, Sanctus,* A: A; Tr1: E[1]; T1: A; A: D[1]), but the decisive treatment is homophony, in which the note set of bars 7–17 *(Dominus Deus Sabaoth)* modulates from F-Lydian at the end of the first part to A-Aeolian, then D-Dorian in the *Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua* passage, until *Hosanna in excelsis* closes with A-Aeolian again. Also homophonic in structure is the F–Lydian first eight bars of the Benedictus, but the short imitation passage of an ascending third and second of the closing *Hosanna* is in G-Mixolydian (A: A + T2: F together; B: D; T1: A; Tr2: D[1]).

Victoria uses similarly simple methods to set the text of *Agnus Dei*. The first unit is entirely homophonic, set in D-Dorian (bars 1–7). Only at *dona eis requiem* does an imitation passage appear in G-Mixolydian with a theme of a downward fifth answered by an upward fourth appear (T2: A; B: D; T2: D[1]; T2: D[1]; B: G; T1: C[1]). The third *Agnus Dei* starts with an imitation section in F–Lydian (bars 1–8) and then divides the text

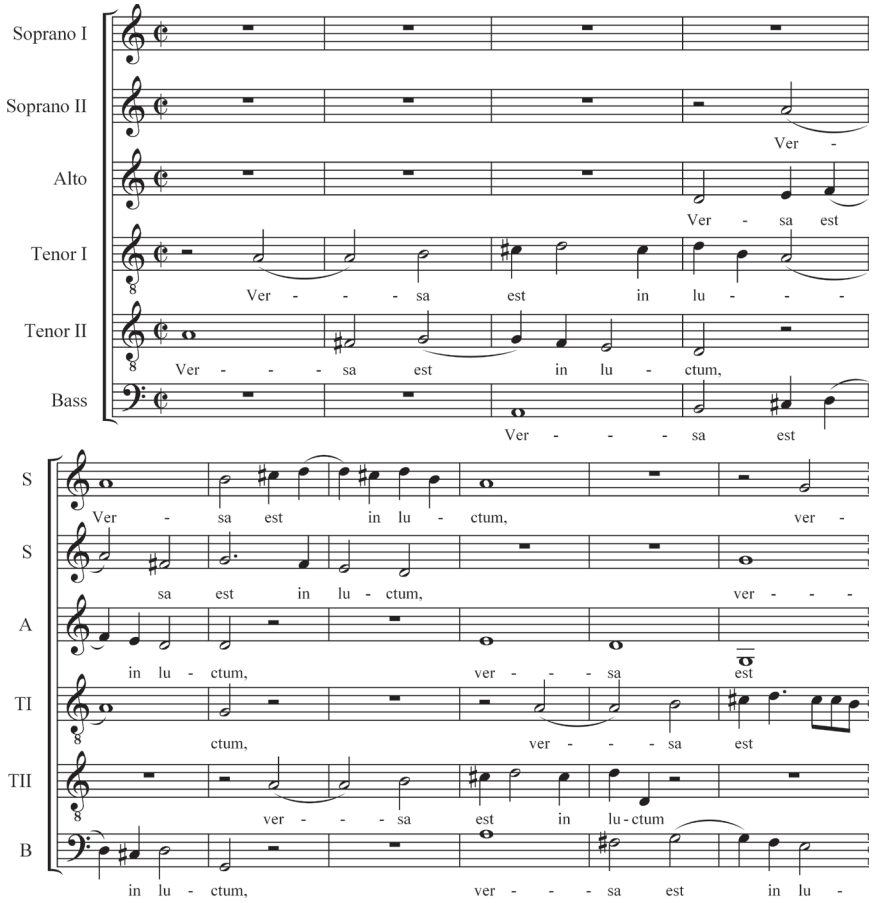
dona eis requiem sempiternam: first creating a short imitation passage from a subject with an ascending second (*dona eis requiem* T2: G; Tr1: D^1; A: G^1), and then reversing the ascending fifth, ascending fourth theme into one of a descending fourth, descending fifth and combining them to end the movement in G-Mixolydian (*sempiternam* B: D; T2: D^1; T1: D^1; A: F^1, 4↓4↑; B: F , 4↓5↑; B: C, 4↓5↑).

The communion, like the introit and gradual, is a movement in two parts, both subdivided into three. All are G-Mixolydian in key. The first part of the antiphon (*luceat eis Domine,* bars 1–7) begins with imitation to a theme of a descending second and third, in which the descending intervals turn once from a second to a third and once from a third to second (T2: D^1; B: D; Tr1: A^1; B: G; Tr1: G^1, 2↓2↓; A: D^1, 3↓3↓). The section *cum sanctis tuis in aeternum* (bars 8–17) is again one of imitation, whose principal theme is an ascending interval (second, third, fourth, fifth) answered by a descending second. The series is broken only by a descending second from the second treble and a prime from the second tenor. The order of entry of the theme, the initial notes and the intervals are: T2 (A, 2); T1 (D, 3)+B (G, 5) egy időben; Tr2 (A^1, 3); Tr1 (D^1, 5); T1 (A, 5); A (E^1, 2); T2 (A, 4); B (D, 5); T1 (A, 4); Tr1 (A^1, 4); Tr2 (A^1, 2↓); T2 (G, 1). The final passage of the main section (bars 18–28) consists of two repetitions of *quia pius* and homophonic setting of the text (bars 5+6).

The versicle begins with imitation by voice pairs (*et lux perpetua luceat eis,* 1–7. ütem: Tr1: F^1+Tr2: A^1; T2: A + B: F; Tr1: G^1, 5↓+T1: G, 2↑; B: F, 5↑+A: C^1; T1: C^1+Tr1: E^1, 1), whose feature again is an upward third (on one occasion each a second and fifth, and a prime and descending fifth). The *cum sanctis tuis in aeternum* (bars 8–17) is composed like the main section, so that the order of part entries changes slightly but the interval between the initial and ascending notes remains: T2 (A, 2) – A (D^1, 3)+B (G, 5) together; Tr2 (A^1, 3); Tr1 (D^1, 5); T1 (A, 5); A (E^1, 2); T2 (A, 4); B (D, 5); T1 (A, 4); B (D, 4); Tr1 (A^1, 4)+Tr2 (A^1, 2↓) together; T2 (G, 1). The third section, *Quia pius es* (bars 18–28), matches the equivalent main-section passage.

In forms and keys, the Motet *Versa est in luctum* is one of the most complex and varied movements in the Office for the Dead. It divides into three main units, which break down into many shorter passages and span four keys (D-Dorian, C-Ionian, F-Lydian, G-Mixolydian).

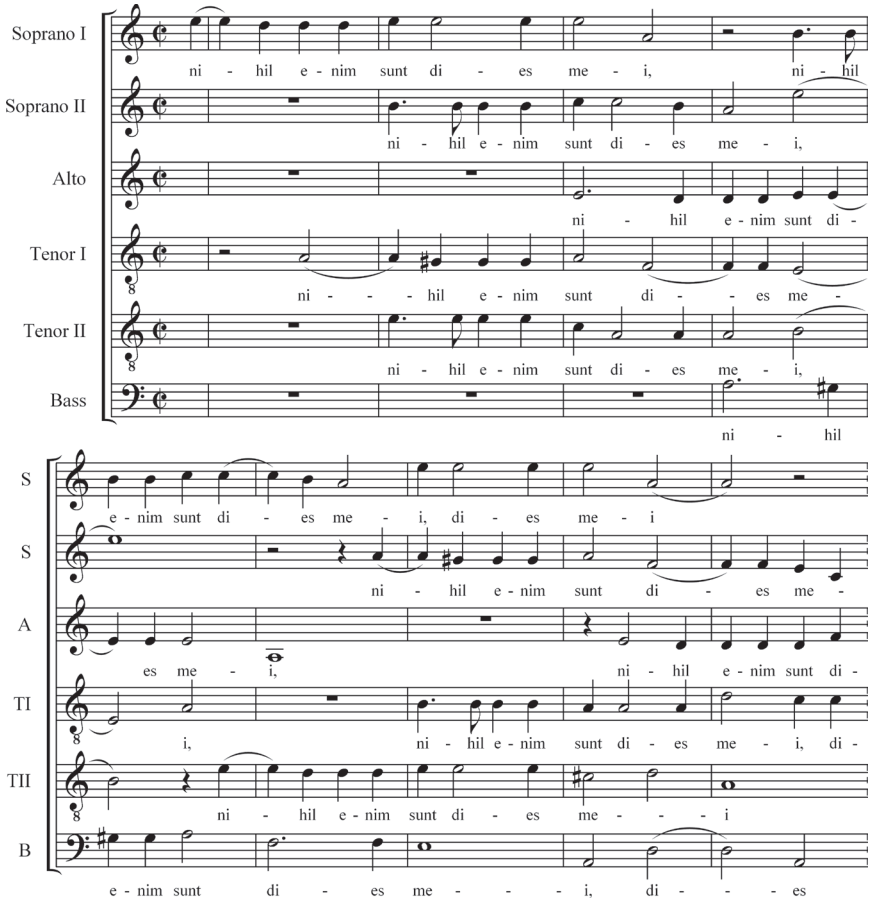
1) *Versa est in luctum* (bars 1–14). The first, D-Dorian section has three subjects and a highly complex structure. The first theme *(A)* starts with a low returning note and descends stepwise in the following part order: T2 (A); Tr2 (A^1); B (A); Tr1 (G^1). The second theme *(B)* reverses this, with an ascending melody ending with a low returning note: T1 (A); B (A); Tr1 (A^1); T2 (A); T1 (A). The third theme *(C)* has two ascending seconds and then returns stepwise to the starting point: A (A^1); Tr2 (G^1).
2) *Cithara mea et organum meum in vocem flentium* (bars 14–28). After an alternation of two groups of three parts (Tr2: A^1+S1: F sharp^1+A: D together; and T1: A + T2: F sharp+B: D together), the whole choir sings in very dense imitation a theme that



Example 9: *Officium defunctorum, Versa est in luctum,* bars 1–10

opens with dotted quarter notes and note repetitions and ends in C-Ionian (Tr2: E^1; Tr1: A^1; A: D^1+T1: D+B: D together; T2: G). The mobility of this passage contrasts with the following four bars (*et organum meum,* bars 21–24) using only three parts (Tr1, Tr2, T1), which brings homophonic music in F-Lydian. At the end of the section (*in vocem flentium,* bars 24–28) there is again a rapid succession of part entries in imitation to the expressive theme beginning with a returning note: T2 (C^1); A (F^1)+T1 (A)+B (F) together; Tr2 (A^1); T1 (G). The second main formal unit ends in G-Mixolydian.

3) *Parce mihi Domine nihil enim sunt dies mei* (bars 27–60). Victoria turns to double-them imitation again in the first, eight-bar passage *(Parce mihi Domine)*. The first theme *(A)* ascends in seconds and returns to its starting point (Tr1: A^1; A: D^1; Tr2:



Example 10: *Officium defunctorum, Versa est in luctum,* bars 35–43

D[1]; T2: A; A: A), while the second theme moves in great leaps (5↓–4↑–5↓–4↑–2↓; B: D; T2: G; T1: A; Tr1: A[1]; B: A). The two themes are heard in the following order: A (Tr1)+*B* (B) together; A (A); *B* (T2); A (Tr2); *B* (T1); A (T2); *B* (Tr1); *B* (B); A (A). The final section of the Motet returns to imitation with two related themes. The first has the rhythm half note–quarter note–quarter note–quarter note in seconds, but the principal theme itself has four notes of the same pitch. The entry order for the first theme is Tr1 (E[2]); T2 (A); A (E[1]); B (A); T2 (E[1]); Tr2 (A[1]); A (E[1]); S1 (A[1]); B (F); Tr2 (A[1]); T2 (C[1]); A (F[1])+T2 (D[1]) together; Tr1 (A[1]); S2 (G[1]); T2 (G)+B (C) together; Tr1 (E[1])+A (C[1]) together, and for the second Tr2 (H[1]), T1 (D[1]) together; Tr1 (H[1]); T1 (H). The tone series of the passage is D-Dorian throughout.

The *Libera me* Responsory has a uniform note series of D-Dorian, broken briefly by the A-Aeolian series of *Quando caeli movendi sunt et terra*. Homophonic and polyphonic passages alternate in a relatively balanced way in this movement.

1) *Libera me Domine*. The feature of this homophonic passage is the descending triad melody to *Libera*.
2) *Quando caeli movendi sunt et terra*. The first five bars *(Quando caeli),* homophonic in nature, are in A-Aeolian. The next unit is lent mobility by imitation entries (Tr1: C^2 + Tr2: E^1 + T2: A together; A: F^1 + T1 A + B: D together; T2: D).
3) *Tremens factus sum ego et timeo*. This three-part section (Tr2, A, B) rests on imitation by part pairs. The first five bars are a B–Tr2 octave canon *(Tremens factus sum ego),* followed by a canon at the unison of the alto and second treble (*dum discussio venerit* B: E; A: a; Tr2: E^1). A free fifth imitation follows *(atque ventura ira),* to which a more rhythmical counterpart than the alto part is sung. The whole of this passage is identical to the equivalent section of the 1583 *Missa pro defunctis.*
4) *Dies illa*. This four-part (Tr1, Tr2, A, T) homophonic section can be divided into three parts (*Dies illa, dies irae,* bars 1–6; *calamitatis et miseriae,* bars 6–10; *dies magna et amara valde,* bars 10–17), of which the middle reduces the structure to three parts, omitting the first treble.
5) All six parts return to sing the *Requiem aeternam* passage, in which the chordal structure of the first six bars *(Requiem aeternam)* develops into an imitation on an ascending, stepwise motif (*dona eis Domine,* bars 6–10; T1: A; B: D; T2: A; A: D^1; B: G; A: G^1), which likewise gives way to an imitation passage of livelier rhythm (*et lux perpetua,* bars 10–17; A: D^1; B: D; Tr1: F^1; Tr2: F^1 + T2: A together; Tr1: A^1 + T1: A + B: A together; Tr2: D^1).

The two *Kyrie eleison* responses and the lesson *Taedet animam meam* form an entirely homophonic piece based on alternation of chords.

Victoria's *Officium defunctorum* makes much use of the advances in Palestrina's style, but it also contributes a large amount of innovation, melodically, harmonically, and in terms of form. Performers of the work may have drawn on the instrumental potentials of the time, for the kings of Aragon, Castile and Navarre had begun by the 15th century to support bodies of instrumentalists, loud and soft, alongside their famous chapel choirs. Most Spanish composers whose polyphonic work survives were active at one of those three royal courts. Instrumentalists were also appearing in the churches, notably brass and shawm players. Indeed the 1601 statutes of the monastery of Descalzas Reales, issued by Philip III, prescribed regular use of the dulcian in daily musical performance and to accompany the choir. Both the head of the chapel and the singers examined a bassoon player before his appointment.

The most evidence of the use of musical instruments in church ceremonies comes from Seville, where the chaplain bought "a certain book of music for the shawms" in 1560. In 1572, the minstrels asked for "a volume of the masses of Master Guerrero"[24] and had a copy of the Matins *Venite* repaired. In 1580, the instrumentalists requested another book, and in 1587 bought a volume of Victoria's motets expressly for the singers, not the players, so suggesting that scores acquired were generally being passed straight to the shawm players and trombonists.[25]

What instruments were played when Victoria's work was performed? The former capital, Toledo, is known to have employed an orchestra at its cathedral in 1531. There were instruments being played at Avila, Victoria's birthplace, in 1557. So it is conceivable that players would have been hired for the Office of the Dead presented in honour of the widowed empress: the singers may have been joined by cornets, trombones, and dulcians, to accompany them and contribute to events such as processions.

(English translation by Brian McLean)

[24] Presumably the *Liber primus missarum,* which appeared in Paris in 1566.
[25] Robert Murrell Stevenson, *La música en la Catedral de Sevilla, 1478–1606: Documentos para su estudio* (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1985), 46.

Dinyés Soma

Change in the Cantata Style of Johann Sebastian Bach

This writing is an extract from the author's DLA dissertation: *A lipcsei Tamás-iskola zeneműtárának hatása J. S. Bach Lipcsében írott egyházi kantátáira (A lipcsei koráltradíció továbböröklődése Bach kantátáiban)* [The influence of the Leipzig St. Thomas School on J. S. Bach's church cantatas written in Leipzig (The inheritance of the Leipzig chorale tradition in Bach's cantatas)] defended in 2011 (research director: Katalin Komlós).

1. Chorale settings in the pre-Leipzig and Leipzig cantatas – comparison

It was Alfred Dürr[1] who first demonstrated that 24 of Bach's completed cantatas were written in an earlier phase of his creative life, primarily in Weimar. We know many of these in their later Leipzig form after Bach had performed them again, and subjected them to revisions of varying degrees. There are further movements which stylistic and paper studies suggest should also be included in this group, although we only find traces of them incorporated into the Leipzig cantatas, for example BWV 70a, 186a and 147a. Of the 153 movements of the 24 complete pre-Leipzig cantatas, 32 contain chorales. That is 20.9%, fractionally over a fifth. So on average, each cantata possesses just one chorale since cantatas generally comprise five or six movements. There is nothing surprising about this statistic since we are accustomed to Bach's cantatas concluding with a simple four-part chorale setting. But this practise is not at all characteristic of the pre-Leipzig cantatas: precisely half (12) do not finish with such a movement.[2]

There are many cantatas in which there is no chorale at all (BWV 54, 63, 150, 152, 196), or else a movement that contains a chorale setting which is not placed at the end (BWV 131, 182, 199, 71). The last movement of BWV 61 bears witness to an interesting experiment: Bach sets the final four lines of the chorale melody "Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern" [How beautifully shines the morning star] for chorus and orchestra, with the soprano voice functioning as a cantus firmus. The Weimar version of 21 almost certainly concluded with a motet-like setting of the chorale "Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten" [Whoever lets only the dear God reign] which at the end of the piece gives an appropriately emphatic, secure rest for the tormented and helpless believer who features throughout the cantata but finds solace in God. BWV 106, which was written for a funeral service, employs a remarkable number of chorale melodies, and Bach conjures a fugal theme from the last line of the final chorale, meaning that in

[1] Alfred Dürr, *Studien über die frühen Kantaten Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, [2]1977 [[1]1951]).
[2] This is well indicated by the unsettled development of the new church music genre.

practise, the last movement loses its closing chorale character. The 12 cantatas which do conclude with a simple four-part chorale setting cannot be considered schematic either since Bach often writes a fifth, instrumental voice above the chorale melody which bestows a "halo" ("Heiligenschein")[3] on the ending of the work; these are BWV 12, 31, 161, 172, 185. BWV 4, 18, 155, 161, 172 all conclude with a simple chorale; Bach performed these again in Leipzig and so it cannot be excluded that in 1723−1724 he perhaps wrote a new closing movement in place of an earlier one. Interestingly, in the case of two works, Bach did not write a final movement, but from Salomon Franck's libretto we can deduce what the missing chorale must have been in the case of BWV 132. With BWV 163, Bach wrote at the end "Chorale. Simplice stylo", but did not attach the melody.[4]

In these early cantatas, Bach treated the chorale melodies in five ways:

Simple, four-part chorale setting

Needless to say, there are more of these than any other – twelve in all – because of their close resemblance to daily congregational hymns with organ accompaniment. Those present may even have joined in.

Hidden chorale setting

This is the second most frequent variety with eleven representatives. It derives from the combination of biblical text and chorale melody, something familiar from motet style. In Bach's cantatas, this is found in arias or duets, rather than choral movements, and largely involves a Biblical text.[5] The musical material begins with us having no suspicion of the subsequent emergence of the chorale but our thoughts – similar to an association produced by a text – is finally incarnated in a chorale melody.

A very beautiful vocal example of this occurs in the Actus Tragicus, i. e. cantata BWV 106, when the bass ("vox Christi") sings "Heute, heute wirst du mit mir im Paradies sein" [Today you will be with me in Paradise], then shortly afterwards we hear the alto soloist sing the chorale: "Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin in Gottes willen" [With peace and joy I go on my way in God's will].[6]

Even greater demands are placed on our imagination with another variant of chorale settings: when a chorale melody is heard in the form of an instrumental quotation, for example in the final aria of BWV 32. The soprano soloist sings: "Letzte Stunde

[3] See Alfred Dürr, *Die Kantaten von Johann Sebastian Bach. Mit ihren Texten* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, [5]1985 [[1]1971]), Bd. 1, 311.
[4] Probably he only wrote out the harmonisation upon the now lost solo parts.
[5] There is just one exception: BWV 185/1.
[6] Further examples: BWV 131/2, 131/4, 71/2, 12/6

brich herein" [Final hour, break now forth], while in the aria, surreptitiously in violin and viola unison, we hear the chorale "Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist" [If the hour of my death is at hand].[7]

Choral cantus firmus setting

These four movements largely follow the motet tradition, being colla parte or on occasion with separately introduced orchestral voices. In BWV 4, we find both types: in the first movement the two violins have their own parts, while the two violas are only independent during the two orchestral interludes. We do not find instrumental parts in the Versus IV; if they were played in the original version, they will certainly have progressed colla parte.[8] In the case of BWV 182 and 21, the setting of the cantus firmus has an archaic character with strict colla parte parts.

Organ-like chorale setting

This type of setting is characterised by three part writing and the chorale melody surrounded by rich ornamentation and interludes. One example is in BWV 199[9] the other in BWV 4.

Experimental chorale settings combining different compositional techniques

All three examples are quite different in their own right, so we cannot describe them as representing a "type". Cantata 61[10] was written for the first Sunday of Advent, the first day of the church year and so Bach deemed a French overture appropriate to open the new year. The first two lines of the chorale are heard separately, line by line, in the slow, dotted rhythm of the first section, expanded many times (first soprano and alto, then tenor and bass, and finally tutti). Then in the triple-time section of the French overture, the third line of the chorale is introduced, which the composer sets freely in imitation mode. Following this, he incorporates the fourth line of the chorale back into the recapitulation of the dotted, slow section, creating a four-part texture.

A similar experiment combining different compositional techniques is found in the closing movement of BWV 106, which is the richest in chorales of all the early cantatas. The first line of chorale is heard following the five bar orchestral prelude in a simple

[7] Further examples: BWV 4/6, 106/2, 161/1, 172/5, 185/1 (exceptionally not a Biblical text but a poem by Salomon Franck).
[8] We know this work from material intended for a performance in Leipzig, so it is quite conceivable – and there are numerous similar examples – that Bach altered the orchestration to local requirements.
[9] Of the chorale settings for organ, this most closely resembles BWV 734 ("Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein"). The key is even the same.
[10] Which we can regard as the member of a third group (choral cantus firmus settings), too.

homophonic four-part form with further orchestral accompaniment, then the orchestra rounds off the chorale line with an ornamental closing figure. This occurs after each line of the chorale with a slightly different emphasis each time. This continues until the finale line of the chorale which Bach chooses to open up into an expansive fugue.

The third example, BWV 18, combines a Lutheran litany melody with recitative. Due to the recitativo accompagnato, Bach's music is remarkably rich in its powerful madrigal character. After each of the four texts, we hear the line belonging to the litany: the soprano soloist intones it, then the choir repeats the prayer, rather like a church congregation it. It is interesting how this movement closely resembles the cantatas of Johann Kuhnau, written roughly at the same time.[11]

Having completed this review of how Bach set chorales in his pre-Leipzig cantatas, let us now consider to what degree these same perspectives can be found in the Leipzig cantatas. And can we observe a conscious change of approach?

Of the 1061 movements from the 164 cantatas Bach wrote in Leipzig, we can identify 272 in which the chorale text is heard in its original melody and in its full length. This represents 25.6% of all the movements, i.e. fractionally over a quarter. The figures are skewed partly because of the secular cantatas that were recast with minimal reworking; in these there is either no chorale (BWV 134, 34, 173) or at most a simple four-part setting (BWV 66, 30, 184). We should also remember that the solo cantatas of later years, for reasons of genre, dispense with a chorale (BWV 35, 82, 170) or contain only a simple four-part setting (BWV 52, 55, 56, 84, 169).[12] However, when we compare it with the cantatas Bach wrote in his first two years in Leipzig, then the difference becomes very relevant.[13] Of the 639 movements from the 90 cantatas written in those first two years, 196 have movements with chorales, which is 30.7%, so almost a third. This demonstrates statistically how Bach's practises in setting chorales grew in the early Leipzig years – from a fifth of all movements to a third – which is almost certainly attributable to the intensive influence of the new environment (a few years later and this influence was nowhere near as strong.) We might consider the influence of chorale settings Bach would have found in the music library of the Thomaskirche and we would not be far wrong. But we should take into account other factors; for example in Weimar Bach was composing for the congregation of the prince's court chapel who were rather different in their demands than the social strata attending church in a commercial town like Leipzig. In Weimar, Bach primarily set the texts of the court poet, Salomon Franck, a follower of Erdmann Neumeister. Neumeister reformed the texts of the cantata genre: the combination of biblical text and chorale, which held sway in the

[11] Particularly to the fifth movement of Kuhnau's catata *Sei mir gnädig*.
[12] BWV 51 is an exception because it contains an organ-like chorale setting (although it differs in being four-voice).
[13] Among them the second chorale-cantata cycle, so each cantata sets the chorale melody in at least two different ways.

earliest phase of cantata history[14] and would play a prevalent role in the genre of the motet until the start of the 18th century, virtually disappearing in his verses. Instead we find forms taken from Italian opera: da capo arias and recitatives took centre stage. By contrast, in Leipzig, where there was a very strong tradition for chorale setting and singing, Bach had to adapt to local expectations which perhaps was not alien to his temperament and predilection for the archaic in music. Possibly through Kuhnau[15] Bach learned about the musical principals to be followed and found them in harmony with his own thoughts, although he was exceptionally susceptible to new possibilities for setting chorales. In princely courts, where they preferred to follow new fashions, Bach would never have written such old fashioned pieces. But in more than one musical genre, Bach proved he was willing to draw on the heritage of earlier forgotten composers whom he respected.[16]

I shall now examine to what degree his methods of chorale setting developed, how much they changed and were refined compared to the early pre-Leipzig years.

Simple four-part chorale settings

Naturally these are also in the majority adding up to 146 movements. There are only a bare handful where Bach has written a fifth upper voice (BWV 95/6, 136/6), also few from the group in which he supplements the four-part texture with instrumental groups: two horns, timpani (BWV 79/6, 91/6, 195/6 with timpani, 52/6, 112/5, 128/5 without timpani), three trumpets, timpani (BWV 19/7, 29/8, 41/6, 69/6, 130/6, 137/5, 149/7, 171/6, 190/7), or three recorders (BWV 175/7) or three oboes (BWV 80/8, 194/6 and 12) and sometimes the string section receives its own parts (BWV 59/3, 70/11, 97/9, 105/6).[17] We can see that a new variety of "halo" appears in just 15% of the simple four-part chorale settings, while the old "halo" that characterised the Weimar closing chorales[18] has almost entirely disappeared. In addition, certain movements from the two cantatas which evoke Weimar style (BWV 95, 136) are demonstrably derived from an early Weimar version, so we can assert that Bach totally gave up this style of composition in Leipzig; in very special cases, he uses a new type of "halo" orchestrated with far greater forces. For example, always in the conclusions to St Michael's day cantatas (BWV 19, 130, 149), frequently in closing movement to the council election

[14] Fine examples are BWV 106 and 131.
[15] They certainly met at the 1716 organ inspection in Halle.
[16] Such a work is *The Art of Fugue*. Also characteristic of Bach were 17th-century works by relatives, collected in Alt-Bachisches Archiv.
[17] Because of its unique harmonic effects, it is worth mentioning here two consecutive cantatas from the first cycle, BWV 60 and 90. In the first opens with an augmented fifth and an incredibly harmonic scheme, in the other the sudden appearance of the sixth degree of the minor scale is quite astonishing for the listener.
[18] We found it in nearly a half.

cantatas (BWV 29, 69), and also often in the new year cantatas (BWV 41, 171 190) or when he just wanted an astounding effect to illustrate a text (BWV 150).[19]
The closing chorale of BWV 105 – which from many points of view is unique – represents a transition between two different styles of setting, so I shall deal with this further below as a sixth type. Bach therefore expands the sonority of chorales not with solo instruments but with consort music that looks back to Renaissance traditions, proving that since the time of Johann Rosenmüller the Leipzig musical guilds, the Kunstgeiger and the Stadtpfeifer were constantly present in the city's church music.

Hidden chorale setting

Since the basis for this type of setting is exclusively the combination of Biblical text and chorale, it survived with only slight alteration in the Leipzig cantatas. Compared to the Weimar cantatas, these 11 movements represents a significant drop in numbers; although we find 11 examples in the Weimar cantatas, this is drawn a sample of 32 chorale based movements (34%), compared to the 272 of Leipzig (4%). When Bach utilises this type in an opening chorus (BWV 25/1, 48/1, 77/1), the original constellation of texts remains;[20] on three occasions, Bach separates them with an instrumental quotation to provoke further thought. But in none of these movements do we find a simple chorale quotation. In cantata 25, a trombone chorus[21] expounds the chorale in four voices, creating a 12-part texture from this already very dense contrapuntal movement. In BWV 48 trumpet and oboe play the chorale in a canon at the fifth, while in BWV 77, a freely-treated augmented canon is created between the slide trumpet and the bass. When Bach uses these techniques in his cantata's interior movement, there will be a different type of text: in BWV 10/5 he retains the Biblical text,[22] in BWV 137/4 and 93/4 he sets a chorale to music while in BWV 19/5 he sets paraphrase verse. The situation is no different when a chorale quotation is heard vocally: in BWV 158/2 and 159/2, free verse forms the basis of the duet. We find a quite special case in BWV

[19] It is worth mentioning the study of Andreas Glöckner in which he examines the Leipzig manuscript of a New Year cantata by Johann Friedrich Fasch. Graphological studies show that three three trombone and timpani parts were added to the closing chorale by a Leipzig hand. The work was performed in the Neukirche, conducted by Gerlach. This demonstrates how strong the Leipzig traditions were: the New Year cantata would not dispense with three trumpets and timpani, even in a church which followed more modern trends than the main church. Andreas Glöckner, "In Fine Intrada con Trombe e Tamburi", in *Bach-Jahrbuch 2002,* hrsg. von Peter Wollny (Lipcse: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2002), 201–207.
[20] In BWV 25 it is the fourth verse of Psalm 38. In BWV 48 there is an exact from Paul's letter to the Romans, in BWV 77 a sentence from the Gospel of St. Luke.
[21] Zinc and three trombones.
[22] A verse from St. Luke's Gospel is heard, from the Magnificat.

5/4 where the chorale emerges before us as a recitative style instrumental quotation.[23] Naturally this can only be a poem, an adaptation of verses 5–7 that forms the basis of the whole cantata. Bach places this special effect at the emotional turning point of the cantata, when the mood of the music changes from bitterness to consolation – this movement also forms the mirror axis of the work.[24] Finally, there is also a purely instrumental chorale setting in the first of the cantatas Bach composed in Leipzig, BWV 75, as the instrumental opening of the second part of the cantata.

In summary we can say that the 30% decline mentioned above demonstrates how this style of treatment was phased out in Bach's art. Of the 11 examples discussed above, four are from the first annual cycle, four from the second, while the remaining three are from the ensuing years, none later than 1729. This decreasing tendency is clear to see. Because the text combinations of the early cantatas could no longer be used, it is very interesting to observe how Bach tried to rescue this dying musical genre in the Leipzig cantatas – using poetry in traditionally Biblical movements[25] – but in the last 21 years of his life, he completely abandoned this style.[26] The disappearance of the hidden chorale settings in Bach's work can perhaps be attributed to a general change in musical styles in the 18th century, rather than any particular Leipzig-based factor.[27]

Choral cantus firmus settings

This is the typical opening movement of the Leipzig chorale cantatas, the most frequent variety after the simple four-part settings. Of the 57 movements of this type, only six do not belong to the annual cantata cycles. The early cantatas mentioned above are each prototypes for Leipzig chorale setting practises: the motet style, the concerto style and those employing special effects.

The motet style setting, the most representative examples of which being the fifth central movement of BWV 4, the first movements of BWV 2, 14, 38, 80 and 121, and in the second movement of cantata 28. So six instances in all. Compared to the early compositions, the principal difference is that in the Leipzig works, Bach elects to use

[23] Bach uses this and similar effects in cantata 23 where the chorale melody is in the recitativo accompagnato upper voice. This work will be discussed separately with BWV 22.

[24] Dürr, *Die Kantaten von Johann Sebastian Bach,* 487.

[25] Bach attempted another generic rescue with the publication of the six Schübler chorales in 1746. Each work is an organ transcription of a cantata movement; of these two, BWV 10/5 and 93/4 follow the discussed type.

[26] It must be said that with the performance of works, the picture is more shaded since church cantatas were not performed for a concrete celebration in the year of their composition but could be performed in following years and revived. Thus the cantata with the hidden chorale could have been heard in the 1740s, not to mention the revised Weimar cantatas.

[27] More interesting still is that Bach's last work to use this was the Credo (I.) movement of the B minor Mass in which the chorale melody is employed not for a biblical text but a liturgical one: a Gregorian intonation, the archaic intentions of which are even more obvious.

an archaic style of notation with large rhythmic values.[28] Their harmony also harks back to the previous century. The structure of these works is stricter than their Weimar prototypes; they are well worked-out and their construction containing many unconventional elements bear witness to the mature Bach.[29] The composer cannot resist the Baroque vogue for visual word-painting: he sets the text "sein grausam Rüstung" [his horrible equipment of war] with simultaneous rising and falling chromatic passages.

The opening movement of cantata 16 represents a transition to the following type, since it has both an introduction and independent instrumental parts while retaining the principals of the motet rather than the concerto. Similarly transitional is the opening movement of cantata 101 where the orchestra is given independent material, dispensing with all concerto elements as if Bach wish to write this for the singers.

The largest number of settings follow the concerto principle; we can divide them into two groups: 1) movements evoking Vivaldi's concerto works, supplied with instrumental solos; 2) movements constructed around modern concerto grosso traditions, dispensing with the instrumental solos, which are largely constructed with instrumental groupings in dialogue with each other.[30] To the first group belongs BWV 1, 7, 9, 94, 96, 99, 100,[31] 177, where the concerto character of each instrument is self-evident. In every instance, we find Bach writing soloistically for instruments in opening movements and providing a difficult, virtuosic aria accompaniment. The majority of movements belong to the second group where, rather than a few instruments being granted prominence, we find dialogue between instrumental groups. Within this type we can sub-divide them into a further two groups, based on whether the theme of the instrumental section can be derived from the chorale or not. BWV 5, 62, 73, 112, 113, 114, 117, 123, 125, 127, 128, 135, 139 (in all, 13 movements) are all chorale inspired from start to finish bottom. Sometimes in these, it is the first interval steps, or the first few notes which derive from the chorale,[32] but there are many where the chorale is totally interwoven through the orchestral section[33] or the chorale melody is heard in musical material quite independent of it, before being sung by the chorus.[34] Those movements in which the chorale melody tends to be used to create a contrast with the musical material are BWV 3, 8, 10, 26, 33, 41, 91, 92, 93, 98, 107, 111, 115, 116, 122, 124, 126, 129, 130, 133, 137, 140, 178, 180, 192 (26 movements in all). In BWV 95 we find both types in the first

[28] BWV is an exception which in many respects is more modern than is companion pieces.
[29] The melody often is not heard in the chorus but on instruments; what is more, in BWV 80 in a canon by augmentation.
[30] This basic principle derives from Venetian techniques, although for Bach Dietrich Buxtehude was the direct model.
[31] The musical material of the opening movement is identical with BWV 99. The orchestration is, however, different.
[32] For example BWV 73, 125.
[33] For example BWV 123, 135.
[34] BWV 62.

movement. Bach embeds the first chorale into independent musical material, the second – which is linked to the first with a recitative – it is heard in a canon on oboe and cornetto above the fast quaver motion of the bass.

We can see how Bach creates a regular method of chorale setting from a form which he tried out in one of his earliest cantatas (the opening chorus of BWV 4). It was impossible to use it as a template, since in every movement with the same form there remains quite unique, individual features that seem to defy all attempts at categorisation.

Organ-like chorale settings

Compared to the meagre number written in Weimar, we find numerically more in Leipzig (15) but as a percentage figure, there are fewer than before.[35] Bach gave colour to this type by varying instrumental forces and solo instruments. Most employ the familiar three-part writing: BWV 92/4, 113/2, 137/2, 140/4, 6/3, 95/2, 166/3.[36] It is interesting that Bach also wrote two-part movements in this style: BWV 44/4 and 114/4, the unique sonority of which gives food for thought. We also find four-part variants which on examination are trio sonata movements with a chorale melody attached; thus BWV 36/6, 51/4, 85/3, 86/3 and 178/4. BWV 13/3 is five-part, in which the chorale is heard accompanied by the whole orchestra and BWV 75/8 which we have discussed in another category is worth mentioning again. Its principal deviation from the fourth type, which is primarily why I have not categorised it here, is that the chorale melody is heard not in a vocal but an instrumental form.

Experimental chorale settings combining various compositional techniques

Bach's experimental spirit did not dwindle in Leipzig, indeed in the first two annual cycles of cantatas we find many movements (26) which we cannot place into any traditional scheme for chorale treatments. These are BWV 3/2, 20/1, 37/3, 60/1, 78/1, 80/2, 83/2, 92/2, 92/7, 93/2, 94/3, 94/5, 95/1, 97/1, 101/3, 101/5, 113/4, 122/4, 138/1, 178/2, 178/5, 190/1. Examples not belonging to the first two years are BWV 27/1, 36/2, 49/6, 58/1, 58/5.

Among these cantata movements are some which follow more traditional models, for example the duets of BWV 36 and 37. These two movements employ very widespread 17th-century compositional techniques.[37] There are chorale treatments combining orchestra and vocal duets as well: a BWV 60/1, 80/2, 49/6, 58/1 and 58/5. One of the vocalists sings the chorale melody with an instrumental accompaniment while the

[35] 6% of 2 works, 5% of 15.
[36] Three of these (BWV 6/3, 137/2, 140/4) were published as the Schübler chorales for organ.
[37] The precedent for the duets of BWV 36 and 37 are those found in BWV 4.

other weaves around it[38] and comments on it.[39] Most movements however are representatives of an interesting combination which fuses the recitative with the chorale. For Bach – and perhaps for the priests delivering the sermon – this may derive from the belief that the cantata should have a role in explaining the gospel, following Lutheran ideals in putting it center stage. After all, the cantata was a kind of musical sermon. This is precisely why Bach experimented in transplanting Luther's literary genre into music. The simultaneous employment of recitative and chorale resembles the explanations of the psalms that appear in Luther's notebooks, which in those days everyone read: a line from the Bible with four or five lines of explanation. The Bach equivalent was a sung chorale line which is followed by an explanation attached in the recitative. The soloist may sing the chorale melody, as in BWV 83/2, 92/2, 93/2, 94/3, 94/5, 101/3, 101/5, 113/4, 178/2, as if contemplating themselves; but we find examples of whole choirs singing, with the soloists appending the commentary, such as we witness in BWV 3/2, 27/1, 92/7, 138/1, 178/5 and 190/2.

In just two places do we again find that unique type which combines chorale with the French overture[40] (BWV 20 and 97).[41] Bach's intention with cantata 20 is the same as with its Weimar counterpart: the opening of a new era – at Weimar it was the church year, in Leipzig the start of the chorale cantata cycle. As for interpreting BWV 97, we don't have much support, since besides knowing the time of its composition (1734) we know nothing about its church purpose. Dürr assumes that Bach composed the French overture in harmony with the chorale text.[42]

The pairing with the chaconne in the opening movement of BWV 78 is a unique case; again Bach works Luther's prayer into the opening movement of cantata 190;[43] and BWV 122 is also unique where the composer expands a duet into a trio with the chorale melody expounded in the alto part.

Chorale treatment in the Leipzig manner

We must now look at chorale treatment types which would have been listed under the fifth category but because of their character and also their quantity, create a significant group in their own right. These 15 movements were composed using a compositional technique which Bach had not employed at all in his earlier creative years, and indeed

[38] For example BWV 80/1
[39] For example BWV 60/1, 58/1.
[40] As we find in BWV 61 of the pre-Leipzig cantatas.
[41] The appearance of a French overture without a chorale melody is not frequent, occurring only in opening movements of BWV 110 and 84.
[42] Dürr, *Die Kantaten,* Bd. 2, 863. "Flemings Lied, ursprünglich (mit weiteren, speziell auf diesen Anlaß weisenden Strophen), zu Beginn einer langen, gefahrvollen Reise gedichtet, hat bereits textlich den Charakter eines 'Anfangs in Gottes Namen'."
[43] The brief melody occurs twice in contrast form, independent of the chorale, in unisono chorus parts.

its prototype only appeared in Leipzig. Interestingly, after completing the first two annual cycles of cantatas, Bach largely gave up using his style of chorale treatment implying that he had exhausted its possibilities.

The common denominator of BWV 24, 46, 75, 76, 79, 100, 105, 107, 109, 129, 138, 147, 167, 186, 192 is that the chorale exclusively occurs as a closing movement.[44] The musical material expounded in the orchestral introduction[45] also supplies the musical material for the interludes as well.[46] Of those works mentioned which do not possess a prelude, we can regard the closing chorale of cantata 106 as perhaps the prototype which they resemble best of all. But the vast majority of this group introduce a paradigm shift in how the musical texture surrounding a chorale is formed, and as we shall see subsequently, Bach was largely drawing on the heritage of Kuhnau and Schelle.

BWV 22 and 23

In our examination thus far, I have purposefully omitted the two "Probestück", the two audition pieces with which Bach applied for the job of cantor at the Thomaskirche. Structurally, BWV 22 and 23 are very different to each other, although stylistically they contain common elements. An examination of the chorale treatments of the two works identifies some remarkable phenomena. We find the sixth type of chorale setting for the very first time in Bach's work, what is more in both works. In BWV 22, we are enchanted by the most simple, almost Italian outpouring of melody evoking the infinite; in cantata 23 the composer treats the Lutheran Angus Dei melody in three different ways: first in the "Leipzig mode", with relatively slow orchestral motifs reminiscent of sighs, then in a three-part canon, and finally as a cantus firmus. In these two new movements, forms appear that had never been seen before in Bach's oeuvre. It is as if Bach was hoping to find favour with the Leipzig audience by writing the final movement of his two cantatas in a style they would favour. Perhaps someone had told him in advance what this might be? We do know that Bach had friends and acquaintances in Leipzig. Or was Bach immediately influenced by what he found in the music library when he wrote chorale settings in the style of Kuhnau?

The time has now come to summarise the numbers of chorale treatments that we find in Bach's early pre-Leipzig cantatas and those he wrote in Leipzig (Table 1). There is a clear shift in the centre of gravity. Of the early cantatas, the first two types of treatment are almost entirely equal. This neatly demonstrates how the German cantata developed from the fertile soil of motet writing as well as Bach's predilection for using the favoured genres of his own time in his first ecclesiastical works.[47] It also shows that

[44] Often twice, in both closing movements of two part cantatas.
[45] If they exist. In the case of BWV 24, 46, 79, 105 they don't.
[46] In the case of BWV 75, 100, 76 and 147 they derive from the chorale, in the others they do not.
[47] The six motets he wrote in his later Leipzig years are a fitting tribute to his earlier motet work.

Table 1: Chorale treatments in Bach's early and Leipzig cantatas

	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6
Early cantatas (32)	12 (38,5%)	11 (34%)	4 (12,5%)	2 (6%)	3 (9%)	–
Leipzig cantatas (272)	146 (54%)	11 (4%)	57 (21%)	15 (5%)	26+1 (10%)	15+2 (6%)

initially the simple four-part chorale settings were not typical elements of cantatas. The tradition for simple, four- or five-voice chorale-based closing movements began with Rosenmüller. Unlike Kuhnau, Bach also nurtured this tradition in Leipzig, beginning in 1723.[48] This also explains why over half of the cantatas from Leipzig conclude in this way. With the other treatment types, there are no major differences. Perhaps only the third type in Leipzig stands out for being significantly greater in number, both in terms of other chorale setting methods and the numbers found pre-Leipzig. As I have already alluded to, this type is the characteristic opening movement of chorale cantatas which Bach composed in large quantities. This form possibly interested him because he could fuse chorales with very different musical styles and techniques: with Italian concertos, archaic motets or French overtures. Also, the influence of the stunningly meticulous chorale settings of his predecessor at the Thomaskirche, Johan Schelle, may also have contributed to this type of movement finding favour.

After this comparison of the different methods of chorale treatments in the pre-Leipzig and Leipzig Bach cantatas, we can state in summary that the biggest change is the almost complete disappearance of movements pairing Biblical text with chorale, deriving from the motet style (numerically a 30% decline). The other tangible change occurs among the simple four-part chorale treatments, a 15.5% increase which indicates the the order of movements in cantatas was consolidating. In other types we can perceive no relevant change, except for the most important of all: in Leipzig a new method for handling chorales appears. The appearance of the sixth type is interesting because there are no precedents in the Weimar cantatas, and so I shall examine them in the remainder of this essay.

2. Chorale treatments in the Leipzig style

Let us now acquaint ourselves more thoroughly with those cantata movements which I call the representatives of the Leipzig style of choral treatment types. As a first step, it makes sense to places those cantatas belonging to the sixth type into chronological

[48] Perhaps this is a conscious expression from Bach, that he took the closing chorale of BWV 27 ("Welt ade, ich bin dein Müde") directly from Rosenmüller without alteration.

order. The earliest are the two audition pieces, BWV 22 and 23, then the treatments we find in the first year of the Leipzig cantatas follows, in chronological order: BWV 75, 76, 24, 167, 147, 186, 105, 46, 138, 109; finally pieces from the second set of chorale cantatas: BWV 107, 129, 100, 192, although these, with the exception of BWV 107 all date from later. Of the third annual set, only BWV 79 has a place here.

I have already mentioned the closing movement of BWV 22 in the previous chapter. Bach, in common with the settings of Kuhnau, sets the fifth stanza of the chorale "Herr Christ, der einig Gotts Sohn" ["Lord Jesus Christ, the only Son of God], meticulously and consistently. The endless melody of the upper voice perhaps alludes to the infinite goodness of God – "Ertöt uns durch dein Güte" [Kill us with your goodness] –, although the movement is otherwise without further pictorial musical setting. As I will show below, this is the work in which Bach, probably consciously, attempted to follow the style of Kuhnau.

Of quite different construction is the cantata BWV 23, which was heard on the same day as BWV 22 on the occasion of the audition for the post of Leipzig cantor. The German version of the ancient Gregorian Agnus Dei melody, "Christe, du Lamm Gottes", which replaced the Latin version following the Reformation, also permeates the other movements of the cantata. Bach incorporates the melody into the upper voice of the recitativo accompagnato of the second movement; the first five notes of this chorale conceal the opening bass passage of the third movement which employs the chorus; finally Bach treats the material in three different ways in the last movement.[49] It is first heard encased in the free musical material, which is made quite dramatic through the rhetorical chromaticism of the two oboe motifs, creating a pleading effect, and the texture is permeated with the sigh-like pauses of the strings. The drama is reinforced by the serious G minor tonality, with the orchestral bass rising in seconds, which perhaps depicts the difficulty of bearing sins; the four-part choir is organically integrated into this. In the second part of the chorale, Bach calls for a faster tempo and changes to B major. It is a demonstration of his exceptional knowledge of counterpoint: the two oboes playing in unison follow the soprano part singing the melody throughout in a canon at the fourth. In addition, a bar and a half later, the first violin surprisingly also gives voice to the theme, a third higher (in D major!) In the third part, the musical material livens up, and Bach uses the cantus firmus chorale setting (our third type) in the chorus. The syncopations of the oboe and the downward scale passages of the bass demonstrate that as a result of the initial pleading, the world has been redeemed and mercy pours over.

[49] The explanation for the three-fold treatment is that the chorale also divides into three: "Christe, du Lamm Gottes, der du trägst die Sünd der Welt, erbarm dich unser! / Christe, du Lamm Gottes, der du trägst die Sünd der Welt, erbarm dich unser! / Christe, du Lamm Gottes, der du trägst die Sünd der Welt, gib uns dein' Frieden!"

The cantata BWV 75 was the first work Bach completed on taking up his new post and he sets the chorale "Was Gott tut, das its wohlgetan" [What God does that is done well] in the closing movement of both parts. We also find an additional orchestral setting of this chorale at the start of the second half. The celebratory treatment of the hymn begins with a four-bar orchestral introduction. The first four notes of the upper voice with the bass in imitation quotes the opening notes of the chorale, in a diminished form. Again, the characteristic of the orchestral texture is the melody in continuous semiquaver motion, although it becomes even more exciting due to the inner voices being spiced with syncopated rhythms. Bach clearly may have intended the fifth stanza of the hymn for the end of the first part, but we can only deduce that from a note written on the original manuscript.[50] It is characteristic of the inscrutability of this kind of movement type that there is no explicit indication at all which stanza was intended for the repeated chorale setting at the end of the second part. This would only have been clear from the now lost original parts, or the printed service booklet. We can see from this that the Leipzig type of chorale treatment does not aim at pictorial representation, rather it suggests a basic character, and so it is almost immaterial which strophe the choir sings.

Bach exploited the neutral nature of the text, in as much as he included this chorale setting in cantata 100, composed between 1732 and 1734, for new forces. This cantata was clearly written for a special occasion (possibly a wedding),[51] the opening movement is a re-orchestrated version of another cantata movement – augmented with two horns and a pair of timpani. To make the horns an organic part of the whole cantata which follows the *per omnes versus* principle, Bach adds additional bars in places so the second version is some seven bars longer than its model. The chorale's final verse is heard above the orchestral material which makes it even more celebratory. From this, we can deduce that in the chorale setting of the last movement of BWV 75, Bach was also thinking of the final stanza.

The construction of cantata 76 entirely agrees with the aforementioned BWV 75,[52] with the important difference that the sinfonia which opens the second half does not contain a chorale. The closing chorales of both sections are similar with identical musical material and treatment, although the employment of a new instrument not featuring in BWV 75, the tromba da tirarsi, or slide trumpet, fundamentally changes the

[50] Bach never wrote the entire text of chorales in the draft of his score, he just indicated the opening words on the soprano or bass part. As each verse begins with "Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan", these three words are of cardinal importance although for Bach it was a practical matter.

[51] How it was used by the church is unknown, this supposition is from Alfred Dürr. Dürr, *Die Kantaten,* Bd. 2, 867.

[52] See Soma Dinyés "Szöveg és zene kapcsolata Bach első lipcsei kantátaévfolyamának kórustételeiben [The relationship of text and music in the choir movements of Bach's first Leipzig cantata year]", in *Bach Tanulmányok* 8, ed. by Katalin Komlós (Budapest: Magyar Bach Társaság [Hungarian Bach Society], 2000), 29−31.

orchestral texture. The role of the slide trumpet throughout the movement is to intone the individual lines of the chorale "Es woll uns Gott genädig sein" [May God be gracious to us] before the entry of the four-part choir. The musical setting of this chorale in the Phrygian mode with its baroque major-minor world of harmony results in some interesting modulations at the end of the chorale; parts emerging from the homphonic material makes this even more exciting.

We witness here Bach the enthusiastic innovator bursting forth: the character of the orchestral material has led to a unified musical texture to this point but then breaks into three parts. The first is the slide trumpet with its intonation of the chorale melody, the second is the constant accompaniment of the string orchestra, spiced with syncopations,[53] the third is the remarkable figure in the bass: after three rising semiquavers, a descending large interval, nearly always a seventh *(saltus duriusculus)*. This exceptionally expressive rhetorical figure is a mental continuation of the previous recitative "Drum sei dir dies Gebet demütig zugeschickt" [Therefore, let this our pray'r most humbly come to thee] concluding with a colon. The reverence of the bass part expresses humility before God (Example 1).[54]

The closing chorale of BWV 24 also begins as a continuation of the previous movement, despite its F major tonality with an A major chord. Perhaps to emphasise the sense of continuity, Bach dispenses with an orchestral prelude and the choir immediately sings the first lines of the first strophe of the chorale "O Gott, du frommer Gott" [Oh God, you merciful God]. Besides the string and oboe parts, there is also a part for "Clarino" which is not in Bach's own hand and which probably indicated an F major baroque horn, which Kuhnau called the *corno grande*. The material of the orchestral interlude is entirely independent of the chorale melody, and the word *Brunnquell* found in the second line of the chorale, is exploited for its effects. Brunnequell comprises two words, "well" *(Brunne)* and "spring" *(Quelle)*.[55] It is as though all the orchestral interlude is imitating the subtly undulating waters issuing from the spring while the horn pedal radiates an exceptionally relaxed sense of contemplation and the consolation found in God.[56]

The continuous semiquaver motion of the upper orchestral parts of the BWV 167/5, its melody independent of chorale and the joyous triple-time pulse, inadvertently re-

[53] Their musical material is quite identical during the trumpet and chorus.

[54] We find similar pictorial depictions in one of Bach 1720 organ piece BWV 637, in the Orgelbüchlein ("Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt") where the pedal makes frequent downward leaps in diminished sevenths symbolising Adam's fall from grace.

[55] The English translation of the second line is: "O Thou, source of every grace".

[56] The depiction of water is not rare in Bach's work. In my opinion, the opening chorus of the *St John Passion* begins with the waves of the Kidron stream; settings of the chorale "Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam" always feature trickling water (BWV 7/1, 684); the secular cantata "Schleicht, spielende Wellen" (BWV 206) features allegorical appearances by the four great rivers of Saxony, the Vistula, Elba, Danube and Pleiße.

calls the closing chorale of Kuhnau's Christmas cantata, *Uns ist ein Kind geboren*. Even the voice-leading of the bass in bars 7 and 21 fills an identical role (Examples 1−2). If this music is nonetheless more "Bachian", it is due to the musical texture being never less than four-part; Bach does not insert the lines of the chorale "Nun lob, mein Seel, den Herren" [Now praise, my soul, the Lord] individually into the musical texture, but in the interests of musical continuity, tends to use them two at a time; the rhythmic ornamentations of what, in principal, are homophonic choir parts makes the choir material itself polyphonic, alongside the dynamic orchestral parts. The movement otherwise is devoid of more profound musical associations. The slide trumpet is not allotted a solo role and simply reinforces the chorus sopranos.

The well known chorale setting of BWV 147 is heard at the end of both parts of this two-part cantata. The sixth and sixteenth stanzas of the chorale beginning "Jesu, meiner Seelen Wonne" [Jesus, delight of my soul] are virtually identical; this may have suggested to Bach to put Baroque pictorial musical depiction to one side and give the work over to all-embracing musical effects. He makes the double-time melody into a triple pulse, which was a well established method of the time for expressing general joy. But Bach makes a very conscious choice with the time signature: $\frac{9}{8}$ time has since the Middle Ages been the symbol for divine perfection, the so-called *tempus perfectum,* since all three beats of the bar are subdivided into a further three, thus getting closer to the divine perfection of the Holy Trinity. This outlook fits the first line of the stanza beautifully, since finding any divine figure results in heavenly happiness: "Wohl mir, daß ich Jesum habe" [Good that Jesus is with me], and "Jesus bleibet meine Freude" [Jesus remains my friend]. The chorale lines are incorporated individually into the orchestral material, during the introductory eight bars of which the upper voice plays the first two chorale lines in an ornamented but nonetheless distinct manner. The slide trumpet again is allotted the role of reinforcing the chorus sopranos, but in the sixth chorale line, playing in its natural overtone of C major – this time with a brighter timbre –, it makes a miraculous contribution to the unfolding of the line of the soprano's chorale melody.[57]

The orchestral pedal heard after the final chorale line and the G major tonality both are in agreement with Alfred Dürr's suggestion of a pastoral basic tone[58] – this is a well established musical expression of the concept of Jesus as good shepherd even if there is no explicit mention of this in the cantata text.

BWV 186 is another two-part cantata, although Bach wrote most of its movements while in Weimar. Naturally the chorale setting that closes both parts is clearly a new composition. The four-bar orchestral introduction is based on the Baroque musical

[57] It should be noted that the most important section of text is placed there: "und sich mir zu eigen gibet": "and Jesus gives himself to me".
[58] Dürr, *Die Kantaten,* Bd. 2, 748.

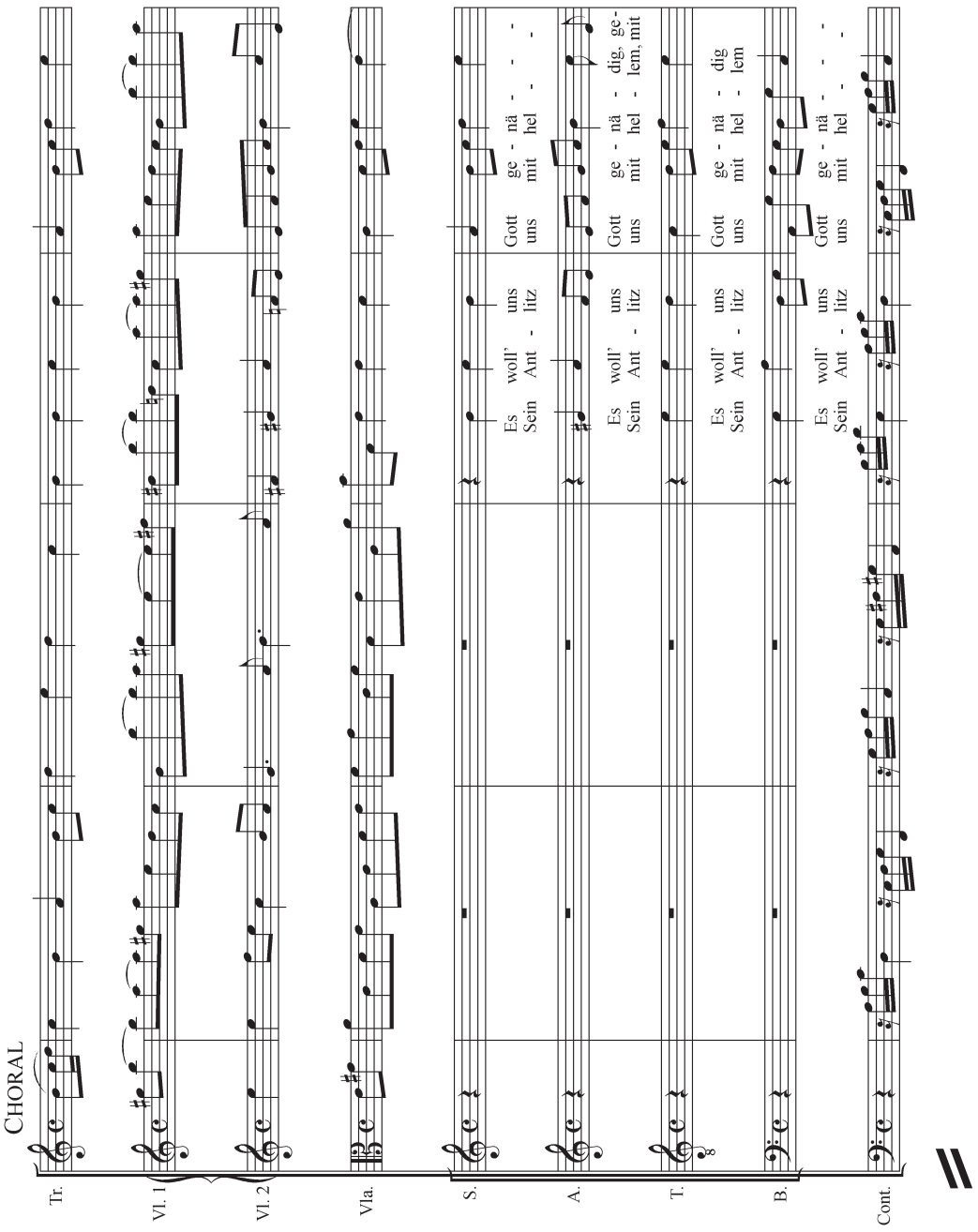
practise of dialogue between instrumental groups. The half-bar dialogue between oboes and strings and then their unification in unison presages the basic tone of the twelfth strophe of the chorale "Es ist das Heil uns kommen her" [Salvation has now come for all]: the dialogue between God and man requires constant self-denial on the part of man. This struggle is characterised by the entries of the lower three voices of the chorus, always delayed and diminished to half values compared to the chorale melody sung by in the soprano part. Moreover, in place of the homophonic construction, permeated by the expected rhythmic ornamentations – apart from the first chorale line – we hear a polyphonic texture every two notes. The storminess of the chorale setting is increased by the semiquaver runs (sometimes mixed with demisemiquavers) up and down the strings following a quaver rest expressing the word *grauen* [abhor]. Thus a more dramatic musical texture is created, thanks to the musical material of the orchestra which is independent of the chorale and the suggestive imitations of the chorus. By using these effects, Bach is able to disguise the absence of pictorial description in the music.

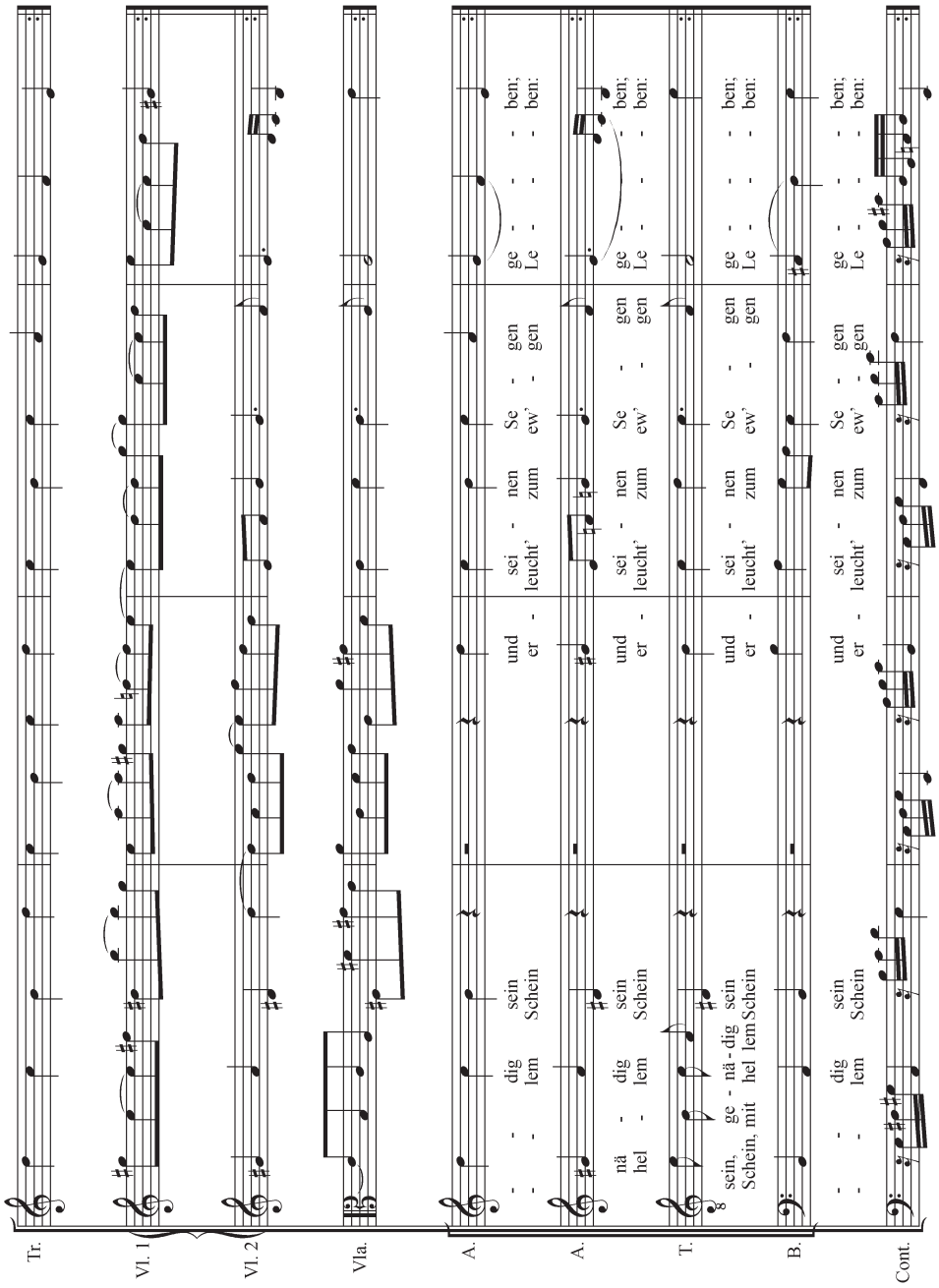
With BWV 136, the series of two-part cantatas comes to a close: in the annual cantata cycles, we now only find occasional Sundays when two cantatas, or a two-part cantata is heard.[59] It is interesting that at the same time, the constant use of the Leipzig type of chorale treatment that closes cantatas also ceases. From the start of the annual cycle, apart from BWV 21 and 185[60] every cantata finished with this type. The closing chorale of BWV 136 is composed in the style associated with Bach's Weimar period: the simple four-part chorale setting is paired with an obligato violin solo. Perhaps the composer felt that the treatment style of his earlier period better suited the material created in Weimar.

BWV 105 is the first of the one-part newly composed cantatas, and has a miraculously meticulous structure and unified subject matter. However it is not at all in the same festive style or length as the cantatas in the six weeks preceding it. The eleventh verse of the chorale melody "Jesu, der du meine Seele" as the closing gesture of the work receives a quite unique accompaniment. Of course, we must find the reason for this in the text and the first chorale line supplies the answer: "Nun, ich weiß, du wirst mir stillen / mein Gewissen, das mich plagt" [Now I know You will quieten my tortured conscience]. The wind instruments (slide trumpet, two oboes) probably reinforced the chorus, because Bach employs effects in the orchestral material that are so idiomatic for string instruments that it would be inconceivable that he would have used the wind

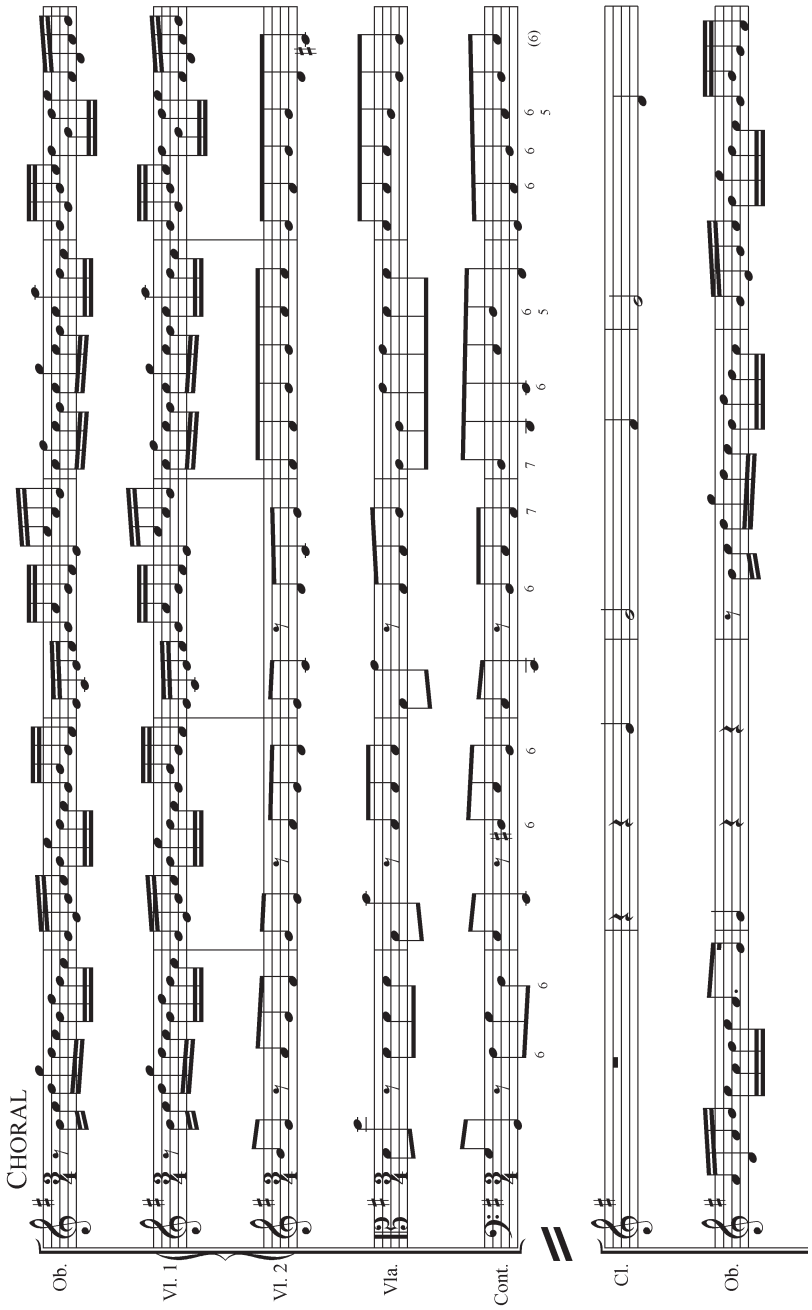
[59] Similar exceptions are BWV 179 and 199 (11th Sunday after Trinity); BWV 70 (26th Sunday after Trinity); BWV 181 and 18 (Sexagesima Sunday); BWV 22 and 23 (Quinquagesima Sunday), and BWV 31 and 4 (Easter Monday). Only BWV 179 is a new composition.

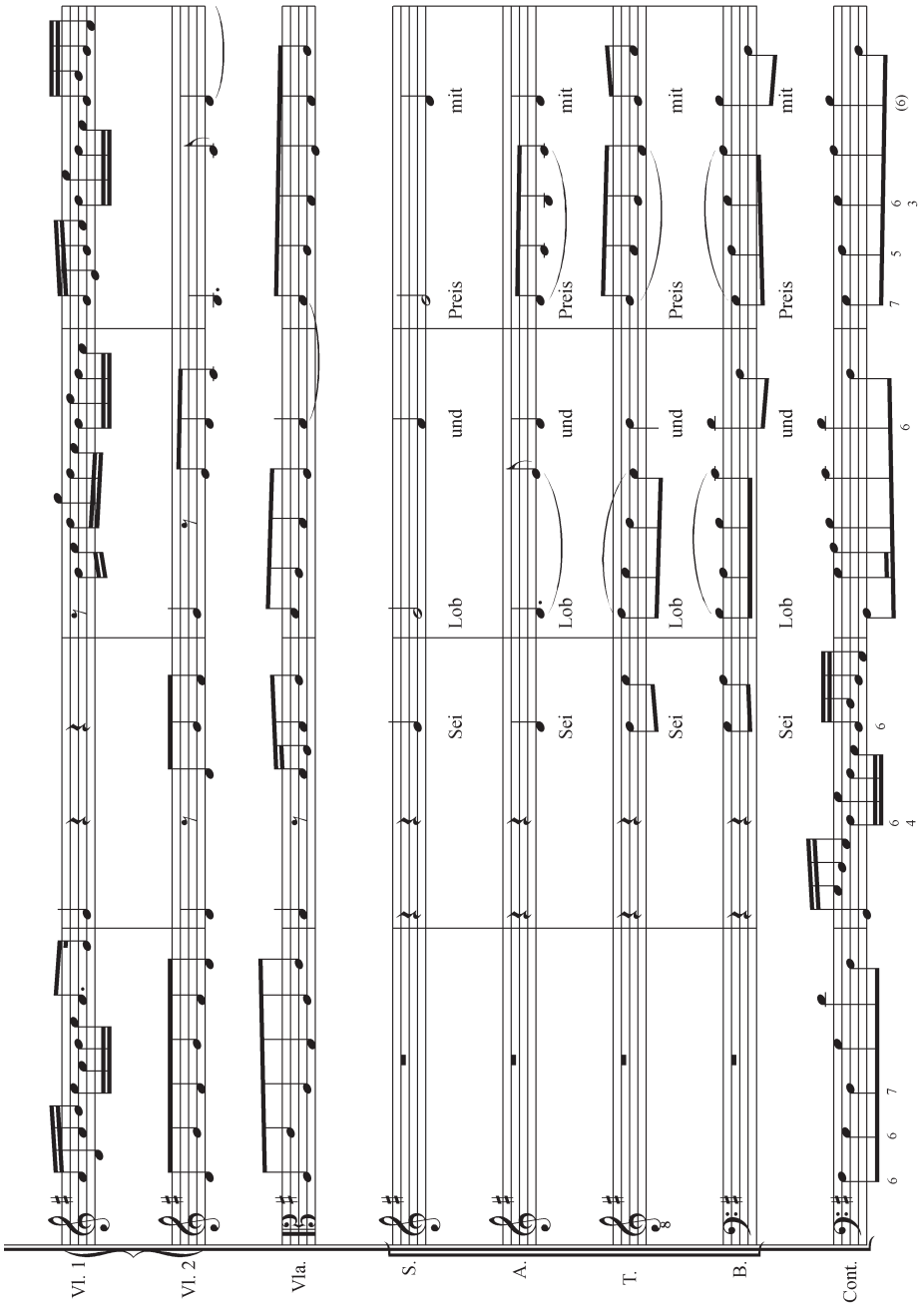
[60] Both are revivals of earlier compositions.


CHORAL
Tr.
Vl. 1
Vl. 2
Vla.
S.
A.
T.
B.
Cont.
Es woll' uns Gott ge - nä - - - -
Sein Ant - litz uns mit hel - - -
Es woll' uns Gott ge - nä - dig, ge-
Sein Ant - litz uns mit hel - lem, mit
Es woll' uns Gott ge - nä - dig
Sein Ant - litz uns mit hel - lem
Es woll' uns Gott ge - nä - - - -
Sein Ant - litz uns mit hel - - -

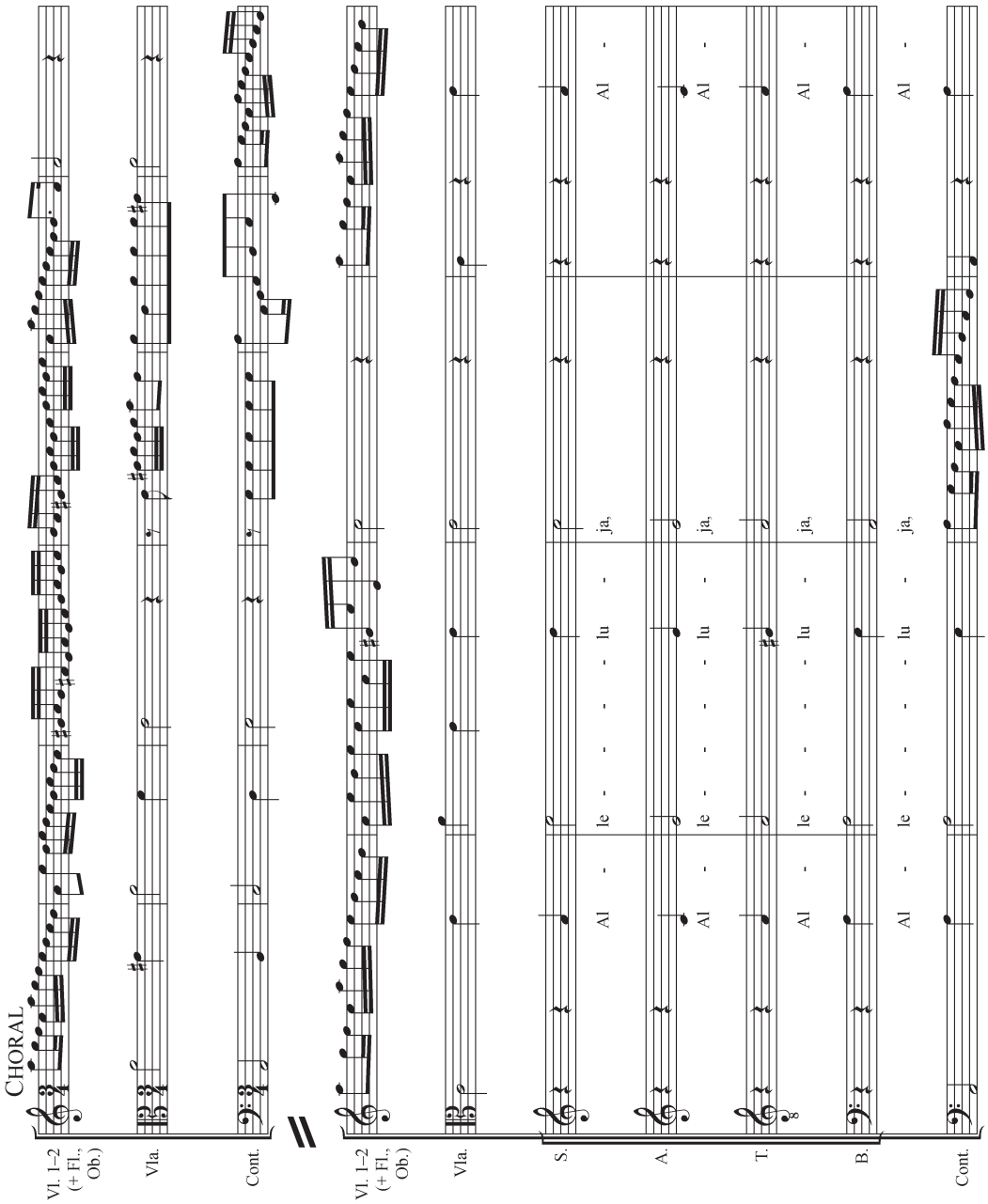


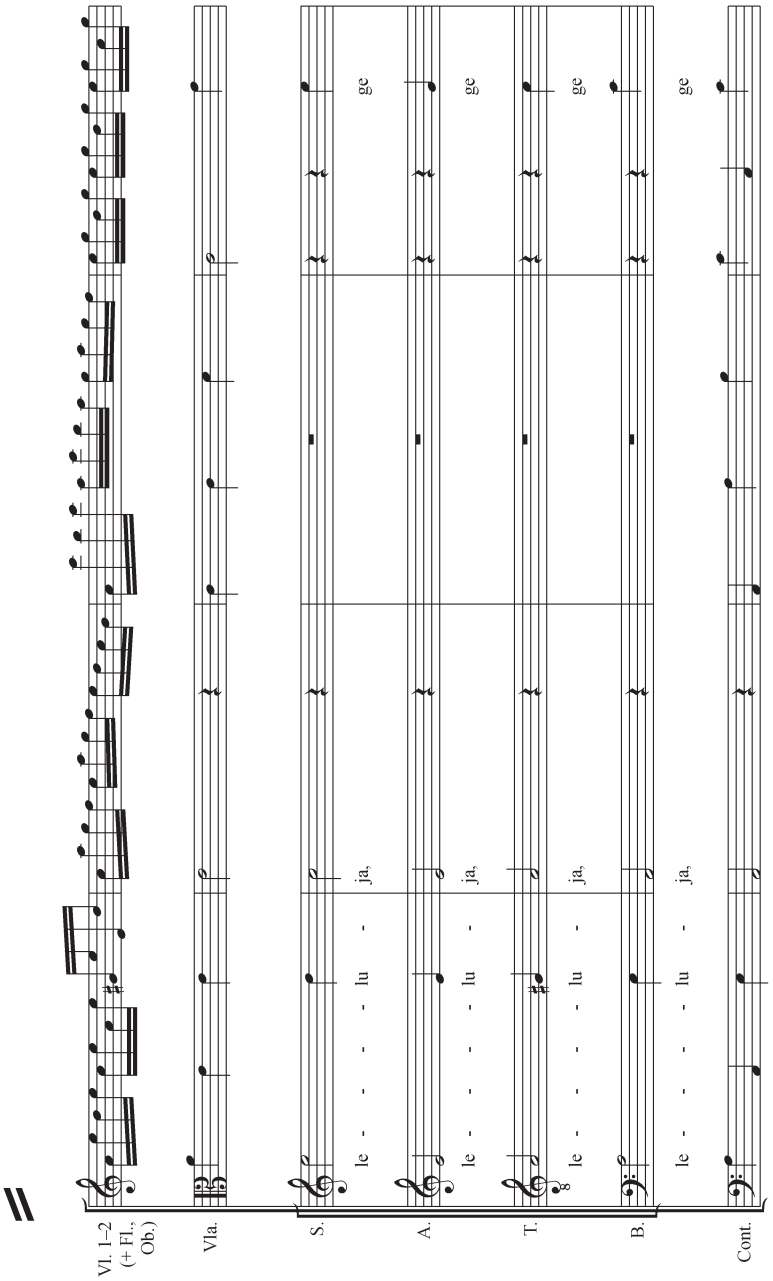
Example 1: BWV 76, No. 14. Choral, bars 1–8.


CHORAL
Ob.
Vl. 1
Vl. 2
Vla.
Cont.
Cl.
Ob.



Example 2: BWV 167, No. 5. Choral, bars 1–9


CHORAL
Vl. 1–2 (+ Fl., Ob.)
Vla.
Cont.
Vl. 1–2 (+ Fl., Ob.)
Vla.
S.
A.
T.
B.
Cont.
Al - le - - - - - lu - ja,
Al - le - - - - - lu - ja,
Al - le - - - - - lu - ja,
Al - le - - - - - lu - ja,
Al -
Al -
Al -
Al -



Example 3: Kuhnau, *Uns ist ein Kind geboren*, No. 8. Choral, bars 1–14

instruments to double them.[61] There is no prelude, the orchestral launches the movement with the choir and a string vibrato which is also used in other places in the cantata, using not quaver motion but semiquavers that create an exceptionally exciting effect. This is used in the first aria of the work to express trembling from fear due to a bad conscience and the first two lines of the chorale quoted above carry the same meaning. The orchestra interludes are exceptionally short; one cannot really call three chords an interlude, even though they are varied rhythmically each time, so really they are effectively the resonance of the chorale. The semiquaver string vibrato accompaniment to chorale lines 3−4 becomes a triplet, then with verses 5−6 a quaver and with 7−8 a triplet again, while in the postlude, quarter and half notes prepare the final note of the work. The continuous slowing of the rhythmic values obviously depicts conscience resting in faith. Bach again subordinates the whole of the chorale setting to a single effect, guided by a fantastic idea, and to a word (*stillen* – quieten) which succeeds so well that the music does indeed become a pictorial portrayal.

BWV 46, for the following Sunday, is an exceptional masterpiece, but to understand the closing chorale, we have to follow the musical figures from the very start of the cantata. The opening movement is the German treatment of the well known Latin responsory, *O vos omnes, qui trasitis per viam.* Bach uses exceptionally dramatic chords, rhythms and forms to express the pain.[62] The second movement is an unusually richly orchestrated recitativo accompagnato in which besides the strings, two recorders are allotted the task of depicting the most important musical effects. The text laments for the destroyed Jerusalem, blaming its former inhabitants for not paying attention to Jesus's tears, so now the "sea waves of emotion"[63] are going to destroy the sinners. There is no shortage of astounding chord sequences in this movement but perhaps its most interesting musical feature is that Bach depicts the water motif in three places with the constant use of small motifs from the recorders. In the first moment, it is the "vessel of tears", then "the tears of Jesus" and finally, incrementally, the "waves of emotion" [des Eifers Wasserwogen].[64] The movement is followed by a bass aria with its exceptionally visual depiction of the storm, something unique in Bach's oeuvre. The treacherously difficult semiquaver runs from the sliding trumpet, the constantly returning string tremolos and the chromatic bass figures dramatically portray the storm which God has unleashed on the sinners. The second aria forms a contrast with the first, its unusual orchestration is due to the lines of the text: "er sammlet sie als seine Schafe,

[61] The original parts are sadly lost, Bach did not always write the precise scoring on his manuscripts because he supervised the copyists. So it is not always obvious which part belongs to which instrument.

[62] For more, see Dinyés, "Szöveg és zene kapcsolata", 34−35.

[63] Dürr, *Die Kantaten,* Bd. 2, 534.

[64] In these cantatas the fantastically dramatic recitativo accompagnato type evolved which was used to comment on events in the *St Matthew Passion* to unparalleled effect.

als seine Küchlein liebreich ein" [He gathers them as his sheep, gathers them most lovingly as his chicks].

The music of this movement which dispenses with the basso continuo strives for the most natural form of word painting. Besides the pastoral mood given clearly by the woodwind, a unison of oboes da caccia substitutes the bass instruments to chirrup with the two recorders while depicting the poultry. For us, it might seem perhaps ridiculous and vulgar to find such everyday details in a church cantata but it was part of the daily lives of the people of its time and Bach's objective was always to make the work's meaning as understandable as possible through music. With this in mind, we can understand the meaning of the recorder figures heard between the lines of the closing chorale. There is no prelude here either, the "quietening" between the lines of the chorale is played by two recorders, with criss-crossing semiquaver passages. Lines 5−6 of the ninth stanza of the chorale "O großer Gott von Macht" [O great God of power] supplies the answer: "so sieh doch an die Wunden sein / sein Marter, Angst und schwere Pein" [Then look to his wounds, his suffering, anguish and great pain]. Following the dramatic and naturalistic musical depiction of this cantata, we have to think that the flute figurations depict the blood from Christ's wounds, bubbling like water from a spring.[65] The phrygian chorale closes with a plea: "uns nicht nach Sünden lohne" [do not reward us according to our sins] and partly because of the difficulties of harmonising the major-minor system of modal melodies and partly for greater expression of the text, the end of the movement remains open on the fifth degree, as if we are waiting for a divine response. Bach makes this even more expressive by the chorus holding its last note for two bars so the recorders can return and play the "blood of Jesus" motifs again, as if reinforcing the message; perhaps suggesting "have mercy because you redeemed us with the blood of your son".

In the next four cantatas of the annual cycle, the chorale plays either a negligible role or appears simply as a closing chorale in a simple four-part setting[66] or else the first movement contains such an artistic treatment of the chorale that by the end, there is no need for a further, ornamented chorale.[67]

BWV 138 also concludes with a Leipzig chorale setting. In the classical sense, it belongs to the chorale cantata group because its highly intricate opening movement expanded with many recitatives contains the same chorale as the closing movement; the companion accompanying aria and recitative by contrast does not link to the text of the hymn "Warum betrübst du dich, mein Herz" [Why are you afflicted, my heart?] The mood of despair of the first movement is not truly resolved in the final movement, the slightly depressive final word of the third stanza of the chorale: "auf Erden

[65] Perhaps worth noting that water is also present here, because when Jesus died it was noted that blood and water were pouring from his wounds.
[66] BWV 179, 69a.
[67] BWV 77, 25.

weiß ich keinen Trost" [on earth I know no consolation] makes its presence felt in the music. The independent musical material, as with BWV 186, is constructed around a dialogue between oboes and strings, but this time the strings respond to the pleading motif of the oboes (Example 4) with angry demisemiquaver runs. The B minor tonality, the orchestral interludes and the material of the chorus is counterpointed by continuous violin passages, while the orchestral chord clashing with the closing chord of the chorus maintains throughout the movement's self-lacerating tension, its sense of grappling with God.

In the next few Sunday cantatas, Bach probably consciously selected the character of his works. In certain works, there is no role for chorale melodies at all,[68] except for a simple closing one, in others the opening movement opens with a brilliant treatment of a theme, sometimes there being several chorales used.[69]

BWV 109 brings the set of Leipzig chorale setting types from the first annual cycle to a close. It celebrates the Holy Trinity on the 21st Sunday. This is surprising because Bach still had two-thirds of his cantatas to write, in all 42. Considering that on the first 20 Sundays of the Leipzig period[70] the congregation would have heard this sixth type of chorale setting on ten occasions, the statistics seem to imply a drastic turning away from it. This last work also reflects an uncertain spiritual state, wavering between doubts, and its mood perhaps most clearly resembles the previous one, BWV 138. Before the final chorale, the entire cantata is largely based around an allegorical dialogue between Fear ("Die Furcht") and Hope ("die Hoffnung").[71] This is obvious in the very first recitativo, the text of which – although sung by only a single soloist – is written in dialogue form. The ensuing tenor aria is the proclamation of despair, while the second alto aria is that of hope. The closing chorale reflects this duality as well, the character of which Bach probably based on lines 4–6 of the seventh stanza of the chorale "Durch Adams Fall" [Through Adam's fall]: "Ob ihm gleich geht zuhanden / viel Unfalls hie, hab ich doch nie / den Menschen sehen fallen" [Even if something occurs he that seems like misfortune, I have not seen anyone fall]. The material of the orchestra in the eleven-bar prelude and the lengthy, sometimes six-to-eight-bar interludes is independent of the chorale The chorus does not join it with simple homophonic material but increases the tension of the work through entries that are delayed and follow diminished values compared to the chorale melody. Bach sets the A dorian melody in D minor, and so the hymn ends on the fifth degree of the scale. Interestingly, Bach re-

[68] BWV 148, 162.
[69] BWV 95, 48.
[70] It is 20 and not 21 because for reasons unknown there was no cantata performance on the eighteenth Sunday after Trinity (or we have no proof that there was).
[71] We find a similar construction in BWV 60 and 134.

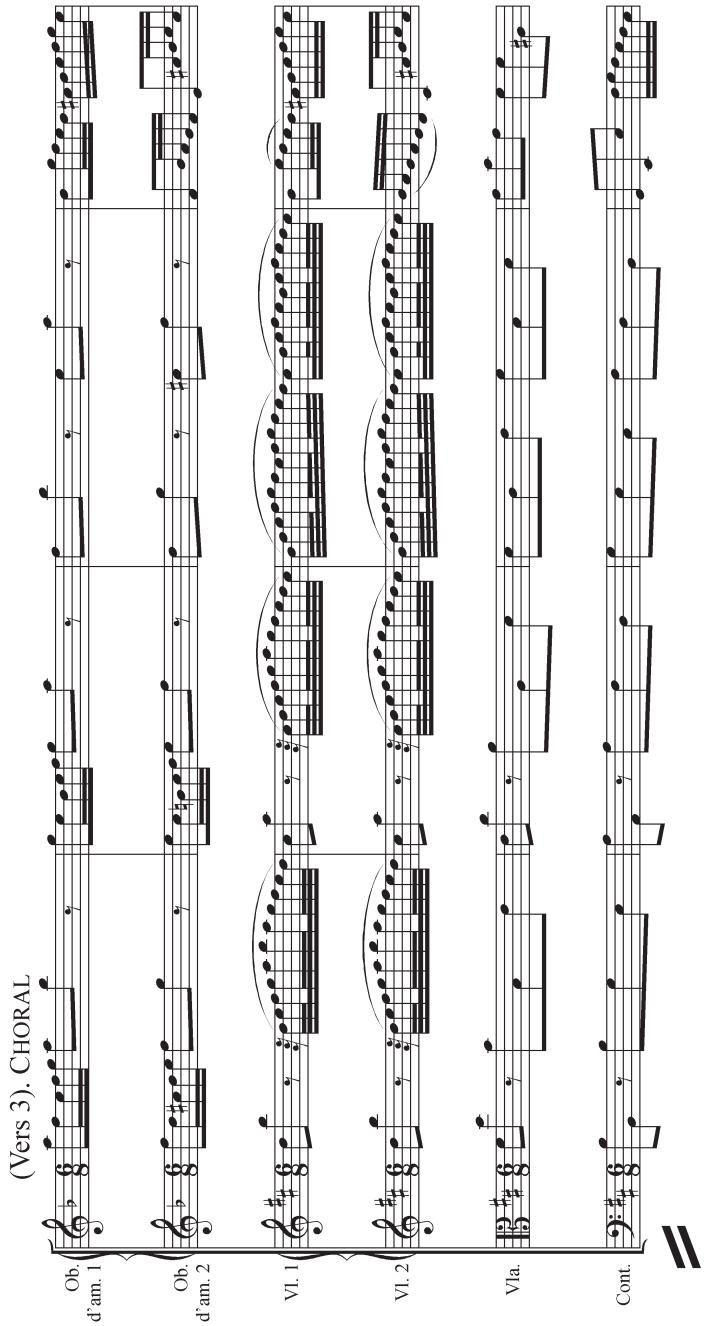
tains the closing note in the orchestra postlude, creating a "bitonality" evoking restlessness between the opening D minor of the work and the closing A major.[72]

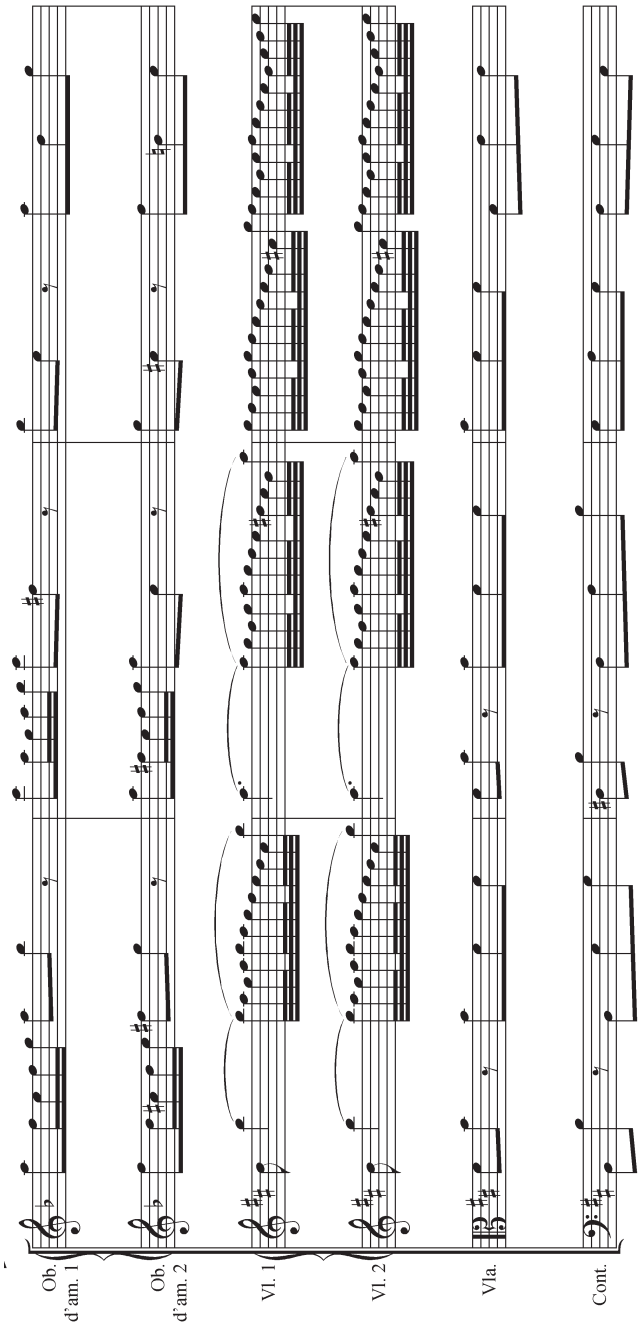
In Bach's second annual cantata cycle, we find only occasional examples of the chorale treatment types so popular in the first set. The first of these is the closing chorale of BWV 107. This chorale cantata is made special because the text – unlike other chorale cantatas written at this time – does not contain verse paraphrases but follows throughout the original text of the chorale, so we would regard it as a *per omnes versus* composition, if the internal recitatives and arias were not musically independent of the chorale melody. The setting is based on the seventh stanza of the chorale "Was willst du dich betrüben" [Why do you want to distress yourself] and the words offer little possibility for Baroque word painting. Like the majority of contemporary closing strophes, this is also a free rewriting of a little doxology, so by its nature, has a generally joyous character. With this in mind, Bach changes the original $\frac{4}{4}$ tempo to $\frac{6}{8}$ giving the movement the pulse of a siciliano.[73] Following the eight-bar orchestral introduction, the entire hymn is sung with a homophonic texture, two or three lines at a time.

BWV 129 is also a cantata in which the *per omnes versus* principle is manifest but again only in the text, not the music. Bach wrote this piece a few years after the chorale cantata cycle and subsequently inserted it into the annual series. Of all the Leipzig type chorale settings, this one, based on the last stanza of the chorale "Gelobet sei der Herr" [Praise be the Lord] (sung to the melody of "O Gott, du frommer Gott") is granted the largest performing apparatus: three trumpets, timpani, transverse flute, two oboes, strings and choir. The large apparatus and the leading role for trumpets imbues the movement with a festive sonority, both in the six-bar prelude and in the interludes. The orchestral material is quite independent of the chorale melody, which the choir signs two lines at a time in the most simple homophonic texture, buried in the orchestral material. This movement is the prototype for some of the closing chorales from the cantatas of the *Christmas Oratorio* (BWV 248/I, II and VI) which would be written ten years later, and the ornamental closing chorale of the *Ascension Oratorio* (BWV 11)[74]

I have dealt with BWV 100 above, and from the second annual cycle, only BWV 192 remains. This was also written much later, around 1729, but its ecclesiastical function is similarly unknown. The hymn "Nun danket alle Gott" [Now all thank God] has only three strophes, and for this reason this *per omnes versus* work comprises of just three movements. The two choral movements in which the whole of the chorale is heard,[75] frames a soprano–bass duet, the vocal themes of which can be derived from the first two lines of the chorale, so musically, this work can really be categorised as being

[72] This cannot be regarded as a half cadence because the last three bars of the work are clearly in A minor, so the A major can only be understood as a picardy third.
[73] Dürr, *Die Kantaten,* Bd. 2, 503.
[74] Dürr, *Die Kantaten,* Bd. 1, 430.
[75] In the first movement in a cantus firmus setting.


(Vers 3). CHORAL
Ob. d'am. 1
Ob. d'am. 2
Vl. 1
Vl. 2
Vla.
Cont.



Example 4: BWV 138, No. 7. Choral, bars 1–7

of the *per omnes versus* type. Its final movement is the most expansive representative of the Leipzig chorale settings, partly because the hymn itself is lengthy (eight lines), and also because the orchestra prelude has no fewer than eight bars. The $\frac{12}{8}$ tempo creates an undulating pulse that gives the musical material an exceptional lightness and French elegance. It is rather like hearing the final gigue movement of an orchestral suite.[76] It differs from every other work of the Leipzig choral type because besides the chorale melody sung by the soprano, the orchestral themes are taken up in all voices of the choir. This creates an interesting effect, as though the musical material is constant, heard first in orchestra, then the choir, but much more rarely at the same time.

We have now reached the only relevant work from the third annual cantata cycle, BWV 79, which for a number of reasons, is separate from the rest. First, it is not the closing movement but its third[77] and because the musical material given to the two horns agrees with motifs already heard in the first movement. At the suggestion of the text[78] Bach creates the musical effects of battle thanks to the direct association with the word "shield", calling for two horns[79] and depicts it with the nimble semiquaver movement of the second theme of the movement, which has the structure of a double fugue. This effect is assumed by the horn soloists in the third movement, even though the first stanza of the chorale "Nun danket alle Gott" does not justify it. The other instruments reinforce the simple entirely homophonic choral parts. The individual features of chorale setting distinguishes this cantata from any of those discussed above. Instead it resembles the first type of "Heiligenschein", although it does not really belong there due to its lengthy interludes. Like BWV 129, this movement tends to resemble the closing chorales of BWV 248/I, II, IV and VI.

3. The development of the Leipzig chorale tradition before Bach

Let us now take a brief look at the evolution of chorale setting in 17th-century Leipzig. The first composer to be mentioned is Sebastian Knüpfer who following the Thirty Years War rebuilt Leipzig's musical life from scratch and created the foundations for a new church music tradition. Besides the motet and imitation techniques found throughout German speaking territory, we find in his works a novel manner of treatment in which the orchestral accompanying parts, the two upper – usually first and second

[76] Even its motifs link it to the gigue movement of BWV 1068.
[77] Dürr suggests the possibility that the cantata could have been in two parts and this movement would have ended the first half, although there is no indication of this in the score. *Die Kantaten,* Bd. 2, 787.
[78] "Gott der Herr ist Sonn und Schild" [God is our sun and shield].
[79] As in the opening movement of BWV 40.

violin – surround in small values the chorale melody composed in four or five parts and in places even rounds it off. We can observe this technique for example in the closing choir of Knüpfer's *Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist* [When my hour is up] (Example 5).

This style of setting was actively pursued by Johann Rosenmüller whose reputation, until his exile, was musically on a par with Knüpfer in Leipzig and he may have been his successor.

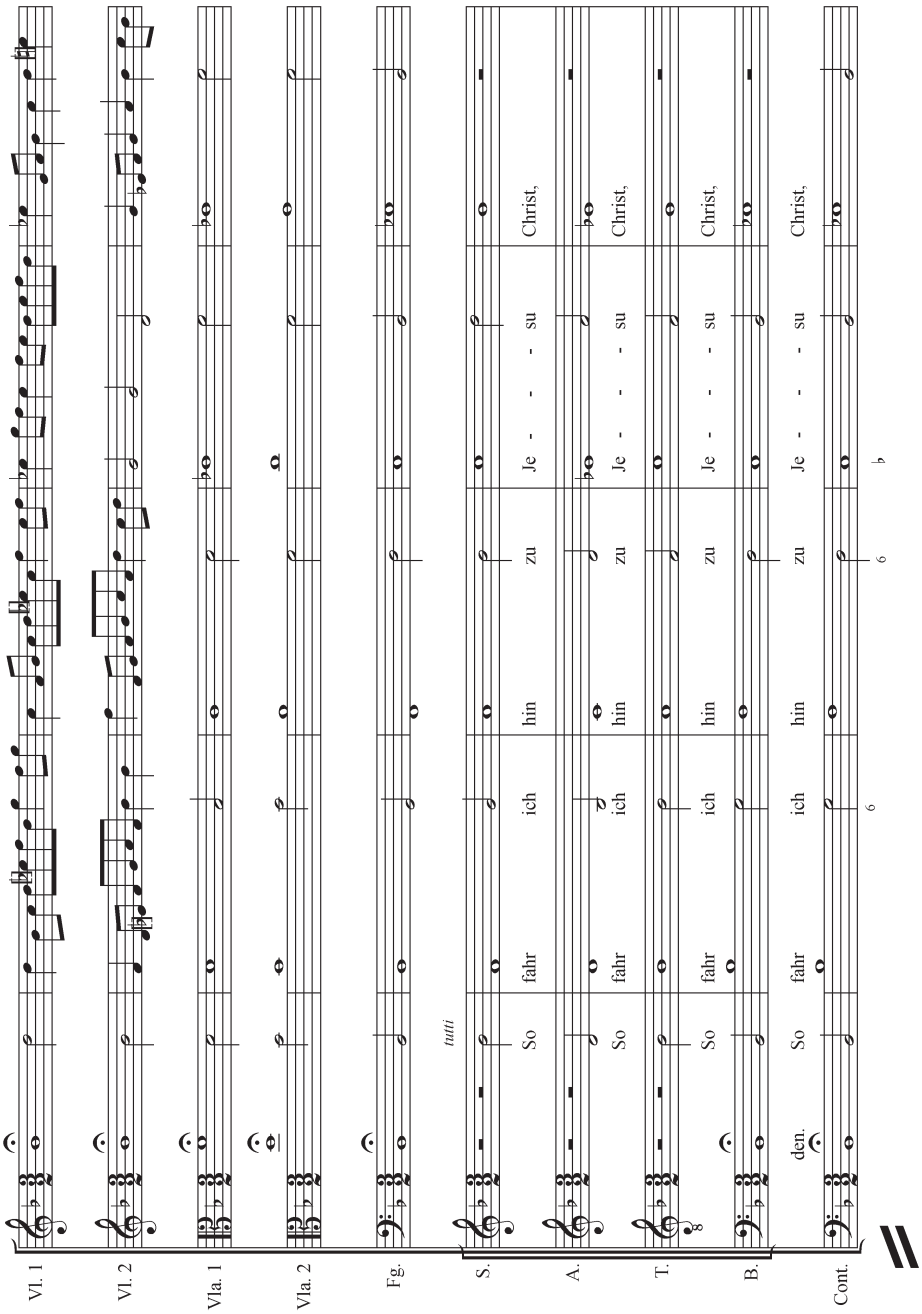
Johann Schelle, who was his composition student and subsequent Thomaskirche cantor, may have adopted his compositional techniques at first hand. He expanded the chorale setting methods learned from his teacher,[80] the new style of paraphrasing the chorale went through a serious development in his hands. We find one of the most sophisticated examples of this in his cantata *Christus, der ist mein Leben;* another example is the commencement of his cantata *Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schar*. In both works, the chorale melody harmonised in simple four parts is heard in an orchestral paraphrase. In the first the choir sings the chorale to a nebulous figure created by four violins crossing one another almost every semiquaver, without any break in each line (Example 6). This resembles the most the basic type of Knüpfer setting but in expression and orchestration, goes way beyond it. In the other example, the orchestra begins with an "angelic wing flutter" motif, at a length of a bar and a half before the entry of the chorale melody (Example 7). We hear bar and half long interludes between the lines of the chorale, until finally a four-bar postlude concludes the movement.[81] The richness of orchestration and the increased role of the orchestra are all Schelle's invention, a further developed version of Knüpfer's type.

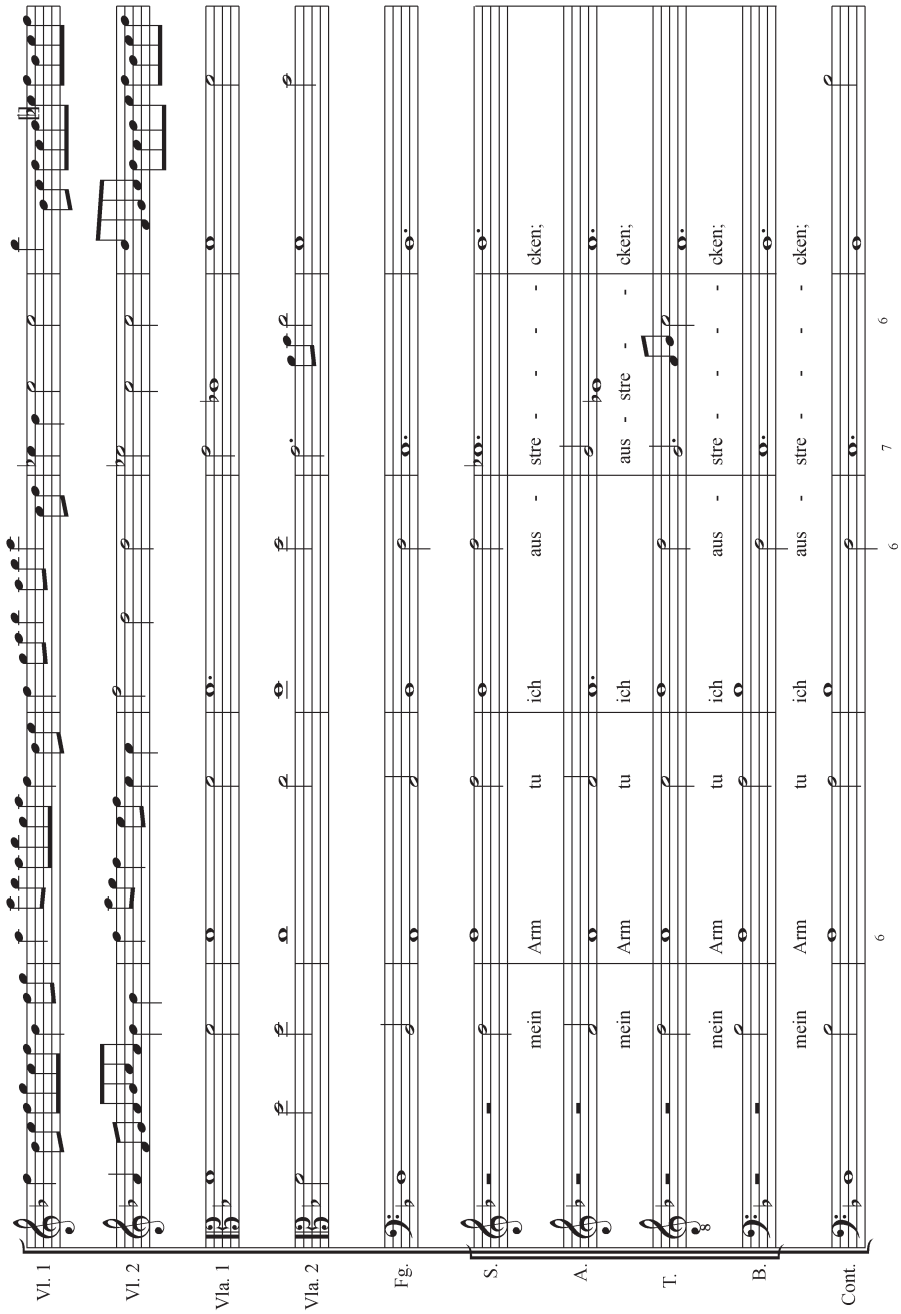
Interestingly, it is this type of movement which Kuhnau also favoured and was the aspect of Schelle's art that he most drew upon. So much so that in the musical fashion of the 18th century that was turning away from chorale, this type of setting virtually squeezed out every other in Kuhnau's church music. In his work, we really only find the rejuvenated variant of the imitation chorale type and when it is paired with an orchestral paraphrase.[82] In the former type, instruments take over the role of the choral parts to a degree, giving the setting a more modern feel; in other respects it follows Schelle's example almost unchanged. Pairing chorale with orchestral paraphrase is a characteristic feature of Kuhnau's artistry; he took this movement type and moulded it according to his own inclination for following following new trends and integrated it into this own compositions which strove towards the galant style.

[80] Like Bach we can identify six different types.

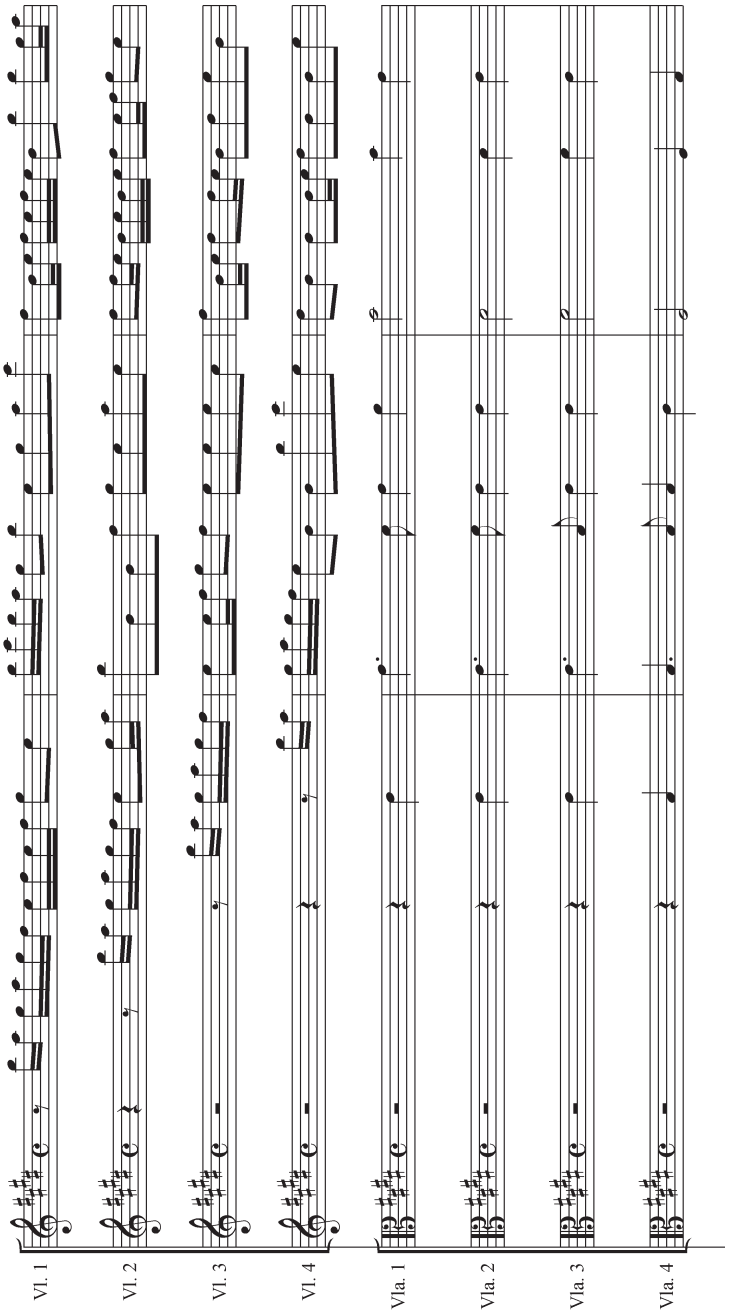
[81] Schelle's oeuvre is so unstudied and there are so few works commonly available that we have to suppose that we could find similar movements in manuscript or are lost as the ones we do have. So we cannot analyse his chorale settings in the way we can Bach's.

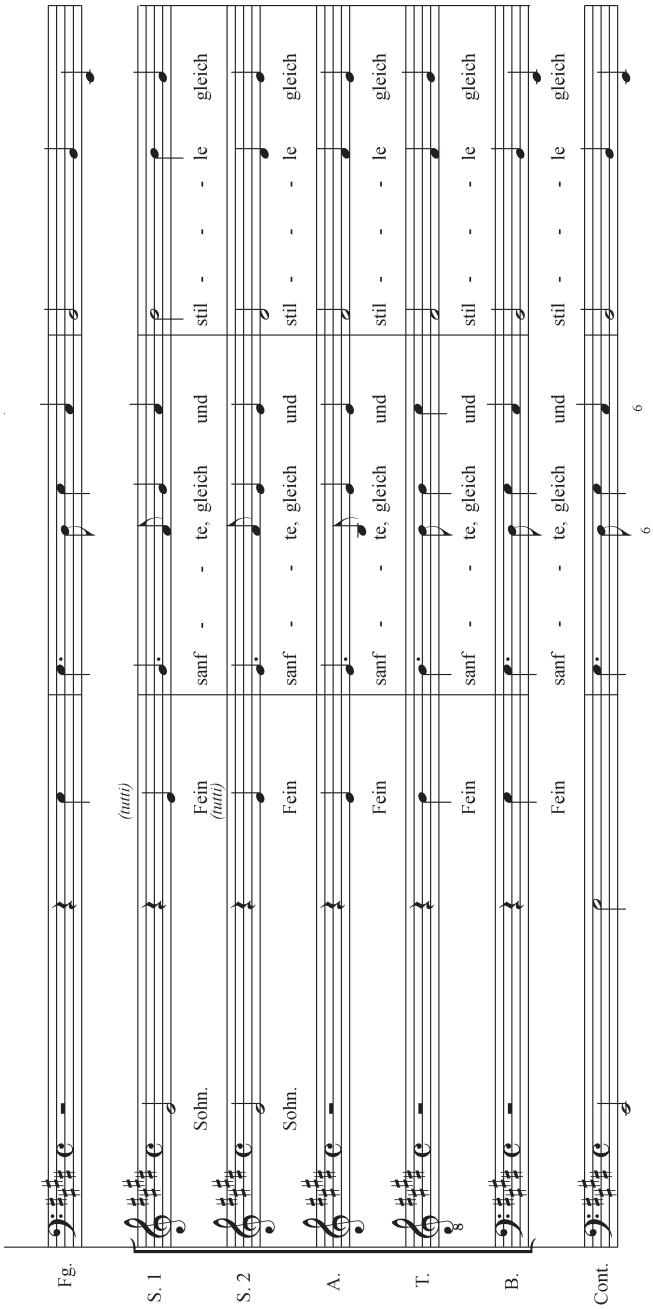
[82] For example in the opening movement of the cantata *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern*.


Vl. 1
Vl. 2
Vla. 1
Vla. 2
Fg.
S.
A.
T.
B.
Cont.
tutti
den. So fahr ich hin zu Je - - - su Christ,
So fahr ich hin zu Je - - - su Christ,
So fahr ich hin zu Je - - - su Christ,
den. So fahr ich hin zu Je - - - su Christ,
6
6

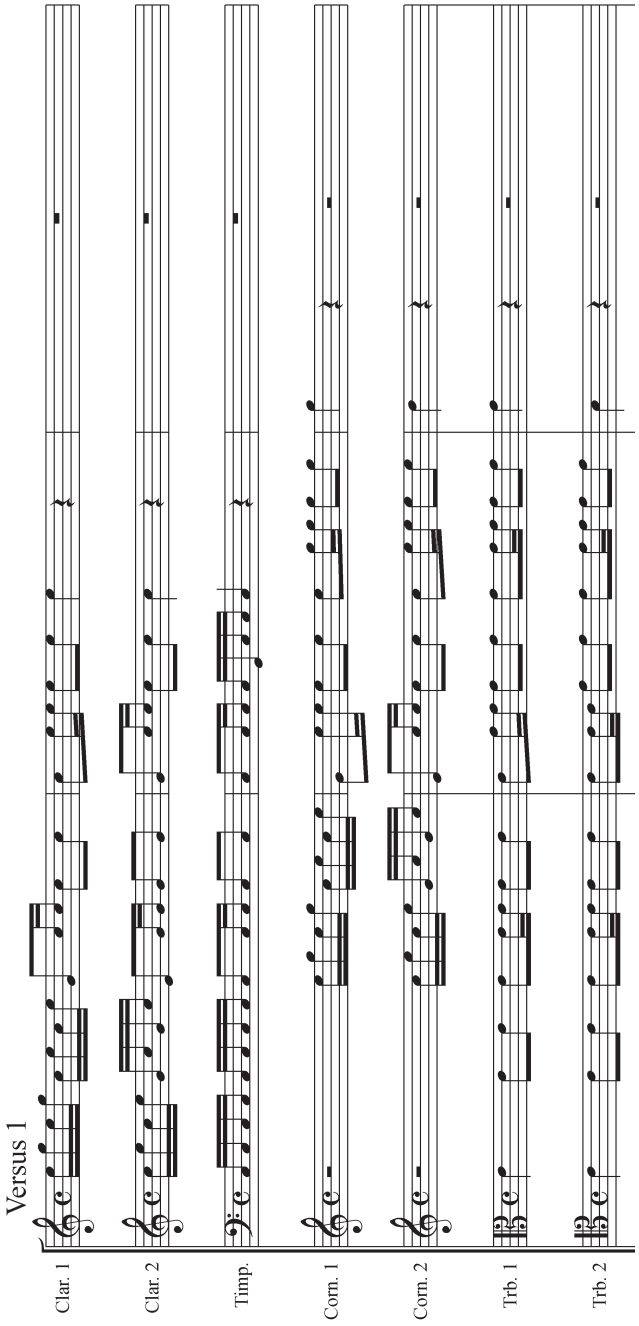


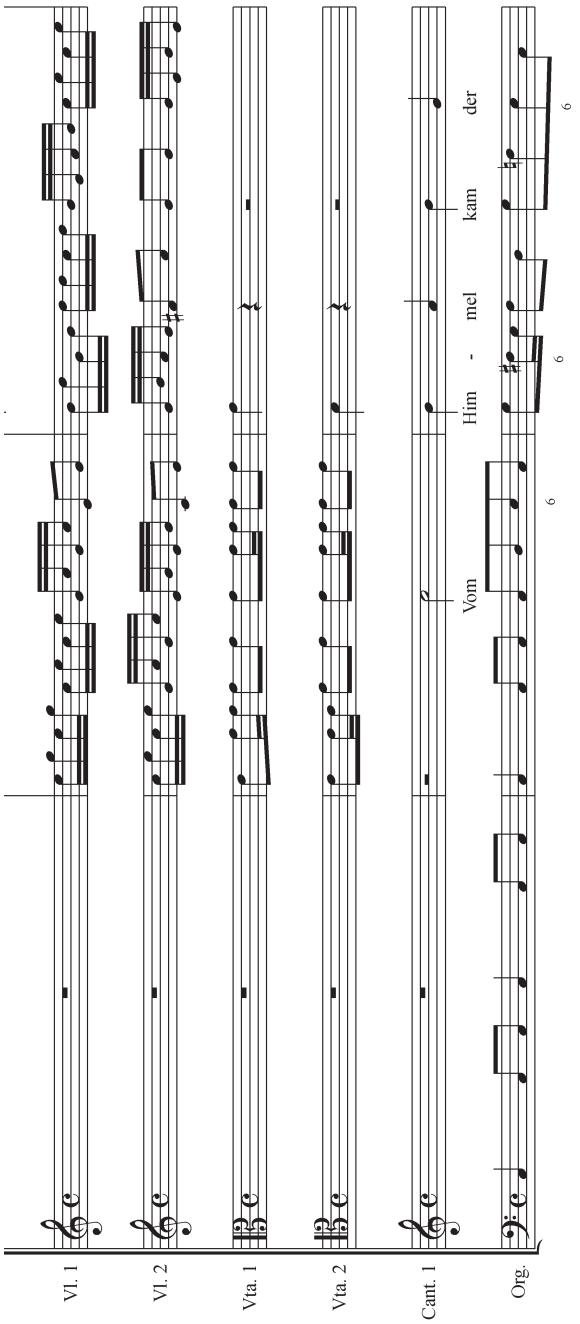
Example 5: Knüpfer, *Wenn mein Stündlein vorhanden ist,* closing chorus, bars 165–174


Vl. 1
Vl. 2
Vl. 3
Vl. 4
Vla. 1
Vla. 2
Vla. 3
Vla. 4



Example 6: Schelle, *Christus, der ist mein Leben*, Choir, bars 163–165


Versus 1
Clar. 1
Clar. 2
Timp.
Corn. 1
Corn. 2
Trb. 1
Trb. 2



Example 7: Schelle, *Vom Himmel kam der Engel Schar,* opening movement, bars 1–3

We can see then to what degree this type of chorale setting, invented by Knüpfer and further developed and refracted through the personalities of Schelle and Kuhnau became a characteristic Leipzig specialty. So much so that it could not have passed unnoticed to a visitor. Bach, who always paid particular attention to the chorale setting styles of earlier eras, not least by members of his own family,[83] and it was always a characteristic of his art that he endeavoured to integrate the traditions of past ages into his work, and so may have arrived in Leipzig with the intention of integrating a chorale tradition he high esteemed into his own work.

4. The development of the Leipzig type of chorale setting in Bach

We should not be surprised that Bach immediately began composing in Leipzig as if to show the townsfolk he was a fitting successor to his great antecedents. He immediately connected to the local tradition with the two cantatas that he wrote for his audition in Feburary 1723 and they were first performed there. It is very instructive to examine the different musical styles of these two audition pieces. Although Bach received both texts in Leipzig, the signs are that he consciously strove to set them to music according to divergent musical tastes. The music of BWV 23 presents the style which was also characteristic of Bach: the third movement undoubtedly evokes the mood of a Köthen congratulatory cantata. Furthermore the fourth movement, where as we have discussed before he sets a chorale, was added to the work by none other than Bach himself: the libretto was originally in three movements. This is perhaps the reason why he wanted to demonstrate his skills in the realm of setting chorales. By contrast, BWV 22 seems to be determined to subordinate itself to Leipzig tastes. The construction of the work, its choruses and arias all represent the church music style which Kuhnau took on and nurtured in Leipzig.

We know from biographical data that Bach could have obtained knowledge about Leipzig's music life through a number of channels but we have no knowledge of most of them, since Köthen, where Bach worked, was only 60 kilometres away which was not a vast distance even in those days. He first went to Leipzig in 1717 to examine the St Paul's Church organ. This is an important fact for us because the subsequent mayor, Gottfried Lange, heard Bach playing the organ there and stressed: "Bach excels at the keyboard".[84] On this journey, he would likely have visited Kuhnau who in all prob-

[83] See works of the Alt-Bachisches Archiv .

[84] *Fremdschriftliche und gedruckte Dokumente zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Sebastian Bachs, 1685–1750,* hrsg. von Werner Neumann und Hans-Joachim Schultze (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969) = *Bach-Dokumente,* Bd. 2, 129. Quoted in English in Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 221.

ability he met at the Halle organ inspection when they joined Christian Friedrich Rolle to examine the new organ as the Church of Our Lady.[85] During this friendly visit, he could have heard cantata performances; he may also have been able to acquaint himself with the quality and potential of the performers at the Thomaskirche. It is also conceivable that he could have visited the church music library but it is more likely that he studied several works by Kuhnau which were more modern in conception that Schelle's. Another possible channel was in the person of Georg Philipp Telemann who lived in Leipzig from 1701 to 1704, and so knew the relationships there well. In August 1722 Telemann was appointed the choir conductor of the Thomaskirche but after several months of prevarication, he decided to take up a better paid post in Hamburg. While sorting out this post, Telemann may have frequently passed through Köthen to visit his godson Carl Philipp Emmanuel Bach. This way, Bach could have obtained first hand information about events relating to the job at the Thomaskirche.[86]

Cantata 75, which was first performed on May 30th 1723 following Bach's installation in his new Leipzig post, in many ways follows Kuhnau's modern style. The da capo form of the arias and their length,[87] the prominent presence of recitatives,[88] the preference for paraphrase verse and the types of chorale setting are all deeply routed in the style of Bach's predecessor, and characteristic of the new cantata style. The expansive opening chorus by contrast is Bach's very own innovation, both in terms of form, and instrumentation and its arsenal of musical effects. If Bach had abandoned cantata writing at this very moment, he would probably not have been regarded as much more than a faithful disciple of Kuhnau and as a composer who was very much an integral part of the 18th-century church music tradition. An examination of the chorale settings of the ensuing cantatas is enough to demonstrate how Bach found his feet in this new musical environment, how he composed ever more musical allusions into his work through which he attained the profundity achieved by Schelle, and indeed surpassed him. Thus the artistry of two of his predecessors merge into one in his own art: Bach incorporated the profound chorale based thought world of Schelle into the musical style of Kuhnau.

The first step of this journey was the chorale setting of BWV 76 in which – distancing himself from the original Kuhnau model – he places the thread of musical events onto at least three different planes which naturally increased the expressive content of the music. Interestingly this is also the earliest example of Bach's usage of the slide trumpet[89] making it an important turning point in the history of Bach's cantata orches-

[85] Wolff, *The Learned Musician,* 136.
[86] Ibid., 219–220.
[87] In his early cantatas, Bach mostly composed even smaller arias.
[88] There is often no recitative in Bach's early cantatas.
[89] Although in the sources we find *corno da tirarsi, tromba da tirarsi, clarino* and *tromba.* Probably all three refer to the same instrument (and certainly the same player: Gottfried Reiche).

trations. The closing chorale of BWV 24 gains tremendous expressive power partly from the eloquence of the orchestral material, partly from a new version of Kuhnau's habits that Bach had further developed. This is the first representative of a type for which there was no prototype where we only acquaint ourselves with the independent orchestral material in the first interlude. Thus the closing movement can be joined to the previous movements far more organically, which significantly contributes to the unity of what the cantata communicates.

Cantata BWV 167 represents a step backwards in the history of Leipzig chorale treatment: in terms of musical expression it offers no more than Kuhnau's work. Perhaps part of the reason for this is that the central movement of the cantata, both musically and intellectually, is a soprano-alto duet. Bach perhaps wanted to distract attention as best he could with the restrained use of musical devices (the opening movement is exceptionally not a choir movement but an aria). The well-known cantata BWV 147 owes its unique nature to the way the upper parts of the skilful orchestral material is derived from the chorale melody and because of Bach's very subtle skills at creating musical atmosphere. The closing movement of BWV 186 began the process over the course of which Bach took it to its zenith with respect to musical expression: using very contrasted musical material, he made the device of dialogue between instrumental groups of central importance, and the homophonic choral texture became more polyphonic and expressive. Even more developed versions are the closing chorales of BWV 138 and 109 which have even greater dramatic power. In cantata 139, he achieved his goal with runs in demisemiquavers and dramatic harmonisations, in BWV 109 he made a stormy movement monumental with expanded proportions and boosted its emotional impact.

The chorale setting treatment that began with the two "Probestück" reached its own climax by the middle of Bach's first annual cycle of cantatas. Similar movements from later cantatas essentially summarise what has gone before, growing in dimensions and make for a fitting monument to their predecessors. The performing apparatus of BWV 129 reaches its limit, in BWV 192 its dimensions and like BWV 107, Bach introduces a fashionable dance form as a new musical influence to unify the orchestral material. While it cannot be placed next to BWV 109 or 138 in terms of its expressive power, it well reflects the decline of the artistic ideal of the Baroque era with its contrasts and drama, and is the herald of new, excessively poite and formal age to come.[90] What makes them remarkable is that these are still masterpieces from a musical perspective. The dimensions of the interludes are precisely measured, as are the directions of the chorale line modulations, and they radiate a kind of epoch ending splendour to the listener.

[90] Because 10–12 years elapsed between the first and last Leipzig-style chorale settings (1723–1734).

The chorale settings of BWV 105 and 46 represent a diversion, with the musical material of the interludes reflecting more the time and thinking of Schelle's time. Characteristically, there is no prelude in either of them, the interludes are exceptionally brief, and tremendous spiritual and musical emersion is required for their full comprehension. In terms of orchestration, they seem to be guardians of the Renaissance consort traditions, and deserve to be placed next to any of Schelle's chorale settings with their serious assocations. BWV 79 is really a relative of cantatas 105 and 46, but its unique motifs and musical effects surviving from the opening chorus marks it apart; by all means, it is a bastion of the consort and chorale tradition.

5. The new genre that evolved from the Leipzig chorale setting type

I must now interpret the fact that after the first 21 Sundays spent in Leipzig, Bach apparently turned his back on this new movement type. Bach demonstrated tremendous creative power launching himself into his new job, we see his inventiveness that enabled him to take a technique from Kuhnau and mould it according to his own taste and the requirements demanded of Sunday chorales, and so he hardly seems justified in abandoning it at a time when it had seemingly solidified as the most appropriate form for him. We must look for a solution, naturally, in the further development of the genre. Bach's intention of ever stretching the boundaries of the chorale movements in BWV 186, 138 and 109 can be clearly observed, which served to boost their musical expressive content. In cantata 186 he changes the fundamental treatment of chorus parts, in BWV 138 the orchestral parts pull down earlier barriers in the genre, and in BWV 109 the proportions of large form surpassed anything previously attempted. This means that the musical material Bach chose in his chorale settings had outgrown the boundaries of this movement type. He had to find a new form which was able to carry immeasurable musical message linked to the chorales. From this, it followed that the chorale setting had to give up its hitherto customary role of rounding off a cantata and needed to be placed in a far more emphatic place, which was at the very beginning of the work. This is how the cantus firmus setting with chorus was raised into a general opening movement of the chorale cantatas as has been analysed above. This was naturally the end result of a long period of experimentation during which period Bach developed two types of style simultaneously. In the opening movements of the first cantata cycle, we can observe movements that have swollen into the first cantata movements as further developed variations on the Leipzig cantata setting type because of their overwhelming musical message.

The first such work is BWV 77. Its position within the annual cycle aptly demonstrates my theory: before this cantata written for the 13th Sunday following the festival of the Holy Trinity, Leipzig chorale settings had been heard on seven occasions, includ-

ing BWV 186. The opening movement of cantata 77 begins with music independent of the chorale, but the choir sings a biblical text to it (this immediately excludes it as a member of the Leipzig chorale setting style); this is later paired with the chorale melody beginning "Dies sind die heiligen zehn Gebot" [These are the holy ten commandments] which is heard on slide trumpet and bass, in a canon by augmentation.[91] The opening movement of BWV 25 the following Sunday may have entranced the chorale loving Leipzig congregation: Bach inserted a four-part version of the chorale "Herzlich tut mich verlangen" [I long for you from my heart] played by the trombones into a two-themed chorus movement on a Biblical text. This was making demands on his audience of a Schelle-type absorption to find out which verse section suited best the Biblical verse sung by the chorus.[92] The following Sunday featured BWV 138 in which the chorale was placed last; BWV 95, heard a week later, contained a movement with two chorale settings which deserved to be placed at the start of the cantata. In their dimensions and the intricacy of the orchestral material, these two chorale settings cross the boundaries of previous movement types. In the opening movement of BWV 95, the first verse section of "Christus, der ist mein Leben" [Christ who is my life] is built into the $\frac{3}{4}$-time orchestral material with lively syncopations, then a tenor recitativo accompagnato leads to the second chorale setting. The idea for the second chorale derives from an interesting association: the second verse section of the opening chorale also begins with these same words − "Mit Freud fahr ich von dannen" [I leave with joy from there] − like the opening line of the funeral hymn treated here, the one starting "Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin" [I leave with peace and joy there]. In this case, a tightly structured canon in the two upper flute parts signify the musical stylistic element for which the movement transcends the boundaries of the Leipzig chorale setting type. The opening movement of BWV 48, written on the nineteenth Sunday after Holy Trinity, is another interesting experiment. The chorus sings a biblical text, and above the musical material expressing the longing for the Messiah, line by line, we hear the melody of the subsequent closing chorale, played by oboe and slide trumpet in a canon at the fifth. The listener can but guess which verse section will be heard with the chorale quotation at the end of the work. Two weeks after cantata 48, the stirring closing chorale of BWV 109 was heard. BWV 60 was the last cantata before Advent which from our perspective contains a noteworthy chorale setting. In the opening movement, the musical material unfolds based on dialogue between instrumental groups, this time on several levels. Into this is incorporated the chorale melody "O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort" [O Eterntiy, o word of thunder] sung in long note values by the altos, line by line, and also a monologue filled with anxiety. This latter is sung by the tenor soloist who throughout the cantata is the allegorical personification of Fear. We find in this piece form and content

[91] For a more detailed analysis see Dürr, *Die Kantaten,* Bd. 2, 570–571.
[92] For a more detailed analysis see Dinyés, "Szöveg és zene kapcsolata", 37.

married to music to such maximum effect that in itself it would have surpassed the boundaries of the Leipzig chorale setting type.[93]

With the second annual cantata cycle, Bach began a new project, the chorale cantata cycle, in which the first movement each Sunday featured a chorale setting in a different style. This was in truth Bach's triumph in chorale setting as we have analysed above since he put all his musical technique to the service of these melodies, exploiting the variational possibilities of chorale settings. Perhaps a complete chorale cantata cycle by Schelle, lying in the library, may have inspired Bach to undertake a similar enterprise, writing a new chorale cantata for each Sunday, setting a single hymn. This could explain the scarcity of Leipzig chorale types in the second annual cycle because if as an opening movement a setting has been heard, a similar movement could not have the same impact at the end. It also could not have found a place because in the chorale cantatas the hymn serving as the basis for for the work is also heard in a simple four-part form – clearly with the aim of allowing the congregation to join in singing at the end. That the chorale cantata cycle came to a halt with the performance of BWV 1 on March 25th 1725 was, according to Christoph Wolff's hypothesis, not Bach's personal decision but because the priest who was writing the paraphrases of the chorale texts unexpected died.[94]

The cantatas of the third and four annual cycles turn away from the principal of increased use of chorales, and we encounter other principals that do not permeate the entire cycle. Examination is hindered because most of the cantatas have been lost, furthermore the third annual cycle was probably written over a two year period (meanwhile Bach wrote supplements for the second cycle and wrote the *St Matthew Passion*), and from the fourth Picander cycle, only 11 works have survived. There are examples here of traditional chorale treatments (BWV 28/2, 16/1), and we find several movements which use various Leipzig chorale setting types (BWV 13/3, 27/1, 49/6, 98/1, 58/1, 58/5, 159/2).

6. Summary

At the end of the study let us pose the question expressed in the title as a statement: did the music library of the Thomasschule influence Bach's cantata art? Could a new musical influence inspire the composer who arrived in Leipzig at the age of 38? Bach would not have been interested by the majority of the library, but he would certainly

[93] Of the cantatas belonging to the first cycle using as an opening movement a chorale setting similar to the earlier ones, only one belongs to the first cycle: BWV 73. It dates some while after the development of the type, and because of its premiere on January 23 1724, it is quite separate both from its predecessors and the ensuing series (the second cycle began on June 11th 1724). In its style it could be a deserving member of the chorale cantata cycle so I will not analyse it.

[94] Wolff, *The Learned Musician,* 278.

have been specifically drawn to the Leipzig section, which contained the works of the cantor-predecessors and inspired his chorale setting techniques to the greatest degree. Nowhere else were there as many works by Knüpfer and Schelle gathered together, those faithful bastions preserving the Leipzig chorale tradition. Although Bach did not recommend the directors of the Thomasschule to purchase Kuhnau's musical legacy[95] he knew his style first hand and recognised those elements which he could harness during a period in the early 18th century when musical styles were changing. From Bach's works analysed above, we can be sure that he studied the works of earlier cantors in the Thomasschule library, primarily the work of Schelle. We have tangible proof for this in the birth of the chorale cantata cycle and the way that in Bach's new cantatas musical chorale allusions rooted profoundly in Christian symbolism became common. In summary, we can state that the chorale setting work of Bach's predecessors as cantor did indeed have a shaping influence on Bach's Leipzig cantatas.

(English translation by Miklós Bodóczky)

[95] Unlike Kuhnau, Bach very rarely performed works by other composers so there was no sense in him purchasing Kuhnau's cantatas for the library because he would never have used them.

Anna Scholz

Articulation in the Six Cello Suites of J. S. Bach Problems of the Sources and the Critical Editions

The article is an extract of my DLA doctoral thesis, defended in 2008, entitled *J. S. Bach: Hat szvit szólócsellóra (BWV 1007–1012). Előadásmód, artikuláció. A források és a kritikai kiadások problematikája* [J. S. Bach: Six suites for solo cello (BWV 1007-1012). Performance method, articulation. Problematic questions in sources and critical editions] (research director: László Somfai).

In the year 2000, no fewer than four critical or so-called *Urtext* editions of Bach's Six suites for solo cello were published. If we take these scores in hand, alongside the volumes of the *Neue Bach Ausgabe* (hereinafter *NBA*) published between 1988 and 1991, then even at first glance some striking differences are apparent. While the fundamental texts of the scores – the notes and the rhythm – are largely identical, the signs indicating the performance style – the articulation marks and the ornaments – show very great discrepancies (publication details of the editions are shown in Table 1). How is this possible if each editor took the same critical approach? And how can we make the right choice among the editions and the individual variants of the texts?

I began dealing with these questions as a cellist, later making an attempt to answer them in detail in my DLA dissertation. In my paper I chose articulation as the primary theme of my investigations, as it is in this particular area that we encounter the greatest number of problematic questions and articulation is inseparably connected to way the pieces are played. My paper includes a summary about the earlier editions of the pieces and the results of research so far, an examination of the general aspects of critical edititing and the use of the disputed term *Urtext,* as well as a discussion of string articulation generally in Bach's time and specifically in Bach's compositions.

Table 1: Data of the critical editions under discussion

Publisher	Year of publication	Editor	Facsimile appendix
Bärenreiter; *NBA* volume VI/2	1988–1991	Hans Eppstein	A, B, C, D manuscripts
Bärenreiter; "Bärenreiter Urtext"	2000	Bettina Schwemer, Douglas Woodfull-Harris	A, B, C, D manuscripts and first printed edition
Breitkopf & Härtel	2000	Kirsten Beisswenger	A manuscript
Henle	2000	Egon Voss, Reiner Ginzel	–
Wiener Urtext	2000	Ulrich Leisinger	–

The main section of the paper presents and evaluates the editorial decisions of each of the five chosen editions by type, illustrated with numerous examples. I provide an abstract of this latter part of the dissertation in the following.

1. The sources

The main problem of the sources of the Six cello suites is that no autograph from the composer survives. We know the works today from four manuscript copies (generally indicated in the literature as A, B, C and D), two of which were made in Bach's lifetime and within his immediate circle, and another two prepared within the German-speaking territories following the composer's death, but still in the eighteenth century. Therefore the goal of the editors of the critical editions is, after a thorough study of the four surviving copies, to determine their significance, and based on the information judged to be authentic to reconstruct the lost autograph following the composer's intentions as fully as possible. We can state with a high degree of probability that the autograph copy of the cello suites originally formed part of a two-part or two-volume collection together with Bach's pieces for solo violin (Bach's fair autograph copy of the violin works, written in a careful, almost calligraphic manner with numerous and clear articulation marks, survives to this day).[1]

In case of the two earlier manuscripts, the identity of the copyist is known: the copy marked "A" was written by Anna Magdalena Bach (1701–1760), while the author of "B" is a personal acquaintance of Bach, the organist Johann Peter Kellner (1705–1772).[2] There is no surviving data to confirm the date of their genesis, but based on the watermarks of the paper, analysis of the handwritings and references to other, dated copies, we can state with a fairly great degree of certainty that Kellner's copy is the earliest, probably dating from 1726, while Anna Magdalena Bach copied the suites not much later, approximately between 1727 and 1731. Kellner's copy is not complete: the Sarabande movement of the C minor suite is missing, and only the first nine bars of the Gigue are included. It is important to note that the C minor suite – in which Bach prescribes the A-string of the cello to be tuned down a major second – was notated by

[1] The conclusion that the two groups of works belonged together can be drawn from the fact that Bach's wife Anna Magdalena made copies of both the violin and cello suites, combining the pieces in a two-part collection of which the manuscripts survive to this day. The title page of Bach's autograph of the violin solos bears the title "Libro Primo", suggesting that – probably similar to Anna Magdalena Bach's copies – it was followed by a "Libro Secondo" containing the suites for cello. See for example: J. S. Bach, *Sechs Suiten für Violoncello Solo BWV 1007–1012 = NBA,* VI/2, hrsg. von Hans Eppstein (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1988/1991), 18.

[2] A: Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin. Mus. ms. Bach P 269; B**:** Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin. Mus. ms. Bach P 804.

Kellner in a manner differing from the other three sources, by transposing the scordatura notation into sounding pitch.[3]

Comparing the two manuscripts, we find ourselves confronting a peculiar situation whereby, although in all likelihood the earlier of the two, Kellner's copy nevertheless contains a good number of unique solutions and apparently clearly deliberate, plausible, and not "erroneous" variants which do not appear in Anna Magdalena Bach's copy. Given that, as the nature of the individual variants suggests, it is not very likely these are Kellner's own additions, the only way to explain this situation is that while Anna Magdalena Bach prepared her version from the composer's own autograph manuscript, Kellner may have used a working copy of Bach, or another copy derived from this prepared by someone within the composer's circle.

If we compare A and B copies on Facsimile 1 presenting the opening of Menuet I of the G major suite, the congested nature of Kellner's score is immediately apparent: the line spacing is narrow, while the note heads are placed very close together. The overall appearance of the note stems and beams implies a rapid, hurried notational manner. Kellner obviously did not think ahead: he made no effort to ensure that the movements start at the beginning of a staff or page, economical use of space being for him a more important consideration. We can only guess at the goal of the copy, but the manuscript as a whole leads one to conclude that it was not essential for Kellner that the score should be intelligible to anyone other than himself or his close circle.[4] In contrast, Anna Magdalena Bach's score is considerably clearer, and – in light of her other copies – its arrangement of staves and pages probably corresponds to the composer's autograph manuscript from which she made her copy.[5] At the same time, there is a notable discrepancy in Anna Magdalena Bach's work in that the accurately-placed, well-proportioned and legibly written notes are often accompanied by apparently carelessly drawn slurs placed far away – and by no means clearly – from the noteheads.

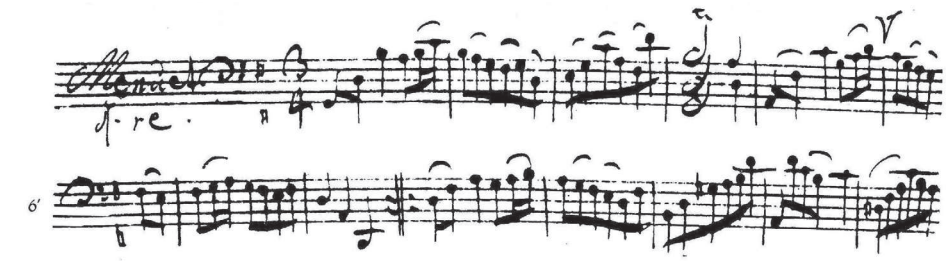
The two later manuscripts (C, D) and the first printed edition of the suites (E) are very closely related, representing a clearly separate group of sources.[6] In the two manu-

[3] The numerous corrected and uncorrected errors which Kellner committed in the process of transposition suggest that he made his copy from a manuscript which employed the scordatura notation. For example we can see such a correction at the beginning of the fourth bar of the Courante, while there is an uncorrected error at the end of the eighth bar of the Allemande.

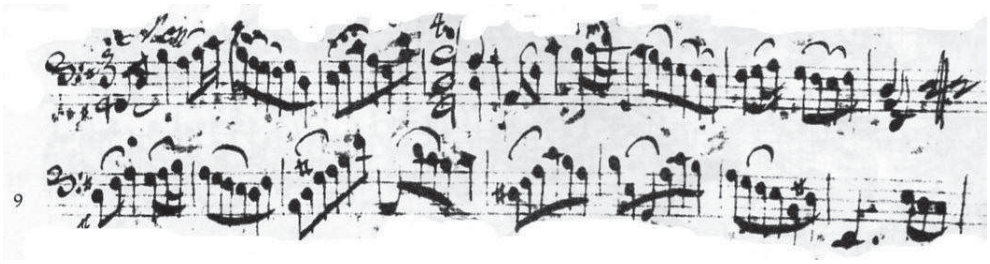
[4] J. S. Bach, *Suiten für Violoncello solo BWV 1007–1012,* hrsg. von Ulrich Leisinger (Mainz/Vienna: Schott/Universal, 2000) [hereinafter: Leisinger], 4.

[5] J. S. Bach, *Sechs Suiten für Violoncello solo. BWV 1007–1012,* hrsg. von Kirsten Beisswenger (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Hartel, 2000) [hereinafter: Beisswenger], 77.

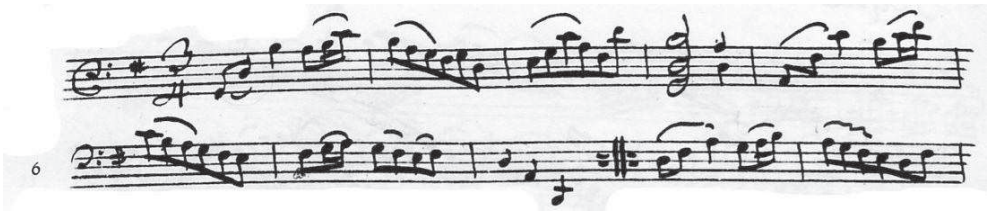
[6] C: Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin. Mus. ms. Bach P 289 Adnex 9; D: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien. Mus. Hs. 5007; E: J. S. Bach, *Sonates ou Etudes pour le Violoncelle Solo* (Paris: Janet & Cotelle, 1824). The first printed edition contains a great quantity of additions (indications of tempo, fingering, dynamics and articulation marks), which are clearly the work of the editor, and do not derive from any manuscript. For this reason, no critical edition can rely upon it and I will not discuss it further in this paper.



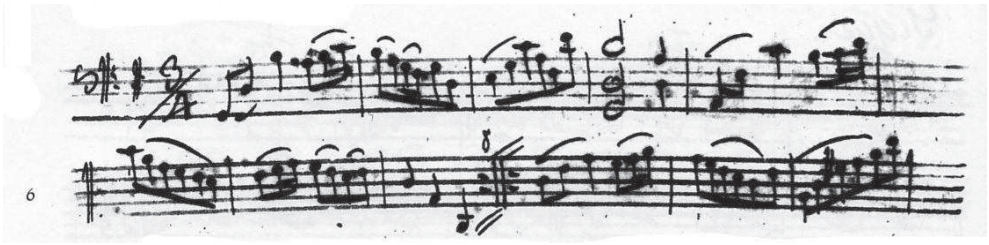
A



B



C



D

Facsimile 1: Opening of the Menuet I of the G major suite in sources A, B, C and D

script copies, the arrangement of staves and pages is evidently preconceived and almost identical. We can also state – also by looking at our chosen example – that the scores are much more legible and more loosely spaced out than any of the earlier copies – and for this reason are also spread out over substantially more pages (Anna Magdalena Bach's copy ran to 36 pages and Kellner's to 25, while the C and D manuscripts occupy 41 pages each). Generally speaking, we can say that the positioning of the slurs – particularly in source C – is much more precise, and that not only do we encounter a greater number of slurs (and ornaments) than in either source A or B, but also a far more frequent use of staccato marks (see Table 2). Moreover, it is not unusual for sources C and D to contain not only a greater number, but also a radically different set of slurs than A and B. The latter phenomenon is well illustrated by the G major Menuet I featured in our sample score: while the copies of Anna Magdalena Bach and Kellner prescribe what are presumed to be slurred pairs of notes for the quavers in a great many bars of the movement, at these same points the C and D sources recommend three slurred notes followed by three separate quavers (as, for example, in bars 2, 3 and 6). The critical editors concur that the two later sources – despite many similarities – cannot be copies of one another given that they both contain unique errors. Consequently,

Table 2: Staccato marks in the manuscripts

A	B	C, D
		G major Allemande 1, 2, 5, 8, 9, 14, 20, 21, 25, 27, 28
		G major Courante 11, 12
G major Gigue 2, 7	G major Gigue 2, 7	G major Gigue 2, 7
		D minor Gigue 73, 74
		C major Allemande 1, 2, 4, 13
		C major Courante 15, 17, 21, 22, 25, 26, 61, 67, 69
		C major Bourrée I. 13, 14
		C major Bourrée II. 3, 10
C major Gigue 34, 38, 94, 98		C major Gigue 34, 38, 41, 42, 53, 54, 94, 98
		E flat major Prelude 70, 71, 72, 73, 76
	E flat major Allemande 38, 39	E flat major Allemande 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 38, 39
		C minor Prelude 22 (source C only)
D major Gigue 29	D major Gigue 29	D major Gigue 27, 29, 54, 55
Total:		
3 movements, 7 bars	3 movements, 4 bars	13 movements, 60 bars

they are both probably based on a shared model, now lost. (Hypothetical relationships between the sources are shown in Table 3).

Of key importance in determining the significance of the C and D copies would be the availability of more data than is currently at our disposal regarding the shared model, as well as the time and place of each copy's creation and the identity of the copyists. The copies of Anna Magdalena Bach and – to a slightly lesser extent – Kellner must be regarded as authentic since they were made within the composer's immediate circle, in all likelihood from an autograph manuscript. These earlier copies nevertheless raise a huge number of seemingly unanswerable questions due to the poor legibility and apparent inconsistency of the slur marks. Sources C and D, on the other hand, are much easier to interpret and in many places more polished, although we can only guess at the authorship of the articulation and other performance marks which are so much more numerous and sometimes different compared to sources A and B. The editors of the *NBA* and the critical editions discussed here – partly because of differing research results – give different evaluations of the pieces of information extant about C and D, and thus also of their importance among the sources of the Bach cello suites.

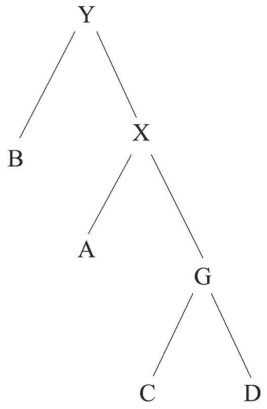
The copy designated C is the handwork of two people: starting from the end of the 12th bar of Bourrée I of the C major suite, the copy is clearly continued in another hand. The first part is uniformly attributed in Bach scholarship to the copyist known as *Anonymus 402,* who often turns up as author of other eighteenth-century Berlin manuscript copies. According to Hans Eppstein, who supplied the *NBA* volume with detailed annotations, the copyist of the second part is unidentified and no other work is known to be attributable to him/her. As far as the date of the manuscript's genesis is concerned, Eppstein concludes – based on other, already dated activity of *Anonymus 402* – that the copy was made in Berlin at the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century.[7]

Ulrich Leisinger, the editor of Wiener Urtext, has suggested a new theory to complicate the picture of source C shaped by Eppstein. In his view, it is conceivable that after *Anonymus 402*'s work was interrupted in Berlin, the manuscript was only completed at a much later date in Hamburg using the same model. He supports his hypothesis by pointing to certain features of the second portion of the manuscript that are typical of Hamburg.[8] The model for the copy, meanwhile, could – in his theory – be none other than the manuscript of the suites which features in the catalogue of the estate of C. P. E. Bach (1714–1788), who died in the same city in 1788. Although the catalogue does not mention that this might be J. S. Bach's autograph, Leisinger nevertheless believes this is conceivable given that even with works that are clearly autograph manuscripts of the

[7] *NBA,* VI/2, 15–16.
[8] Leisinger, 5.

Table 2: Hypothetical relationships between the sources

Y: lost working copy of Bach; X: autograph fair copy of Bach, now lost;
G: the presumed shared model of sources C and D; A, B, C, D: the extant sources)



composer, the designation "in origineller Handschrift" is sometimes missing (such as, for example, in the case of the Orgelbüchlein).[9]

Regarding the D copy, Eppstein notes that the only certain fact is that it featured in the catalogue of the Viennese music dealer Johann Traeg (c.1747–1805) in 1799. Citing the research of Yoshitake Kobayashi and the general characteristics of the script, Eppstein asserts that the manuscript, completed at the end of the eighteenth century, may have arrived in Traeg's Vienna shop from Northern or Central Germany.[10] Leisinger's research, meanwhile, has unearthed some new details regarding this most difficult to date copy. He has succeeded in identifying the copyist of the manuscript as the same person who was commissioned by the heirs of C. P. E. Bach in 1795 to copy the parts of the latter's harpsichord concerto (in G major, Wq 9, 1740–1742). In this way, Leisinger has on the one hand confirmed Eppstein's hypothesis, while on the other hand adding the detail that the copy originates from the 1790s and perhaps from Hamburg itself, the site of C. P. E. Bach's activity.[11] Aside from this, Leisinger has also established that the numbers on the title page (36/23) indicate that this manuscript was not a copy intended for sale, but a house copy of Traeg's music trading firm from which other copies ordered by customers would be made. Given that Traeg offered the copies for sale from 1804 at the latest, Leisinger does not rule out the possibility that the

[9] Ibid., 7.
[10] *NBA,* VI/2, 16.
[11] Leisinger, 4.

manuscript derived from the estate of Gottfried van Swieten (1733–1803), who died the previous year and who may have ordered the copy from the widow of C. P. E. Bach after the latter's death, together with many other Bach works.

2. Basic principles of the critical editors

Eppstein regards the relatively faithful copy of Anna Magdalena Bach as the most reliable copy of Bach's lost autograph manuscript. Consequently he states as his basic principle:

> The primary goal of a new critical edition is to reconstruct the lost autograph manuscript that served as the basis for source A, in which process A is to be regarded as the main source. However, this edition must not disregard the richer information on ornamentation and articulation contained in the C–D–E group of sources.[12]

Eppstein opines that if Anna Magdalena Bach's version and the additions contained in the other sources – with the variants perhaps given as *ossia* passages – were to be published in a single score, then the overall picture would be rendered incomprehensible. For this reason he publishes two versions (Text I and Text II), the almost identical basic texts of which are primarily assembled from source A, but in certain instances also calling upon the other sources. In Text I, however, the articulation marks, ornaments and grace notes are given based on source A, while Text II contains specific features of the C, D, (E) group of sources. The deviations in the Kellner copy (B) appear in the footnotes or, in the case of articulation marks which "meaningfully complement source A",[13] in the text of the first score as well.

Regarding the articulation, Eppstein first describes in detail the features typical to each copyist's handwriting and touches upon the significance of Anna Magdalena Bach's copy of the autograph manuscript of the violin solos, before determining that because of the contradictions and innaccuracies in the sources "it is not possible to simply transfer into this edition the slurs that appear in the sources".[14] In other words, in order to understand the articulation marks in the manuscripts, it is not enough to merely examine the facsimiles directly and in isolation; instead, it is also necessary to look at background information pertaining to the conventions of the age and Bach's own scor-

[12] "Eine kritische Neuausgabe muss zunächst versuchen, den Abschrift A zugrundeliegenden Text der verlorenen Reinschrift zu rekonstruieren, wobei A die Hauptquelle ist. Sie wird aber nicht auf die reicheren ornamentalen und artikulatorischen Informationen der Quellengruppe C, D, E zu verzichten dürfen." *NBA,* VI/2, 26.

[13] "[…] [wo sie] Quelle A sinnvoll ergänzen." *NBA,* VI/2, 26.

[14] "[…] die Bogensetzung der Quellen nicht ohne weiteres in die Ausgabe übernommen werden kann." *NBA,* VI/2, 30.

ing practices and style. Based on these, Eppstein determines the following basic principles in interpreting the articulation marks: 1. As a general rule, we slur neighbouring notes together, while separating notes that are spaced at a greater distance apart. 2. The downbeats and other accented points in each measure are to be played downbow *(Abstrichregel),* given that Bach generally employs such strokes, particularly in rapid movements. 3. Musically analogous passages are to be played with identical articulation . (Although it cannot be ruled out that Bach specified deliberately varying articulation in certain instances of this kind, Eppstein contends that no unambiguous and generally characteristic intention to this effect can be gleaned from Bach's manuscripts).[15]

With regard to the sources, Leisinger – referring partly to the new data he has unearthed – has come to the conclusion that the two later sources (C, D) also quite probably took an autograph model as their basis. This hypothesis, presumed likely in Leisinger's eyes, increases the value of the two copies prepared after Bach's death to such an extent that – in his view – they must be regarded as equal in rank to the two earlier copies (A, B). Furthermore, he considers it unlikely that proof will emerge in future (for example, through the discovery of hitherto unknown manuscripts) showing that the two later copies do not reflect the intentions of J. S. Bach. And even if this were to happen, he contends that the amendments in sources C and D reveal a "real knowledge" of the craft, are clearly the work of learned musicians, and thus certainly convey very important and valuable information regarding the performance practices of the eighteenth century.[16] Due to the poor legibility of the Anna Magdalena Bach and Kellner copies, Leisinger characterizes the reconstruction of the articulation marks in these scores as not merely difficult, but downright impossible.[17] However, he sees no serious obstacle to drawing conclusions with a high degree of probability regarding the articulation of the model (in his view, presumably an autograph manuscript) which served as the basis for the far more easily decipherable sources C and D. For this reason, his edition relies primarily on the two later sources. Noteworthy differences in sources A and B are communicated either as notes in the score or – in more important instances (such as, for example, the G major Menuet I) – as *ossia* passages, while less significant instances are mentioned in the critical notes.

Egon Voss and Kirsten Beisswenger, respectively editors of the Henle score and the Breitkopf edition, do not dispute that the two later sources are interesting documents from the point of view of eighteenth-century performance practice, but – for differing reasons – do not deem them relevant to the task of preparing an *Urtext* edition. Citing his own research, Beisswenger considers Leisinger's conclusions somewhat unlikely (seeing no firm basis to the assumption that the model for the C and D copies was a

[15] For more on Bach's consistency and the articulation of analogous passages, see the example of the D minor Prelude below.
[16] Leisinger, 7.
[17] Leisinger, 5.

Bach autograph manuscript).[18] For his part, Voss, in analysing the marks in the two later manuscripts that pertain to performance (staccato dots and strokes, ties and slurs, dynamics) and certain note variants, raises several arguments – in my opinion, questionable on many points – to the effect that these are not in keeping with Bach's general scoring practices or musical style.[19]

Voss and Beisswenger eventually reach the same conclusion: namely, to take Anna Magdalena Bach's manuscript alone as the basis in preparing their editions. As far as the pitch and length of notes is concerned, they agree that alongside Anna Magdalena Bach's manuscript, it is necessary and legitimate to take into account the other sources – for example, in order to correct obvious errors in the principal source.[20] With respect to articulation, Voss declares his intention to decipher the marks and symbols exclusively with reference to the copy by Anna Magdalena Bach. At the same time – somewhat inconsistently – he adds that in order to clarify the "meaning" of certain slurs, it is sometimes necessary to study marks of this kind in other sources which he says do not necessarily lack authenticity.[21] With regard to doubtful cases, similarly to Eppstein, he refers to the *Abstrichregel,* the rule of playing the accented notes downbow, and likewise deems it necessary – to a certain degree – to standardize the articulation of analogous musical passages and repeated motifs.

In the Henle publication, Voss supplements his critical edition of the score prepared according to the above principles with an additional booklet containing another version of the cello suites. In this, the text edited by Voss is supplied with additional articulation marks and fingering by the cellist Reiner Ginzel (indicated in parentheses to distinguish them from the main score). The score of this second booklet, therefore, simultaneously displays both the version completed using a critical approach and an instructive version supplied with the performance directions of a practising cellist.[22] Although Ginzel's suggestions are sometimes inventive and logical, they are also often only functional, placing practical considerations ahead of musical ones. In addition, his method of elaboration reflects the modern-Romantic approach to bowing (Ginzel is associated with the Russian school, having completed his studies as a student of Natalia Shakhovskaya). Consequently, the version of the cello suites elaborated by Ginzel may be primarily of interest to cellists who wish to perform the works according to this ap-

[18] Beisswenger, 78.

[19] J. S. Bach, *Sechs Suiten. Violoncello Solo. BWV 1007–1012,* hrsg. von Egon Voss. Fingersatz und Strichbezeichnung von Reiner Ginzel (Munich: Henle, 2000) [hereinafter: Voss], viii-xi.

[20] Beisswenger, 78; Voss, xi.

[21] "Zu Deutung der Artikulationsbögen in A wurden die anderen Quellen mitherangezogen, deren Lesart selbstverständlich nicht prinzipiell als unauthentisch anzusehen sind." Voss, xii.

[22] In the concept of the Henle publisher, it is not entirely clear why there is a need for two separate booklets, since the critical and instructive versions can be perfectly separated from the text of the second booklet. Perhaps it is the publisher's intention for the first, exclusively critical version to be used for an own personal solution by the owners?

proach. Given that my goal is to examine critical decisions taken by the editors of critical editions of the suites, I will not deal further with Ginzel's version – since, by their very nature, his decisions do not fall within this category.

With respect to the articulation in the suites, Beisswenger likewise relies only on the copy by Anna Magdalena Bach, but in the case of problematic or dubious points he seeks assistance not in the other sources but in Anna Magdalena Bach's copy of the violin solos. By comparing this copy with J. S. Bach's surviving autograph manuscript, Beisswenger makes an attempt to map out the generally prevalent regularities in Anna Magdalena Bach's handwriting and copying practices. Given that the characteristics and typical errors in Anna Magdalena Bach's writing style were presumably the same as when she copied the cello suites, the results of this examination constitute an important reference in deciphering slurs that are otherwise difficult to understand. Beisswenger summarizes the established general tendencies under eight points, justifying his editorial decisions by citing these in his notes. According to Beisswenger, the eight most frequent and typical copying errors committed by Anna Magdalena Bach are:

1. Unclear slurring at largely unchanging motivic activity;
2. Reduction of long slurs;
3. Shifting slurs to the right;
4. Short and imprecisely placed slurs at groups of three notes;
5. Separation of slurs at changes of staff;
6. Slurs placed too high above notes;
7. Syncopated slurs (misunderstanding or "straightening out" of Bach's slurs that span over a beat or barline);
8. Open slurs, where the beginning and end are not indicated precisely.[23]

In the Bärenreiter Urtext edited by Bettina Schwemer and Douglas Woodfull-Harris, which meets the demands of a critical edition while also addressing practising musicians,[24] the four manuscript sources are featured besides a facsimile of the first printed edition. The expansive accompanying text booklet, based on the *NBA* but written in a more easily intelligible style, communicates the most detailed information possible on the sources and provides an overview of the performance practice of Bach's time. The editorial basic principle is entirely unique among the critical editions of the cello suites in that

[23] Beisswnger, 80-81.
[24] J. S. Bach, *6 Suites a Violoncello Solo senza Basso. BWV 1007–1012. Scholarly Critical Performing Edition / Quellenkritische Ausgabe für die Praxis,* hrsg. von Bettina Schwemer and Douglas Woodfull-Harris (Kassel: Barenreiter, 2000), title page.

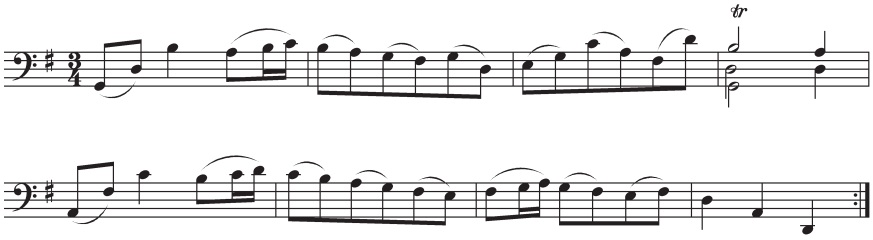
> […] they decided that they would not attempt an appraisal of the various surviving sources, but instead endeavour to display them as neutral as possible.[25]

Although the basis for the score published here is provided by Anna Magdalena Bach's copy, all deviations of the three other sources – where not obviously erroneous – appear in the appropriate place in a smaller size (essentially as *ossia* passages), but as an integral part of the score (see Ex. 4.c). In this way, variants of the basic text and ornamentation in all the sources are basically made transparent at a glance. An even more unusual solution is to have the slurs entirely absent from the published score; the editors leave it to the user/performer to work out their own solutions independently based on the facsimiles and background information provided and relying on their own taste and knowledge.

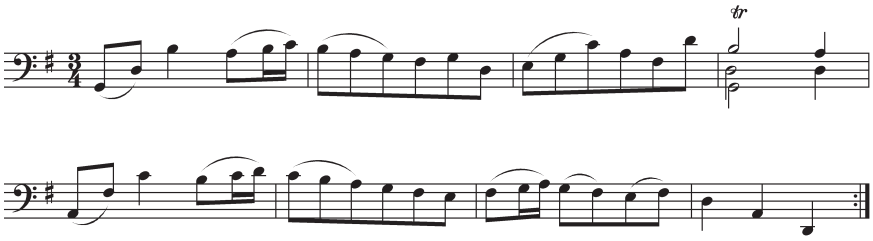
Returning to the G major Menuet I – whose manuscript sources we have already encountered – we can see in the various editions that Eppstein's Text I, as well as Beisswenger's and Voss's score that likewise rely on the copy of Anna Magdalena Bach, coincide in terms of the dominance of slurred pairs of notes within bars containing six quavers (see Ex. 1). In Leisinger's edition, this is one of the (not too frequent) instances when not only sources C and D, but also the articulation from A and B appear in the main text of the score. The slurs above the staff, similarly to Eppstein's Text II, follow the 3+3 slurred quavers from the two later sources, while beneath the note heads we see slurred pairs. However, apart from the two aforementioned, clearly separate versions of the articulation (which continue throughout the movement), we can also state that of the five printed scores there are not two in which the ties/slurs in the first eight bars agree in every detail, not even among those which were based on an identical source or sources (see, for example, the variations in articulation of the seventh bar or of the bar-end motifs comprised of a quaver and two semi-quavers).

By surveying the sources and ascertaining the basic principles of the editors, we have received an answer to our first question of why the critical editions differ to such a great degree. On the one hand, the discrepancies are due to the editors' varying methods of assessing sources that are shrouded in obscure detail, and the different basic principles they formulate as a result. And on the other hand, starting from the articulation marks that appear in the various manuscripts, it is often not possible – even with identical basic principles – to determine a single, authentic reading of the score. In awareness of all this, let us now look at a number of additional noteworthy examples, in which – naturally as reflected in the sources – we shall compare the alternative versions of articulation adopted by the different critical editors. We can learn the background

[25] "[…] haben sich die Herausgeber dazu entschlossen, von einer Wertung der einzelnen Lesarten abzusehen und diese möglichst neutral darzustellen." Ibid., iv (preface to published sheet music booklet).

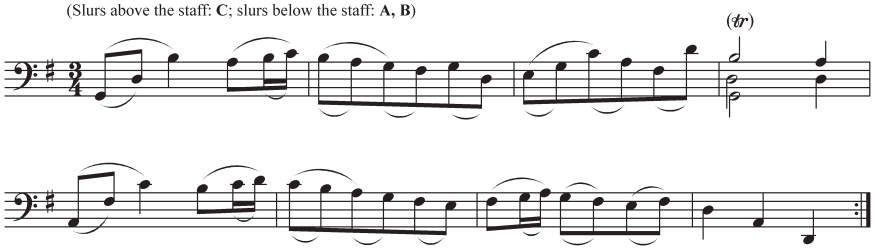


a) Eppstein I

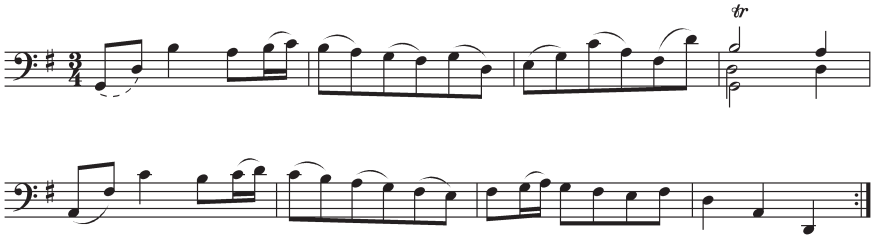


b) Eppstein II

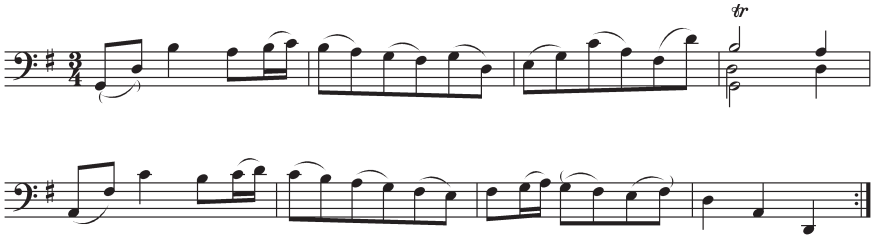
(Bögen über dem System: **C**; Bögen unter dem System: **A, B**)
(Slurs above the staff: **C**; slurs below the staff: **A, B**)



c) Leisinger



d) Beisswenger



e) Voss

Example 1: Bars 1–8 of the G major Menuet I in the Eppstein, Leisinger, Beisswenger and Voss editions

to their decisions in their critical notes: in almost every instance, Eppstein attaches an exhaustively detailed justification for his choices, while Leisinger and Beisswenger publish shorter but highly informative notes. In most cases, however, one can only guess at Voss's motives.

3. Editorial decisions

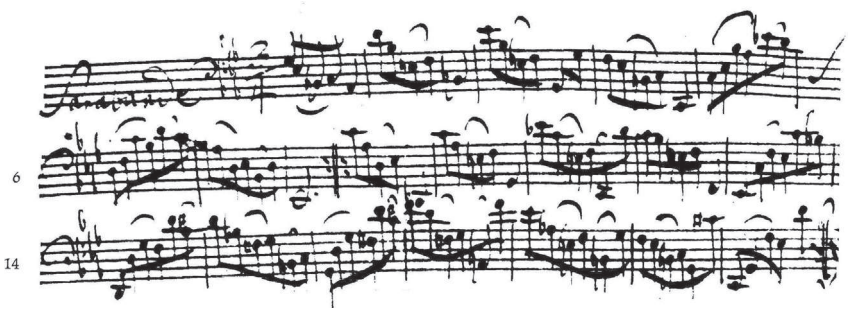
a) Sarabande in C minor

Similarly to the G major Menuet I already discussed, the C minor Sarabande is one of the movements in which the slurs drawn by Anna Magdalena Bach sharply differ from those of the two later sources (cf. Facs. 2 and Ex. 2): while in sources C and D slurred pairs of notes are prevalent, in source A we see longer, presumably four-note slurs at the beginning of bars (this movement does not feature in source B). However, the C minor suite occupies a special place among the Bach cello suites given that the work was transcribed by the composer for lute (G minor suite, BWV 995), and the autograph manuscript of this version survives (F).[26] According to Eppstein, this autograph version – because it is a transcription – has only "indirect value as a source", but in my own view the ornaments, additional parts and rhythmic variations written into the lute version by Bach provide important assistance when interpreting the sources of the cello suite.[27]

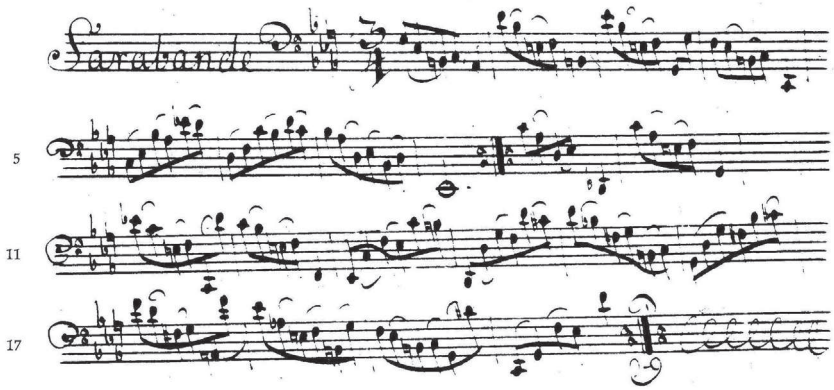
Although the number of articulation marks – due to the differing possibilities of the two instruments – is very modest in the lute suite compared to the cello version, in some cases important information can nevertheless be gleaned to assist understanding of the slurs in the cello suite. In the Sarabande, for example, we see that the slurs of the lute suite most closely resemble those in Anna Magdalena Bach's copy, with no sign of the slurred note pairs found in sources C and D. Additionally in the lute version, the method of notation of breaking the score into two parts reveals much about the musi-

[26] F: Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er, Brussels. Fonds Fétis 2910 (Ms. II 4085 Mus.) The watermarks on the sheet music of the lute version correspond to the watermarks on the copy of the cello suites made by Anna Magdalena Bach. From this it is possible to conclude that the two manuscripts originate from approximately the same period between 1727 and 1731. Numerous corrections in the autograph manuscript of the lute suite attest that Bach transcribed the cello suite for lute, in other words that the lute suite is the later composition. For example, many of the corrections derive from the fact that Bach, in transposing the *scordatura* notation of the C minor cello suite into G minor, mistakenly wrote the notes played on the down-tuned A-string of the cello also a fifth higher, which then entailed adjusting the erroneous notes a second lower, generally by enlarging the note head. In several instances we can also witness how Bach probably first entered the notes of the cello version in the lute score, then corrected or erased these to reach the desired solution for the lute version (for example in the first bars of the Gigue).

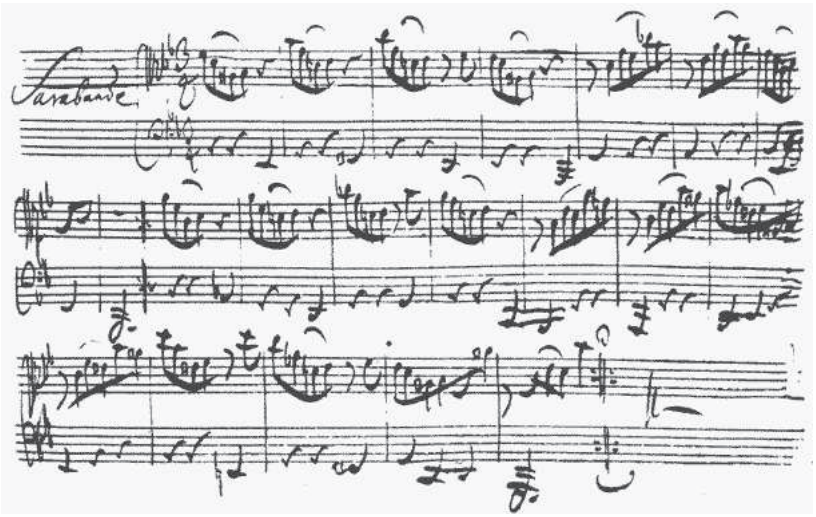
[27] *NBA,* VI/2, 17.



A

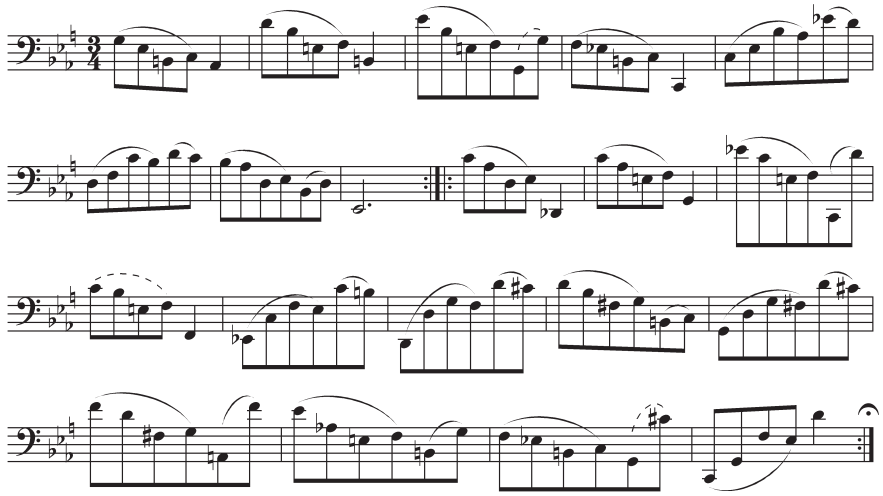


C

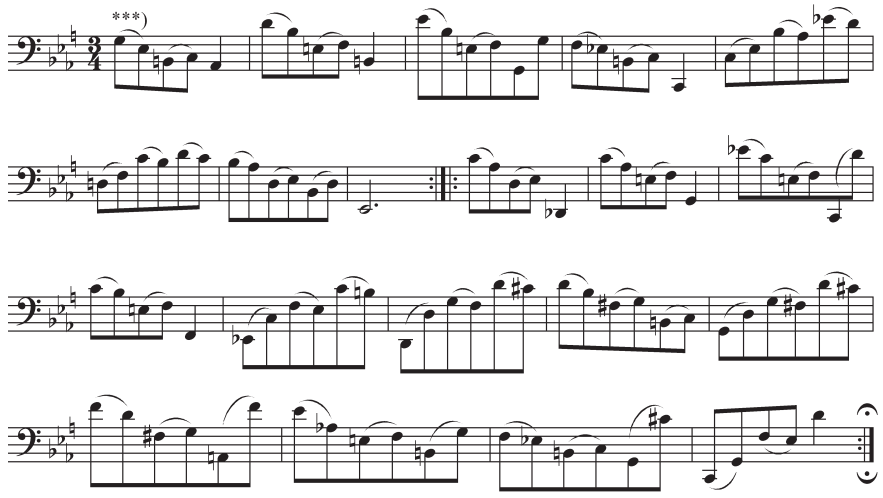


F

Facsimile 2: The C minor Sarabande in sources A, C and F



a) Beisswenger



***) A: stets / always 𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯 bzw. / and 𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯𝅘𝅥𝅯 respectively

b) Leisinger

Example 2: The C minor Sarabande in the editions of Beisswenger and Leisinger

cal articulation of this highly stylized dance movement. It is interesting to observe that in several places the articulation marks in the sources for the cello suite slur notes together which feature in separate parts in the lute version. We can witness this at the end of bars 11 and 17, for example, where the slur of the cello version – in spanning a huge interval – can scarcely result in a complete legato, the illusion of the notes being slurred together can be achieved only by firmly sounding the bass note (in the lute ver-

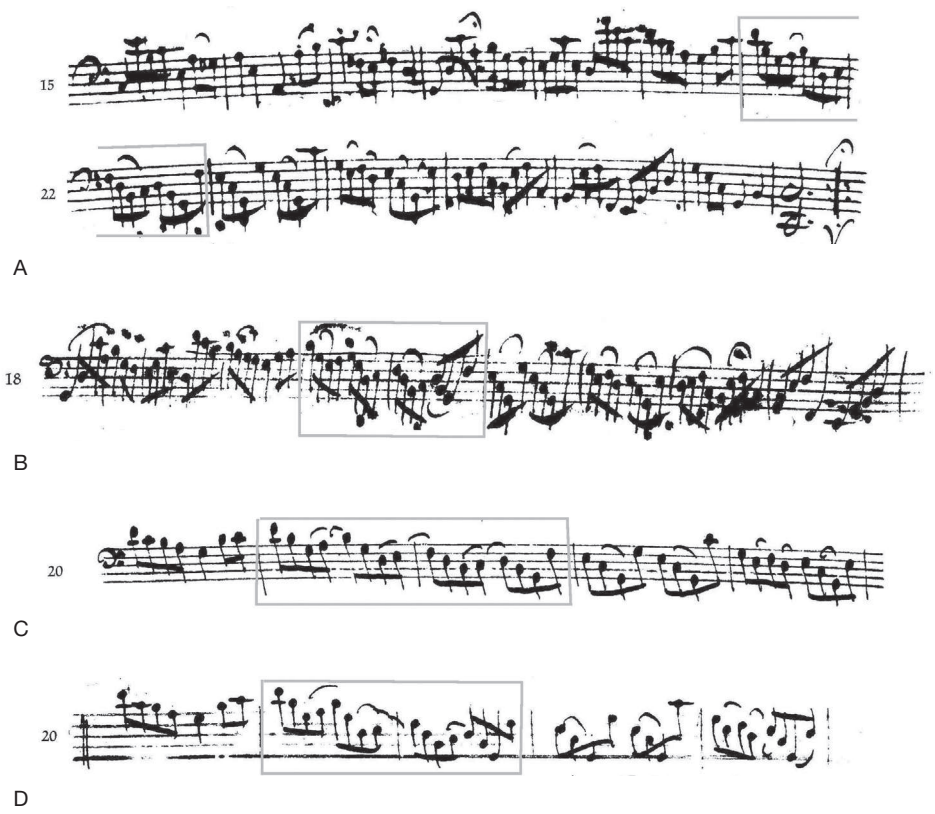
sion, the notes of the lower part are not quavers, but always crotchets). In certain bars of the lute version, it is also worth noting the change of parts after the first quaver (in bars 5, 6, 13, 14 and 16), all the more conspicuous because the bass notes are located an octave lower. This form of articulation can be observed in the manuscripts of the cello version perhaps only in the copy by Anna Magdalena Bach (but even then only in bars 13–14). In their critical editions the editors follow the appropriate sources of the cello suite, without dwelling on the idiosyncracies of the lute version. However, in view of the significance of Bach's autograph manuscript of the lute suite, I believe that at the very least, articulation marks that are indisputably attributable to the composer merit mention among the critical notes.

b) Bourrée I in C major

Copyist's changes and corrections in the sources often provide an important additional aid to interpreting the score. In bars 21–22 of the C major Bourrée I (cf. Facs. 3 and Ex. 3), we can see that the second copyist of source C (as I mentioned above, the manuscript is in another hand up to the end of bar 12) lengthened the slurred pairs of quavers that were probably written in initially to slurs of three notes. Looking at the slurs at the corresponding place in source D, the second of the three slurs likewise displays traces of having been lengthened. Anna Magdalena Bach's copy in these two bars is very difficult to make sense of; moreover, there is a staff change between the two bars which – as evident in Beisswenger's errata – may result in the slurs being split in two or omitted when they span bars. At this point in the score, Kellner's version opts for a unique solution that differs from the other copies but which is legible, consistent and easily applicable in practice (slurring the first three notes of each group of four quavers).

Naturally we can never know why corrections and changes were made, although we are probably not mistaken if we start from the assumption that, because slurs spanning beats or bar lines were rare in Bach's time, the copyists might have found it more difficult to interpret such an unusual solution. It may also have happened, of course, that both later copyists worked from an original which itself featured corrections to which they slavishly adhered.

The critical editors, despite the diversity of sources, treat this passage in a suprisingly uniform manner. In my opinion, Eppstein and Beisswenger are correct to take the view that the original on which source A was based probably contained the three-note slurs that survive in sources C and D, but that Anna Magdalena Bach inaccurately reproduced this unusual formula spanning across the barlines. Consequently, the Beisswenger edition based only on Anna Magdalena Bach, as well as Eppstein's Text I, which takes both A and B into account, contain a solution which just happens to appear in the two later sources. It is interesting that Kellner's entirely plausible version (which is also more customary of the period) is entirely missing from Eppstein, while strangely enough appearing in Voss. However, I think it likely that if Voss had attached

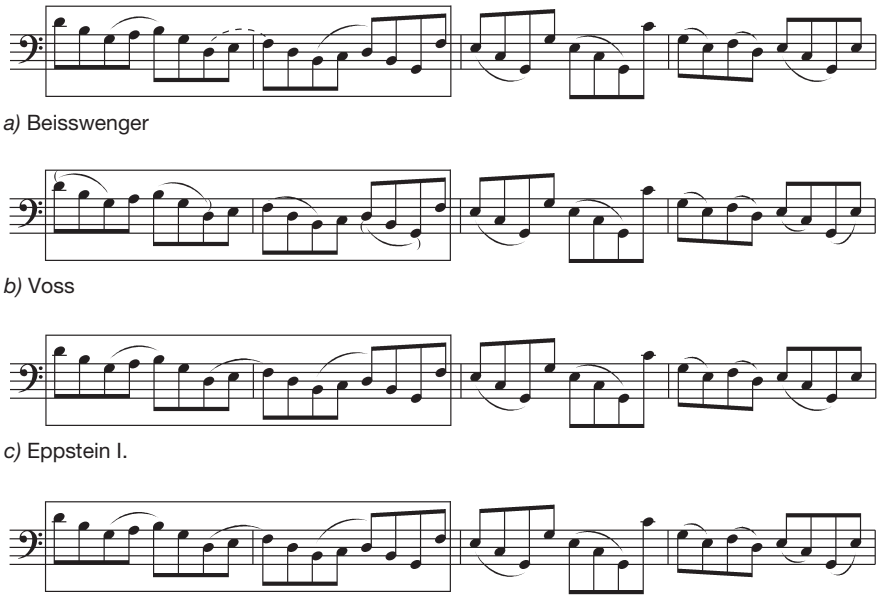


Facsimile 3: C major Bourrée I, bars 21–22 in sources A, B, C and D

a justification to his version of the bars in question, then he would sooner have referred to an analogy-based extension of the second, more legible slur in Anna Magdalena Bach's copy than to the B copy, given that his edition primarily relies on source A. Both solutions appearing in the critical editions are adequate in musical and practical terms as the second intervals and chord resolution feature beneath a slur while the stress falls on the downbow.

c) Allemande in D major

Articulation, as the connection and separation of notes, may appear in the score not merely through slurs and staccato marks, but may also be revealed in which notes appear together on the same beam. For example, in the manuscripts of the D major Allemande (cf. Facs. 4 and Ex. 4), the beaming of the notes coincides with the **C** time signature of the movement: crotchets belong together on one beam. There are only two



a) Beisswenger

b) Voss

c) Eppstein I.

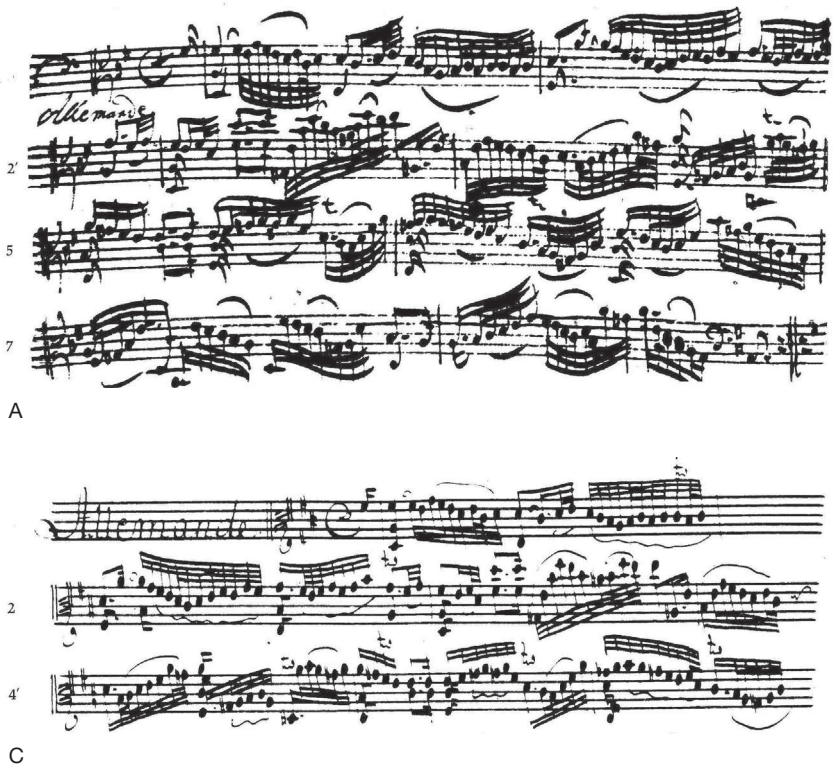
d) Leisinger

Example 3: C major Bourrée I, bars 21–22 in the editions of Beisswenger, Voss, Eppstein (I.) and Leisinger

exceptions, in the first crotchet of bars 15 and 19, where most copyists split the beam in two.[28]

In contrast to the manuscripts, the critical editors – with the exception of Leisinger – resort to a somewhat different notation method: although the notes falling under one crotchet are placed together on one beam, the internal beam sections are interrupted each quaver. While I admit that, particularly on first reading, this results in a more lucid score, its overall effect nevertheless differs from that of the sources. On the one hand, the scores of the Beisswenger, Voss, Eppstein and Bärenreiter Urtext editions convey a beat of quavers instead of joined crotchets – less appropriate in my view. On the other hand, in my view, the movement is not alien to French style, in that certain ornamental rapid scale passages – particularly those which follow a dotted semiquaver, for example

[28] Sources A, C and D split the beam in both places mentioned, while B only splits it in bar 15. In the sources of the suites, this Allemande is one of the rare movements supplied with an indication of tempo: in sources C and D it is labelled *Molto Adagio,* while in B the designation is *Adagio*.



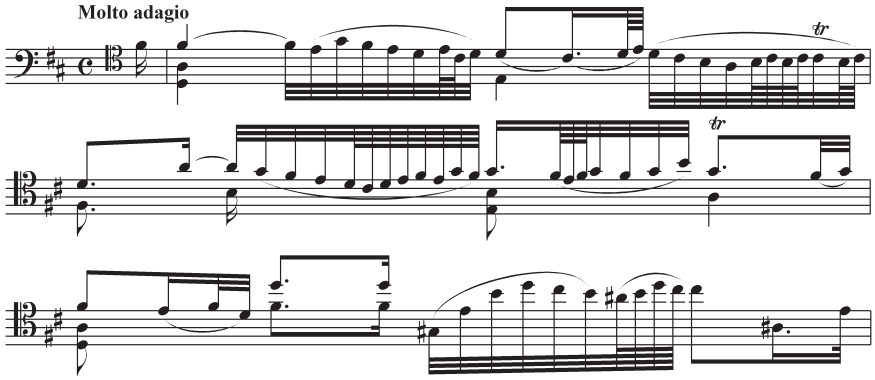
Facsimile 4: Bars 1–3 of the D major Allemande in sources A and C

– are performed a little faster and more freely than the basic tempo, leading to the next main note. Nevertheless, the score articulated in quavers reproduces this musical quality in the movement to a far lesser extent than the manuscripts or Leisinger's version.[29]

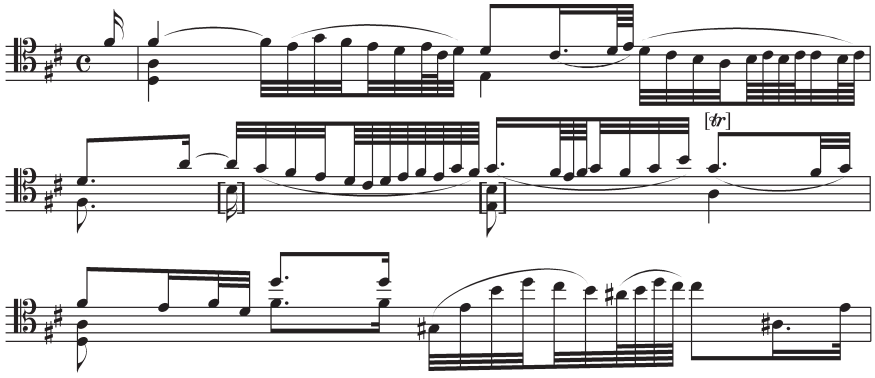
d) Prelude in E flat major, Prelude in C minor

In the four manuscripts of the six suites there are only two instances where on one beam more semiquavers are placed than a metrical unit (a quaver or a dotted quaver) would include: in bars 23–24 of the C minor Prelude (cf. Facs. 5a and Ex. 5a) and bar 51 of

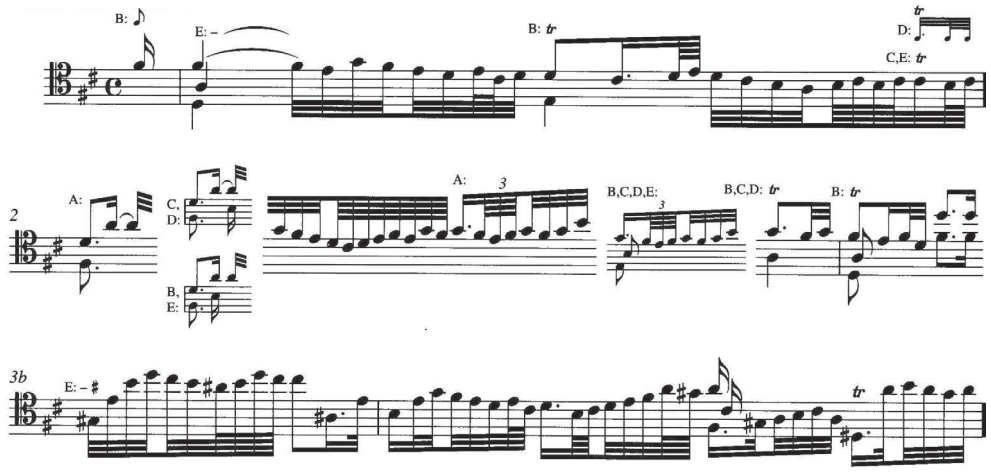
[29] It is worth noting that passages similar to the third crotchet of the second bar (first crotchet of bar 10, fourth crotchet of bar 11, second crotchet of bar 13, first crotchet of bar 15) are actually given incorrectly in the Anna Magdalena Bach copy (but in almost all other sources as well). This appearance of the score – imprecise to modern eyes – is reproduced by Leisinger, Voss and Beisswenger similarly to the sources, but only the Beisswenger, Eppstein and Bärenreiter editions mention the issue in their critical notes. In the Bärenreiter interpretation, the three very short notes after the dot in these crotchets (hemidemisemiquavers or semihemidemisemiquavers) represent a triplet, and this is supported by the indication of a number 3 in the score.



a) Leisinger

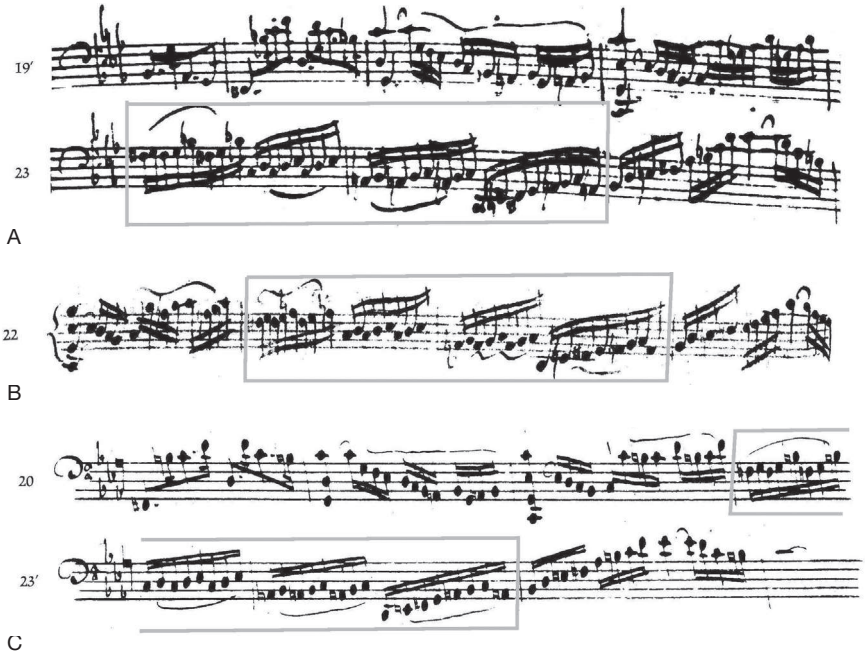


b) Beisswenger

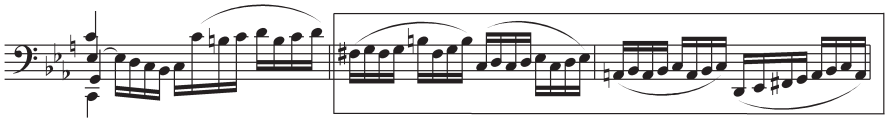


c) Bärenreiter Urtext

Example 4: Bars 1–3 of the D major Allemande in the versions of Leisinger, Beisswenger and Bärenreiter Urtext



Facsimile 5a: Bars 22–24 of the C minor Prelude in sources A, B and C

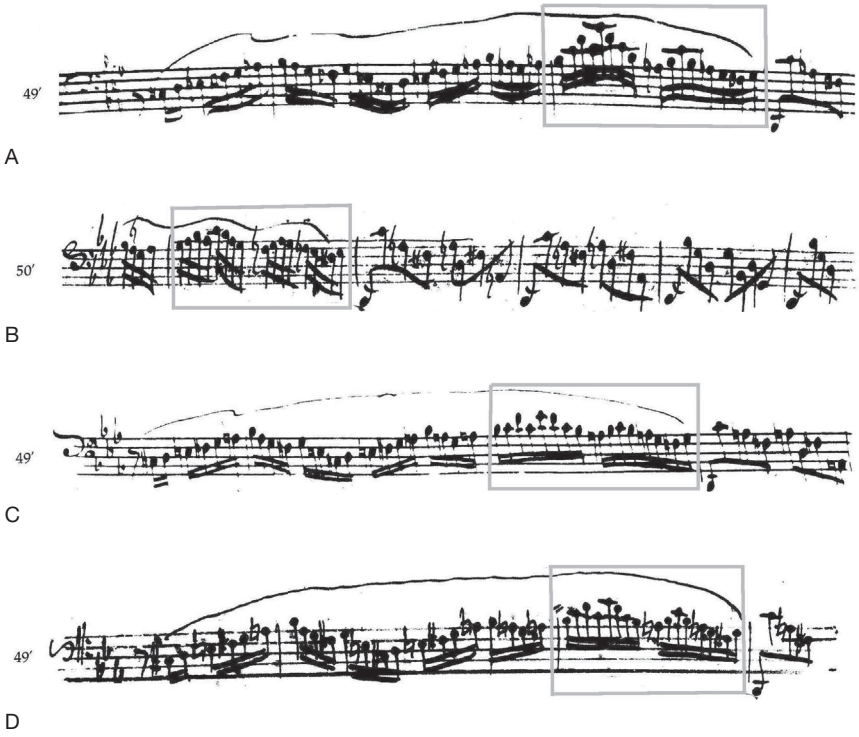


Example 5a: Bars 22–24 of the C minor Prelude in the Eppstein edition

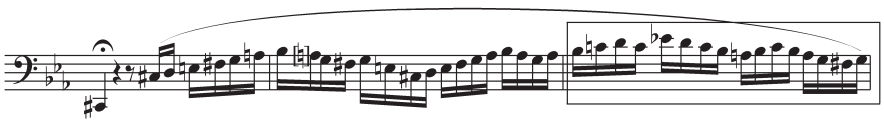
the Prelude in E flat major (cf. Facs. 5b and Ex. 5b), where eight semiquavers appear on one beam in the overwhelming majority of sources.[30] In my opinion, the method of notation not only indicates the close musical togetherness of the groups of eight notes, but also carries additional meaning. In both movements we are looking at a cadenza-like passage preceding a dominant seventh, and the overall arrangement of the score presumably suggests the method of performing this: not too many accents, a somewhat quicker tempo as a result, and perhaps a certain degree of rhythmical freedom.

Considering that the sources differ from each other in a great many instances, I find it regrettable that this solution, recorded almost uniformly across the various copies, does not appear in a single critical edition of the cello suites. In both aforementioned passages, all of the editors place the semiquavers in groups of four on one beam, so

[30] The longer beams are missing only from source B, in the Prelude in E flat major.



Facsimile 5b: Bars 49–51 of the Prelude in E flat major in sources A, B, C and D

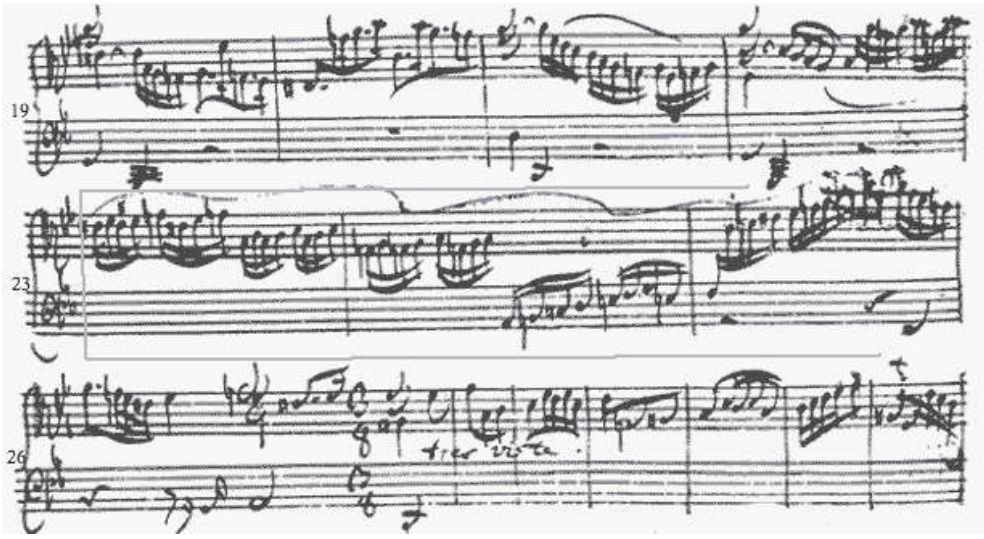


Example 5b: Bars 49–51 of the Prelude in E flat major in the Beisswenger edition

that the score – in my opinion – loses the momentum suggested by the manuscripts. Only Leisinger mentions the unusual method of notation of the Preludes in his critical notes.[31]

Beyond this, the two passages are linked by another factor, namely the notation of the corresponding passage in the lute suite (Facs. 5c). Contrary to expectations, in the autograph manuscript of the lute version we see not the quaver slurs of the C minor cello suite, but the very long slurs of the Prelude in E flat major, which encompass the entire musical phrase. Examining the bars in question in the two Preludes, it is perhaps no exaggeration to suppose that the same intention of the composer is being recorded

[31] Leisinger, 21–22.



Facsimile 5c: Bars 23–24 of the Prelude to the G minor lute suite in the Bach autograph manuscript

in two different ways: in other words, when writing particularly long slurs, Bach was not thinking of an inarticulate method of performance, but was merely leaving it to the performer to decide on the appropriate distribution of notes. With the beaming of semiquavers in groups of eight in the cello version (a special method missing from the lute suite), he was also warning against the use of excessive accentuation and the incorrectness of too many bowchanges. These long slurs therefore signal fluency in the music, rather than a bowing that can be translated directly and compulsorily into practice; at the same time, it cannot be ruled out that the playing of the slurs exactly as marked in the score might even constitute the correct choice. I also think it conceivable that the first break in the slur in the B version of the Prelude in E flat major might represent a possible bow-change (while the second break is probably due to the change of staff).

In the case of the Prelude in E flat major, the critical editors choose long slurs without interruptions, while using quaver slurs for the C minor Prelude.[32] Due to the probable connection between the two methods of notation, all this therefore means that in bars 49–51 of the Prelude in E flat major the editors are not providing fixed indications for bowing, but the kind of articulation marks where elaboration is left to the performer.

[32] In the case of the C minor Prelude, Beisswenger and Voss confine themselves only to the slurs found in the Anna Magdalena Bach version.

e) Allemande in D minor

Looking at the critical editions from the perspective of a practising cellist, it is not hard to notice that the articulation marks of the editors, if we interpret them as bowings, often run counter to the generally accepted convention of the period to play accented notes with a downbow (the aforementioned *Abstrichregel*). Naturally we might think that, being unusual for their time, these bowings originate from the composer himself. However, Georg von Dadelsen, one of the most renowned scholars of Bach's articulation, determined with respect to the autograph manuscript of Bach's works for solo violin that

> the deliberate articulation, closely connected to the motifs, is in keeping with the requirement for continuous bowing, which simultaneously brings out the stress in each bar with a downbow. This is particularly true of the rapid movements […].[33]

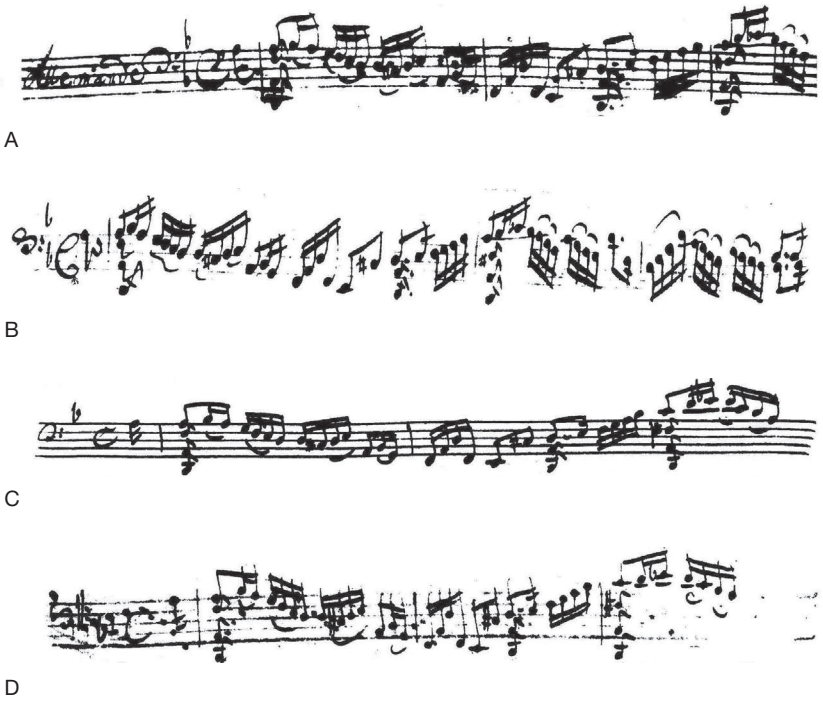
In other words, according to the very carefully prepared Bach autograph manuscript, the articulation is always organically linked to the music and the motifs, while at once fully conforming to practical considerations. It is very likely, therefore, that in the cello suites as well there is no need to apply technical solutions which radically contradict the instrumental playing conventions of the period, for example the rule of the downbow.

In my view, it stands to reason that, for example, the chord in the second bar of the D minor Allemande (but also the beginning of the bar) should be played with a downbow (cf. Facs. 6 and Ex. 6). However, if we play the articulation as marked in Voss and Text I of Eppstein, then the chord falls on an upbow. It is probably precisely in order to achieve the desired downbow that Beisswenger supplements his marks in the first bar with a dotted slur, while Ginzel takes a similar approach in his instructive edition.[34]

What we can see, therefore, is that in this passage (and in many other similar instances besides) the score as elaborated by the editors cannot be played exactly as read but only with certain amendments. Such situations may arise because the primary goal of the editors is to reconstruct the articulation marks in the extant sources, in the manu-

[33] "Intendierte, das heisst mit den Motiven festverbundene Artikulation und die Erfordernisse einer geläufigen Bogenführung, die im Abstrich zugleich die Taktschwerpunkte markiert, stimmen miteinander überein. Das gilt besonders für die schnellen Sätze […]." Georg von Dadelsen, "Die Crux der Nebensache. Editorische und praktische Bemerkungen zu Bachs Artikulation", *Bach Jahrbuch* 44 (1978), 105.

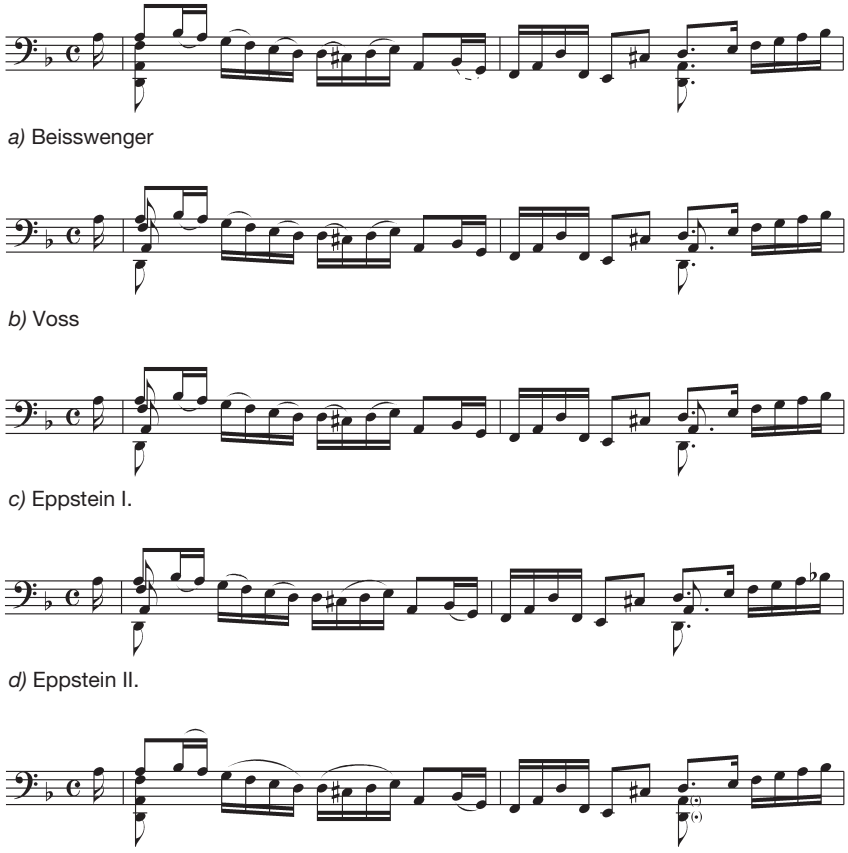
[34] Compare with the articulation recommended by Anner Bylsma, who approves an "Italian style" of bowing technique for the cello suites, free of the rule of the downbow: Anner Bylsma, *Bach, The Fencing Master* (Basel: Bylsma Fencing Mail, 1998), 58. Bylsma's book, though dispensing with scholarly thoroughness, is a summation of the author's vast experience as a performer, particularly noteworthy in light of his widely known recordings. It must be noted, however, that the general insights on articulation in his book – and his actual recommendations in practice – radically differ from most editions of the pieces (and thus from the editions I discuss here), as well as from the opinions of eminent scholars in the field.



Facsimile 6: Bars 1–2 of the D minor Allemande in sources A, B, C and D

scripts which served as models for the sources' copyists, and – as far as possible – in the lost Bach autograph manuscript. Consequently, they do not endeavour to construct a detailed articulation system or immediately applicable bowing guide. It is for this reason that the Henle edition may have employed the essentially paradoxical solution whereby Voss's critically compiled score is supplemented and expanded by Ginzel for performance.

This phenomenon also raises questions with regard to the sources. How is it possible that the process of reconstructing the Bach autograph manuscript, which was composed with great care and probably with an attention to detail similar to the pieces for solo violin, still results in an incomplete picture of the score? Of course it is not impossible that the version of the score transcribed by the copyists imperfectly reproduces the articulation marks of the original score. But it may also have happened that the marks of the two earlier sources were not perceived as complete even in the eighteenth century, and that the articulation was later worked out in more detail – in which case, might this be the version we see in the two later copies? Today we can no longer be certain whether the two later sources – as Leisinger supposes – are really a genuine reflection of Bach's designs. However, there can be no doubt that the articulation in editions which take sources A and/or B as their basis (Beisswenger, Voss, Eppstein I)



Example 6: Bars 1–2 of the D minor Allemande in the Beisswenger, Voss, Eppstein and Leisinger editions

will be less elaborate than those which rely on sources C and D (Leisinger, Eppstein II). Moreover, even from an eighteenth-century perspective, the amendment of the articulation marks in the earlier sources, or in the editions based thereon, probably cannot be regarded as incorrect.

f) Prelude in D minor

From our examples so far and from the critical notes in the discussed editions of the score, it is apparent that the editors often extend the articulation of one or more clearly legible motifs to musically similar parts which are hard to decipher or incompletely copied. It is impossible to reach agreement, however, on when we should consider the transposed version of a given bar or an ornamented, varied repetition thereof as "similar" or not. Moreover, the possibility also arises that Bach deliberately articulated related motifs in different ways. Those thoroughly familiar with the Bach

manuscripts and the works themselves, as well as authors of significant monographs on the theme of articulation – the aforementioned Georg von Dadelsen, John Butt and Josef Fuchs – have reached the conclusion that variations in articulation on an extensive scale are never typical of Bach.[35] As John Butt puts it, it can be gleaned from the manuscripts that

> Bach did aim at consistency of markings. The consistencies vastly outweigh the inconsistencies.[36]

On the part of the editors, therefore, the standardization of articulation in analogous passages is indeed justified to a certain degree, although we must also keep in mind that decisions made by taking such arguments into account are always of necessity subjective.

Let us now examine a movement in which an analogy-based choice of articulation plays a particularly important role, in that a certain type of motif is present as a thread running through the entire movement. Namely, the motif in the D minor Prelude that appears in the very first bar of the movement and is chiefly characterized by the domed melodic line peaking on the second beat. This type of motif, in my opinion, is clearly present in 18 of the movement's 63 bars: in bars 1, 2, *3, 5, 7, 9,* 10*, 13, 15, *18, 19, 20, 25,* 40, 42, *50,* 55* and 56*.[37]

The distinguishing mark of this motif type, therefore, is that the melodic line in the first crotchet of the bar arches upwards, with the highest note in the bar falling at the start of the second crotchet. The descent from the peak varies greatly in the second and third crotchets, so that when working out the articulation it is the beginning of the highlighted bars which deserves primary attention. Given that the exact rhythm is an important factor from the perspective of articulation, we must add that four of the bars (1, 13, 40 and 42) contain two quavers on the first beat, while the others contain four semiquavers.

In the case of bars that begin with a quaver, the articulation presents no problem: the two quavers are evidently played with separate strokes, as we can see in both the sources and modern editions. But what possible alternatives in articulation can we expect in the bars that begin with semiquavers?

[35] J. R. Fuchs, *Studien zu Artikulationsangaben in Orgel- und Clavierwerken von J. S. Bach* (Neuhausen–Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1985); J. A. Butt, *Bach Interpretation. Articulation Marks in Primary Sources of J. S. Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

[36] Butt, *Bach Interpretation,* 131.

[37] Of the listed bars, those in italics have the same rhythm, while those indicated with an asterisk I regard as more distant relatives of the group. Even more distantly related, and thus absent from the list, are bars 33–36, mention of which is only justified by the fact that the first four semiquavers reach towards the second beat as the peak of the measure. For all the source material of the highlighted bars, see Table 1.

1) Slurred pairs of notes (2+2) do not feature even once in the sources, consequently I do not consider this a likely alternative.
2) Playing the four semiquavers separately is a viable alternative, but not very likely given that of the total of 56 instances in 14 bars across four sources only two appear without any slurs – and so perhaps this is conceivable only as an occasional variation.
3) I do not find it a very acceptable option to play two semiquavers slurred and two separately as this reverses the direction of the bowing, and there is also no sign of this in the sources.
4) If we play the four semiquavers in one bow, then, although the start of the bar and the second beat will fall in different directions, an intention to this effect can be gleaned from the sources (in source D, for example, this is the dominant marking).
5) In my view, a 3+1 articulation of notes is not the most appropriate option in most cases either, because in this way the lead-in to the second crotchet does not proceed entirely naturally, while marks clearly indicating this alternative are very rare in the sources (perhaps only A: 18, 20, C: 15 and D: 20).
6) A 1+3 articulation lends itself far better to a dynamic and expressive lead-in to the second crotchet, and is found frequently in sources A, B and C. Personally, in view of the practical and musical advantages, as well as its presence in the sources, I would choose this option: an articulation of 1+3 in most of the 14 bars in question. Even so, I do not think it impossible to alternate between four slurred notes and perhaps four semiquavers played separately, while in bar 15 the 3+1 articulation is probably the most suitable option due to the intervals.

The editors opt for varying degrees of analogy-based uniformization. In both of his texts, Eppstein recommends the 1+3 articulation in all 14 instances, but adds in his notes that the player may choose another solution.[38] Voss also sides with the 1+3 option, but not as rigidly: in bars 18–20, taking Anna Magdalena Bach's marks as his starting point, he recommends a 3+1 articulation (the slur in bar 19, which he presumably substitutes based on the analogy, he naturally places in parentheses). It is interesting to note that in this movement, Leisinger and Beisswenger reach an identical standpoint despite working from different sources: both recommend four slurred semiquavers in their editions. Leisinger obviously proceeds from the clearly legible source D, which unequivocally marks the slur in this way, while Beisswenger – in a manner I do not entirely understand – arrives at the same solution from the extremely vague slurs of Anna Magdalena Bach. In her notes she establishes an analogy only among the bars of

[38] *NBA,* VI/2, 46. Eppstein's footnotes state that, expressly on the basis of the analogy, he standardizes the articulation of only the nine bars with an identical rhythm, although he recommends the same bowing (1 + 3) for the other five bars I myself regard as similar. In addition, referring to the difficulty of interpreting the sources, he also states: "we do not know which slurs featured in the autograph manuscript, nor whether the articulation therein was really uniform". In Eppstein's view, the three acceptable variants of the articulation are 1 + 3, 3 + 1 or four slurred notes.

identical rhythm (which I mark in bold), her brief justification stating only that slurs of this kind predominate at the beginning of bars.[39] For the sake of a complete appraisal, I would add that Leisinger and Beisswenger do not standardize to the same degree as Eppstein. In bars 10, 25 and 50, for example, their chosen solutions differ: in bars 10 and 25, respectively, Beisswenger and Leisinger switch to the 1+3 articulation favoured by Eppstein, while in bars 55–56 both adopt the 1+3 option (due to the semiquaver tied to the previous bar).

Besides the diversity of published scores, this example also demonstrates that the variety of the available sources is not entirely apparent in any of the critical editions. Each edition is more uniform than any of the sources and, in dealing mostly with individual slurs, it is not at all possible to conclude from the critical editions what the original manuscripts really contained. In the bars under discussion, I largely concur with the (partly speculative, partly documented) methods of the editors, since I do not believe that Bach's articulation would have been as varied or "inconsistent" as we can observe in some of the sources. However, I regard Eppstein's total uniformity as excessive, while in Beisswenger I cannot clearly see the connection between the source and the bowing derived from it and inserted almost entirely uniformly into the score.[40]

4. Conclusion

I do not believe, based on the few examples presented, that we can provide an exhaustive answer to our second starting question of how we can make the right choice among the various critical editions and the individual solutions they propose. Indeed, it is my hope that my examples will stimulate further inquiry and the drawing of many more comparisons. What I may nevertheless have succeeded in demonstrating is that, when it comes to the articulation of the cello suites, not even the most critical and objective of editors can truly remain in the background, their decisions being of necessity highly subjective by dint of the quality of the sources. The editor's intervention is perhaps least conspicuous – due to the clearer picture provided by the copies – in the text of the scores that are based on sources C and D (Leisinger, Eppstein II), as well as in the Beisswenger edition which uses only Anna Magdalena Bach's copy. In the case of Eppstein's Text I and Voss's edition, the intervention is on a substantially greater scale given that – as they outline in their basic principles – they are assembling and complet-

[39] Beisswenger, 83.

[40] In the D minor Prelude, besides the bars discussed here, there are naturally numerous musical parallels and sequences to be found in the movement, the articulation of which would be at least as interesting and important to examine (for example: bars 14, 16; bars 21, 22; bars 26–29; bars 33–36; bars 45–47; bars 49, 53).

Table 4: Articulation of the motif of the D minor Prelude in the various sources

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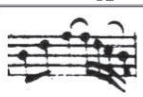
1.				
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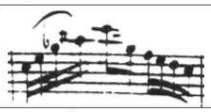
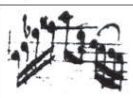
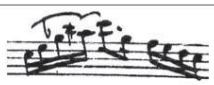
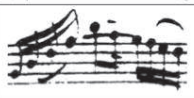
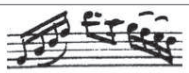
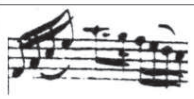
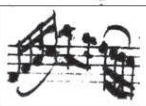
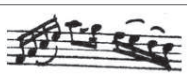
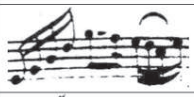
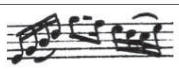
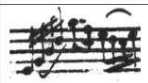
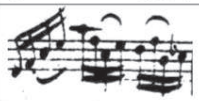
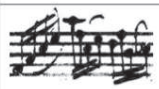
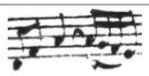
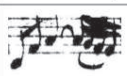
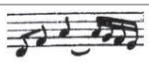
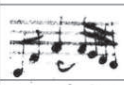
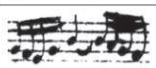
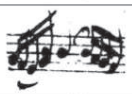
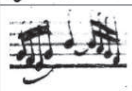
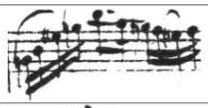
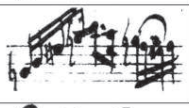
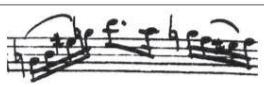
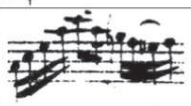
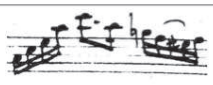
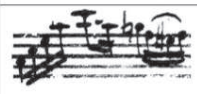
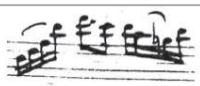
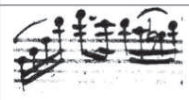
3.				
5.				
7.				
9.				
10. *				
13.				
15.				
18.				
19.				
20.				

ing several different, not easily decipherable manuscripts to create a text that never existed in such a form before.

The Bärenreiter Urtext provides an answer to the problem raised by the sources of the cello suites that differs from all the other editions. In practically redefining the relationship between performers and critical editions, the main problem of the articulation

marks does not even feature in this edition; it is left to the individual performer to find their own solution based on the sources themselves. In light of the complexity of the situation with regard to the sources, I think that the editors' decision is entirely justified and uniquely helpful to a limited (well-informed, musically literate) circle of users.

The other four critical editions also demand an above-average investment from the performer: it is not enough to interpret the slurs contained in these editions as ready-made "bowing", but it is also of crucial importance to be clear about the background to the markings; moreover, in some places it is necessary to come up with independent solutions and additions. With regard to our initial example, the G major Menuet I, Eppstein states in his notes that he has attempted to create a consistent score from both groups of sources, although he also stresses emphatically that "other solutions for the articulation are possible, and players can experiment with these themselves".[41] However, if a discerning performer regards experimentation, background knowledge and comparisons to the sources as indispensible, then he or she will certainly want to follow the path outlined by the Bärenreiter Urtext, while the other critical editions may prove important only in so far as they offer the noteworthy opinions of expert music scholars well versed in the Bach manuscripts. For less informed users, for example amateur cellists or young students, it may be far more useful to study an instructive edition than a critical edition that is difficult to use.

(English translation by Miklós Bodóczky)

[41] "[…] sei ausdrücklich betont, dass auch andere Lösungen möglich sind und dass der Spieler selbst experimentieren möge." *NBA,* VI/2, 42.

Péter Bozó

Liszt as a Song Composer, 1839–1861

Extract from the author's PhD dissertation: A Buch der Lieder*től* a Gesammelte Lieder*ig*: *Liszt összegyűjtött dalainak első négy füzete és előfutárai* [From *Buch der Lieder* to *Gesammelte Lieder:* The First Four Volumes of Liszt's Collected Songs and Their Predecessors], defended in 2010 (research director: László Vikárius).

This study sets out to epitomize the experiences I gained working on a PhD dissertation about the song output of Liszt up to the end of his Weimar period. Part 1 gives a brief survey of the secondary literature. Part 2 presents the working methods used. Part 3 is devoted to the so-called "national" aspect. Part 4 outlines the characteristic types among various song versions. The final part discusses the cyclic character of Liszt's song opuses.

1. Research antecedents

The secondary literature on Franz Liszt's song output seems at first sight to be considerable. It is surprising, however, to find the works that explore and evaluate the composer's songs approach this part of the œuvre in quite contrary ways. Peter Raabe,[1] Hans Joachim Moser,[2] and in his much gentler way Reinhold Brinkmann,[3] conclude

[1] "[…] seine Lieder […] liegen nun übersichtlich geordnet in drei Bänden der Gesamtausgabe vor, Bänden, die manches Gute und manches Schwache enthalten, ja man kann hier ruhig einmal die stärkste Ausdrucksform anwenden und sagen: manches völlig Unbrauchbare und manches ganz Entzückende." Peter Raabe. *Liszts Schaffen* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, ^{2}1968 [^{1}1931]).

[2] "Bei dem Schulhaupt [i. e. the head of the New German School], Franz Liszt, ist das Lied gewiß Nebenstundenwerk geblieben, obwohl dieser Bestand dank seiner allgemeinen hohen Fruchtbarkeit recht umfangreich ausgefallen ist. Bei der überragenden Bedeutung ihres Urhebers eignet den Liedern trotz nicht allzu hohen Kunstwertes erhebliche entwicklungsgeschichtliche Wichtigkeit. […] Aus der Pariser Salonatmosphäre stammt seine Neigung auch, die Lieder arienhaft auszuspinnen und die Lyrik zu dramatisieren. So wird ihm Heines *Lorelei* eine Theaterszene von acht Druckseiten, Lenaus *Drei Zigeuner* erhalten gleichen Umfang, Mignons *Kennst du das Land* wird gar noch länger auseinandergezogen und ist, um es klar und deutlich zu sagen, geradezu unerträglich." Hans Joachim Moser. *Das deutsche Lied seit Mozart* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, ^{2}1968 [^{1}1937]).

[3] "Ebenso steht es mit dem einst berühmten *Es muß was* [sic] *Wunderbares sein* von Franz Liszt, dessen Klavier- und Orchestermusik im Kanon geblieben ist, eine Wertschätzung, die aber nicht mehr das œuvre vokaler Lyrik einbezieht." Reinhold Brinkmann, "Musikalische Lyrik im 19. Jahrhundert", in *Handbuch der Musikalischen Gattungen,* hrsg. von Siegfried Mauser, Bd. 8, 2, hrsg. von Hermann Danuser (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2004), 11.

that Liszt's songs do not belong to the canon of masterpieces of the genre. Yet they like his œuvre in general do not lack advocates, as the comments of Ronald Turner and Eleni Panagiotopoulou show:

> Perhaps no part of the vast Liszt repertoire has been so neglected, both in performance and in print, as his songs. For a long time, partially because of their difficulty and partially because of the negative (and sometimes inaccurate) evaluations by Alfred Einstein and other early 20th-century musicologists, the songs of Liszt were looked upon as somewhat uncouth and less worthy of performance than those of his contemporaries.[4]

> The question why so much of Liszt's music is in general not in the standard repertoire is one that calls for debate. His work had fallen victim to ignorance, misconception, misunderstanding and personal spitefulness and the songs were no exception.[5]

Some, of course, argue that Liszt's importance to the history of the genre lies less in his own compositions than in his promotion of works by other song composers. That seems to be the view taken by Peter Jost in the "Lied" entry of the *MGG* encyclopedia[6] and by Eric Sams and Graham Johnson in the "Lied" entry of the latest *Grove:*

> Although lack of deep knowledge and response to language may leave Liszt as only a tributary to the lied, he was nevertheless a powerful influence in the mainstream, and through several channels. He was an active propagandist, both in his prose writing (essay on Franz in *Gesammelte Schriften,* iv, 1855–9) and more generally through his piano transcriptions of lieder (Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Mendelssohn and Franz as well as his own songs).[7]

Others, however, assign great significance to the history of the genre not only to Liszt's song transcriptions but to his own song compositions, so much so that they class them as the "missing link" between Schumann and Hugo Wolf. It is hardly surprising

[4] Ronald Turner, "A Comparison of the Two Sets of Liszt–Hugo Songs", *Journal of the American Liszt Society* 5 (June 1979), 16.

[5] Eleni Panagiotopoulou, "An Evaluation of the Songs of Franz Liszt and Commentary on Their Performance", *The Liszt Society Journal* 25 (2000), 9.

[6] "Die Bedeutung der Neudeutschen Wagner und Liszt besteht vor allem in ihrer großen Wirkung durch die theoretischen Schriften der 1850er Jahre, die ein neues Wort-Ton- bzw. Poesie-Musik-Verhältnis mit der Konsequenz der neuen Gattungen Musikdrama und symphonische Dichtung propagierten. Die Lieder beider Komponisten treten demgegenüber zurück." Peter Jost, "Lied", in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* hrsg. von Ludwig Finscher, Sachteil, Bd. 5 (Kassel–Basel–London–New York–Prag: Bärenreiter / Stuttgart–Weimar: Metzler, 1996), 1295.

[7] Eric Sams and Graham Johnson, "Lied / IV.5: Wagner, Liszt and Cornelius", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 14, 676.

to find that representatives of the latter view are Liszt specialists: Alan Walker[8] and also Ben Arnold.[9] Another example of such a high estimation comes in the recent Lied volume of the *Cambridge Companion* series, where Rena Charnin Mueller interestingly assigns Liszt, the polyglot song composer, a separate chapter.[10] The only other 19th-century composers to receive such an honor in the book are the German-speaking classics of the genre (Franz Schubert, Robert Schumann, Johannes Brahms and Hugo Wolf). But can Liszt, who also wrote French, Italian, Russian, English and Hungarian songs, be seen simply as a composer of German songs?

Though Liszt understandably has received far more scholarly attention as a composer of piano and symphonic works than as a song composer,[11] it is astonishing how little his song œuvre has been explored. Studies available usually emphasize two sides: their linguistic and stylistic heterogeneity, in line with Liszt's cosmopolitanism, and the ongoing revisions, which result in different extant versions of some songs. Opinions differ, however, on why Liszt kept revising them, and mask contrary aesthetic judgments as well. Scholars are wont to ascribe the revisions to a particular factor. Humphrey Searle and Sams and Johnson relate them to his development as a composer:

> It is interesting to compare the earlier with the later versions of many of these songs […]. In most cases the later revisions, which are the ones usually known and performed today, represent a considerable improvement. In the 1840s Liszt had certain disadvantages as a songwriter; he was a virtuoso pianist who tended to write over-elaborate accompaniments; he was steeped in the feeling of Italian opera, and therefore was inclined to overdramatise the most simple lyrical poems; and he was as yet insufficiently at home with German traditions to avoid making mistakes in setting German words.[12]

> Liszt was well aware of his difficulties with the form […], as his revisions show.[13]

[8] "[…] the best of them [i. e. of Liszt's German songs] (»Mignons Lied«, »Die Loreley«, »Freudvoll und leidvoll«, »Vergiftet sind meine Lieder«) form the »missing link« between Schumann and Hugo Wolf." Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt,* vol. 2: *The Weimar Years, 1848–1861* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), 502. Cf. id., "Liszt and the Lied", in *Reflections on Liszt* (Ithaca–London: Cornell University Press, 2005), 150, where he replaced Wolf's name with that of Mahler.

[9] Ben Arnold, "Visions and Revisions: Looking into Liszt's Lieder", in *Analecta Lisztiana III: Liszt and the Birth of Modern Europe = Franz Liszt Studies Series,* No. 9, ed. by Michael Saffle and Rossana Dalmonte (New York: Pendragon, 2003), 256.

[10] Rena Charnin Mueller, "The Lieder of Liszt", in *The Cambridge Companion to the Lied,* ed. by James Parsons (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 168–184.

[11] For an annotated bibliography of the Liszt literature see Michael Saffle, *Franz Liszt: A Guide to Research* (New York–London: Routledge, ^{3}2009 [^{1}1991]).

[12] Humphrey Searle, *The Music of Liszt* (New York: Dover, ^{2}1966 [^{1}1954]), 50.

[13] Sams–Johnson, "Lied", 676.

Monika Hennemann relates the revisions to changes in the composer's aesthetic views and tastes:

> The vast majority of Liszt's songs from 1839 to 1847 were radically revised during his Weimar period, by which time he had come to believe that they were "mostly too ultrasentimental, and frequently too full in the accompaniment".[14]

Mueller links the revisions to "pluralist" thinking and Arnold to "developing vision":

> […] he was an artist who continually rethought his compositions, revising them several times after their initial state had been achieved, yielding multiple readings of the same musical text.[15]
>
> The majority of Liszt's revisions focus on extreme simplifications of his earlier songs and this simplification in revisions, nevertheless, is a product of his "developing vision". […] Because of this "developing vision", Liszt did not necessarily improve the songs he recomposed or revised in every case, but merely changed them to fit his current mode of thought. These revisions should not necessarily indicate Liszt's dissatisfaction with the earlier versions of his songs. […] Like Emily Dickinson, who left us varying versions of the same poems, Liszt did not tell us whether he always preferred earlier or later versions of individual works. He never withdrew any of his songs from print, and performers continue to choose from various versions today.[16]

This makes it even stranger that nobody has yet tried to classify the composer's song revisions and song versions, although the venerable attempts to catalogue Liszt's œuvre – Raabe (1931),[17] Searle (1954),[18] Winklhofer (1985),[19] Eckhardt and Mueller (2001),[20] Short and Howard (2004)[21] – show disquieting anomalies in this respect. Liszt

[14] Monika Hennemann, "Liszt's Lieder", in *The Cambridge Companion to Liszt,* ed. by Kenneth Hamilton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 199.
[15] Mueller, "The Lieder of Liszt", 168.
[16] Arnold, "Visions and Revisions", 256.
[17] "Verzeichnis aller Werke Liszts nach Gruppen geordnet", in Raabe, *Liszt's Schaffen* (Stuttgart–Berlin: Cotta'sche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, [1]1931), 241–364. See also the later edition revised by his son, Felix Raabe: "Verzeichnis aller Werke Liszts nach Gruppen geordnet", in *Liszt's Schaffen* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, [2]1968), 241–364.
[18] Humphrey Searle, "Liszt, Ferencz (Franz)", in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* ed. by Eric Blom (London: Macmillan, 1954), 263–314.
[19] Humphrey Searle and Sharon Winklhofer, "Works", in *The New Grove Early Romantic Masters,* vol. 1: *Chopin, Schumann, Liszt,* ed. by Stanley Sadie (New York–London: Norton, 1985), 322–368.
[20] Mária Eckhardt and Rena Charnin Mueller, "Liszt, Franz: Works", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), 785–872.
[21] *F. Liszt: List of Works,* ed. by Michael Short, Leslie Howard (Milano: Ruginenti, 2004). = *Quaderni dell'Istituto Liszt* 3 (2004).

scholars, apart from Mueller in his 1988 study,[22] seem almost oblivious to the fact that Liszt mainly published his songs in various song collections or cycles, not separately, so that he was engaged not only in revising them but in anthologizing them. This is because the available lists of works focus on the connections between different song versions. They number each separately, without in most cases mentioning the existence of the collections Liszt himself compiled. Moreover most of the musical sources remain to be explored, despite the merit Mueller has earned in this regard.[23] The three volumes of the old "complete" edition of Liszt's songs[24] are far from complete. Although work on the collected edition begun by István Gárdonyi and István Szelényi has gone on for four decades,[25] it has yet to reach this group of works. Nothing exemplifies better the slight degree to which Liszt's song œuvre has been explored than the recent discovery of an unknown song in the Music Department of the Munich Bavarian State Library.[26]

2. Research methods employed

The methods chosen here as angles of inquiry arose to a great extent from the current state of the research. The subject in a strict sense is the part of Liszt's song œuvre that seems appropriate for demonstrating all the viewpoints felt to be important: the first four volumes of the collection *Franz Liszt's Gesammelte Lieder* published in 1860, and their predecessors. For the four volumes consist of revised, assorted and regrouped versions of songs originally published in the first, 1840s period of Liszt's song œuvre, as parts of other, mixed collections (*Buch der Lieder,* vols. 1–2, 1843, corrected edition of vol. 1: 1856; *Sechs Lieder für eine Singstimme,* 1844; *Schiller und Goethe. Lieder,* 1848). By predecessors of the 1860 collection is meant earlier song publications whose pieces Liszt reused in his *Gesammelte Lieder*. This is not an exhaustive survey of Liszt's song output: it does not cover his late activity as a song composer. So it does not detail, for example, the late, French edition of his *Collected Songs* (which had reached eight volumes by the 1880s) or revisions related to that newer publication. (For a content overview of the song opuses dealt with see the Appendix). As for the composition

[22] Rena Charnin Mueller, "Reevaluating the Liszt Chronology: The Case of *Anfangs wollt ich fast verzagen*", *19th-Century Music* 12/2 (Fall 1988), 132–147.
[23] Rena Charnin Mueller, *Liszt's Tasso Sketchbook: Studies in Sources and Revisions* (Ph. D. diss., New York University, 1986).
[24] *Grossherzog Carl Alexander Ausgabe der musikalischen Werke Franz Liszts* [henceforward: GA], hrsg. von der Franz-Liszt-Stiftung (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1907–1936), Serie VII, Bd. 1–3 (1917, 1921, 1922).
[25] Franz Liszt, *Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke / New Edition of the Complete Works,* hrsg. von / ed. by István Gárdonyi, István Szelényi, Imre Mező, Imre Sulyok et al. (Budapest: Editio Musica, 1970–).
[26] *Wenn die letzten Sterne bleichen,* hrsg. von Rolf Griebel, Sigrid von Moisy and Sabine Kurth (München: Henle, 2007).

process, study of the first four volumes of the *Gesammelte Lieder* and their predecessors seems apposite for discussing and evaluating the types of versions and revisions and demonstrating Liszt's approaches when compiling anthologies.

The basis for this work was systematization of the primary musical sources to hand. Since Liszt's most active period as a songwriter was spent in Weimar (1848–60), most of the sources are now in Weimar collections (Stiftung Weimarer Klassik, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv/Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek). So the backbone of the research was study of the Weimar source materials in the field, during a research trip in October 2005.[27] The remaining Liszt sources in other libraries of the world were studied as reproductions. The intention in examining the source material was completeness as far as possible, but the great number and geographical dispersal of the sources and the absence of an adequate work catalog or critical edition, coupled with knowledge of the lacunae in the source stemmata, meant that further manuscripts would almost certainly emerge after my work was completed. (A hypothetical chronology and the lacunae in the sources also appear in the Appendix in the form of stemmata.)

3. The "national" aspect of Liszt's songs

Study of the primary sources reveals that the beginnings of Liszt's song œuvre – if lost juvenile vocal works[28] are ignored – can be dated to the turn of the 1830s and 1840s. Variation in language and genre was found from the outset. In all probability, his first song for solo voice with piano accompaniment was a romance in Italian,[29] while his print debut was with a *mélodie* in French,[30] and his first more extensive collections[31] contained German *Lieder* as well. This diversity of his songs matches his complicated national and cultural identity. What with Liszt's too often emphasized, self-declared Hungarian national affiliation and his French language and culture, it is striking to find

[27] The financial support for my fieldwork came from a Kodály Scholarship of the Hungarian Ministry for Culture and Education, for which I am most grateful.

[28] See Adam Liszt's letter (20 March 1824): "Auch hat er [his son Franz] hier schon mehrere Sachen für's Clavier und Gesang geschrieben, die man immer zu hören wünscht und die man mir recht gut bezahlen wollte; allein ich hoffe eine bessere Speculation in London damit zu machen." La Mara, "Aus Franz Liszts erster Jugend: ein Schreiben seines Vaters mit Briefen Czernys an ihn", *Die Musik* 5/13 (1905–1906), 18. However, the early vocal works mentioned in his father's letter have not survived.

[29] *Angiolin dal biondo crin* (a poem by Cesare Bocella) was composed in 1839 as a cradle song for his daughter Blandine. It was published in 1843 by Schlesinger in Berlin as the last number in the first volume of his *Buch der Lieder*. Cf. *Marie de Flavigny, comtesse d'Agoult: Correspondance générale,* éd. par Charles F. Dupêchez (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2004), Tome II, 528.

[30] *Il m'aimait tant* (a poem by Delphine de Girardin) was first published in 1842 in Paris by Latte, and then in 1843 in Mainz by Schott, with a German translation.

[31] The first volume of his *Buch der Lieder* (Berlin: Schlesinger, 1843) and his *Sechs Lieder für eine Singstimme* (Köln: Eck & Co., 1844).

that his song œuvre reflects a leaning toward the German musical culture of his day. This vocal repertory and Liszt's works for male-voice choir[32] cannot be studied out of the historical context of the German national aspirations of his period[33] or of his activity in Germany. As his plans for a German *Année de pèlerinage* show, there is a documented link between some of Liszt's early songs and the Franco-German political conflict of 1840, whereby the Rhine songs came into fashion. His plan for a German volume of his *Années de pèlerinage* comprises the title of three of his first German songs, *Die Loreley, Die Zelle in Nonnenwerth* (= Roland's Sage) and *Am Rhein im schönen Strome*:

> 3ème Année de Pélerinage – Was ist des Deutschen etc. – Lore Ley – Roland's Sage (Benedict) / Am Rhein! Am Rhein! – (entrecoupé de Leyer und Schwerdt – Lützow's Jagd?)[34]

So the "decisive German influence" on Liszt's songs posited in earlier German literature[35] has grounds, if not as Raabe, later a National Socialist,[36] and some of Liszt's German contemporaries[37] tried to present it through the prism of political prejudices. Certainly Liszt's efforts for German musical culture[38] (and concessions to German nationalism) mirror personal aspirations to be a symphonic composer and efforts as a cultural policy-maker. The complexity of his national identity, the cosmopolitanism of his activities, and his concurrent orientation towards Germany are exemplified, para-

[32] I mean such male-voice choruses as *Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland* (text by Ernst Moritz Arndt) and *Rheinweinlied* (poem by Georg Herwegh).

[33] For a survey of the history of 19th-century German nationalism, see Heinrich August Winkler, *The Long Road West,* vol. 1: *1789–1933* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

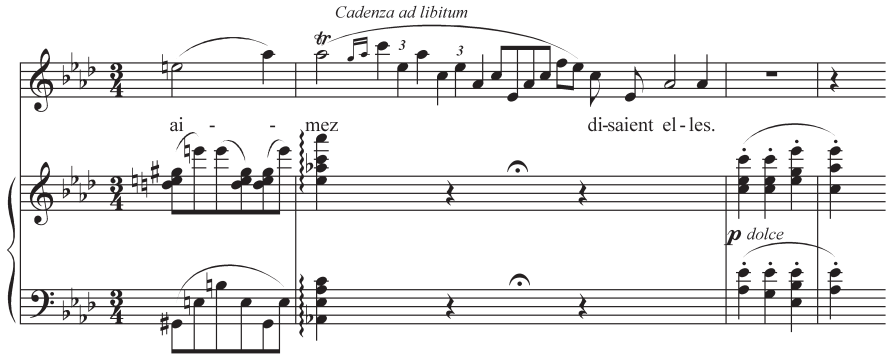
[34] D-WRgs 60/N 8 (p. 7). The transcription of the sketchbook entry was first published by Rena Charnin Mueller, "Liszt Catalogues and Inventories of His Works", *Studia Musicologica* 34/3–4 (1992), 234. For an interpretation of the entry see Péter Bozó, "Liszt's Plan for a German Années de pèlerinage: 'Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?'", *Studia Musicologica* 44/1 (2006), 19–38.

[35] Bernhard Vogel, *Franz Liszt als Lyriker* (Leipzig: Kahnt Nachfolger, 1887), 11; Josef Wenz, *Franz Liszt als Liederkomponist* (Ph. D. diss., Frankfurt am Main, 1921), 12; Raabe, *Liszts Schaffen,* 130–131.

[36] See for example "Franz Liszt und das deutsche Musikleben", in *Deutsche Meister. Reden von Peter Raabe* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1937), 43–57. Cf. Oliver Rathkolb, "Zeitgeschichtliche Notizen zur politischen Rezeption des 'europäischen Phänomens Franz Liszt' während der nationalsozialistischen Ära", in *Liszt Heute. Bericht über das Internationale Symposion in Eisenstadt 8.–11. Mai 1986,* hrsg. von Gerhard J. Winkler und Johannes-Leopold Mayer (Eisenstadt: Burgenländisches Landesmuseum, 1987), 45–55; furthermore: Nina Okrassa, *Peter Raabe: Dirigent, Musikschriftsteller und Präsident der Reichsmusikkammer (1872–1945)* (Köln–Weimar–Wien: Böhlau, 2004).

[37] See for example Franz Brendel's nationalist concept of the so-called New German School in his 1859 speech: "Zur Anbahnung einer Verständigung", *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 50 (10. Juni 1859), 265–273. Cf. Richard Taruskin, "Nationalism", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 17, 692.

[38] See *Liszt und die Neudeutsche Schule,* hrsg. von Detlef Altenburg (Laaber: Laaberverlag, 2006). Cf. Liszt's plan for a Goethe foundation: *Franz Liszt: Sämtliche Schriften,* Bd. 3: *Die Goethe-Stiftung – De la fondation Goethe,* hrsg. von Detlef Altenburg (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1997).



Example 1: *Comment disaient-ils* (1844), mm. 85–88.

doxically, in the publication practice with his songs. Most of his French *mélodies* were first published in Germany with German translations. Moreover his German *Lieder* outnumber the French, Italian, Hungarian, Russian and English songs put together.

However, the stylistic diversity of Liszt's song output is an important attribute to some extent neglected and to some extent reprimanded in German nationalist historiography.[39] The references to non-German features in Liszt's songs are well founded: some contain stylistic elements reminiscent of Italian and French musical stage works, and the text set is often treated like an opera libretto, especially in the final section of each piece. *Comment disaient-ils,* one of his French *mélodies,* is a particularly interesting case. The first version ends with a *cadenza* (Example 1) composed in all likelihood for Laure Cinti-Damoreau (1801–1863),[40] a celebrated soprano of the Paris Théâtre-Italien (1816–1825), Opéra (1825–1835) and Opéra-Comique (1836–1841),[41] famous above all for her florid singing style.[42]

All this serves as a reminder of how dangerous and misleading it can be to present only one side of Liszt's activity: its national aspect. Liszt scholars must not (as some often do) confine themselves to textual criticism of his works and ignore the historical and music-history context of his œuvre, which has equal importance.

[39] Franz Brendel, *Geschichte der Musik in Italien, Deutschland und Frankreich. Von den ersten christlichen Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* (Leipzig: Matthes, [4]1867 [[1]1852]), 638.

[40] See Liszt's letter to Emilie Merian-Genast (24 July 1860); Klára Hamburger, "Franz Liszts Briefe an Emilie Merian-Genast aus den Beständen des Goethe- und Schiller-Archivs, Weimar, Teil 1", *Studia Musicologica* 48/3–4 (September 2007), 373.

[41] Philip Robinson, "Cinti-Damoreau, Laure (Cinthie)", in *The New Grove,* vol. 5, 863.

[42] Austin Caswell, "Mme Cinti-Damoreau and the Embellishment of Italian Opera in Paris: 1820–1845", *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28/3 (1975), 459–492. Cf. with her textbook *Méthode de chant composée pour ses classes du Conservatoire par Mme. Cinti-Damoreau* (1849), which is an important source for the performance practice of 19th-century Italian opera.

4. Versions and revisions

The various versions and revisions of Liszt's vocal compositions, like the question of his national identities and the "national character" of his songs, cannot be interpreted in a piecemeal way. While earlier secondary literature, as mentioned, usually ascribed the revisions to a specific aspect, it emerges from examining some characteristic types of revision and from the various extant versions that all these aspects and motivations may well have played some instigating role.

Real improvement of Liszt's juvenile songs ensued in several cases from simplifying the technique required for the piano accompaniment (Examples 2–3) and the vocal part (Examples 4–5), and from abbreviations in the musical form and text repetitions.[43]

The construction that Searle, Sams and Johnson, rather than Arnold, place on some passages in Liszt's statements after 1850[44] and in his correspondence with Louis Köhler,[45] reviewer of his songs, suggests that Liszt too came to acknowledge the composing deficiencies in those juvenile works.[46] Looking back in his Weimar period, he saw his songs of the 1840s as invalid and felt discontented with their standard. These considerations call into question to some extent the defenses of Liszt's songs by some apologists and the comparisons made with the classics of 19th-century German song.

But the alternative versions of some of the composer's songs or the different musical settings he did of the same poem also exemplify how Liszt was indeed a pluralist composer in his thinking. For example, the 1860 edition of *S'il est un charmant gazon* has its terminate with a tonic chord, but it also can remain open-ended, as a Schumannian fragment, by closing with the dominant seventh chord (see the word "Fine" in Example 6). Furthermore, two completely different settings of *Freudvoll of leidvoll* were published concurrently in one and the same collection (Cf. Examples 7–8).

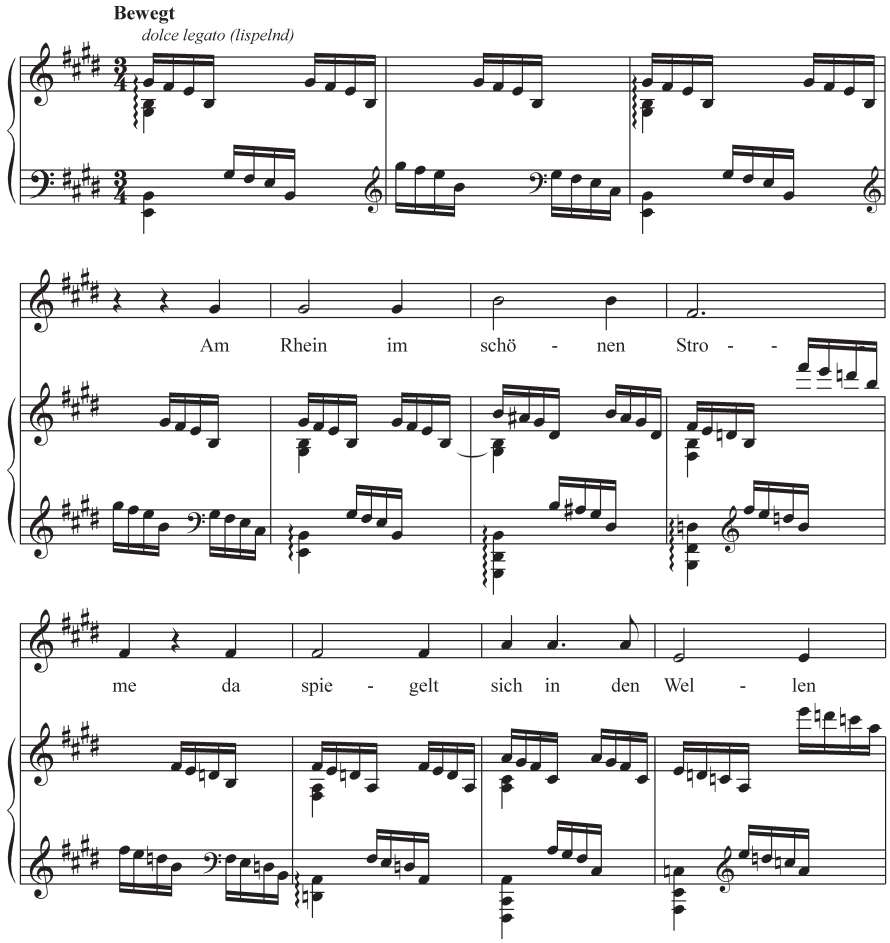
The versions of the Liszt songs for different types of voice and for solo piano, and the revised versions with orchestral accompaniment all indicate that some performers and performance activities could be a no less important stimulus behind some versions than compositional deficiencies in the early songs or ignorance of some conventions of the German *Lied* genre. The 1860 mezzo-soprano version of the first set-

[43] See for example the 1843 and 1856/60 versions of *Die Loreley* or the 1844 and 1860 versions of *Oh! quand je dors.*

[44] See for example his letters to Bettine von Brentano (3 April 1853): Friedrich Schnapp, "Unbekannte Briefe Franz Liszts zum 40. Todestag des Meisters veröffentlicht", *Die Musik* 18/10 (Juli 1926), 721–722; to his publisher Heinrich Schlesinger (18 December 1855): *Liszt Letters in the Library of Congress,* ed. by Michael Short (New York: Pendragon, 2003), 308–309. Cf. Albert Gutmann's recollections: *Aus dem Wiener Musikleben. Künstler-Erinnerungen* (Wien: Gutmann, 1914), 51.

[45] See for example *Franz Liszt's Briefe,* hrsg.von La Mara, Bd. I (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1893), 141–142.

[46] See also his own 1877 work-list, where he expressly rejected early versions of his songs. *Thematisches Verzeichniss der Werke, Bearbeitungen und Transcriptionen von F. Liszt. Neue vervollständigte Ausgabe* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1877], plate number: 14373), 113.

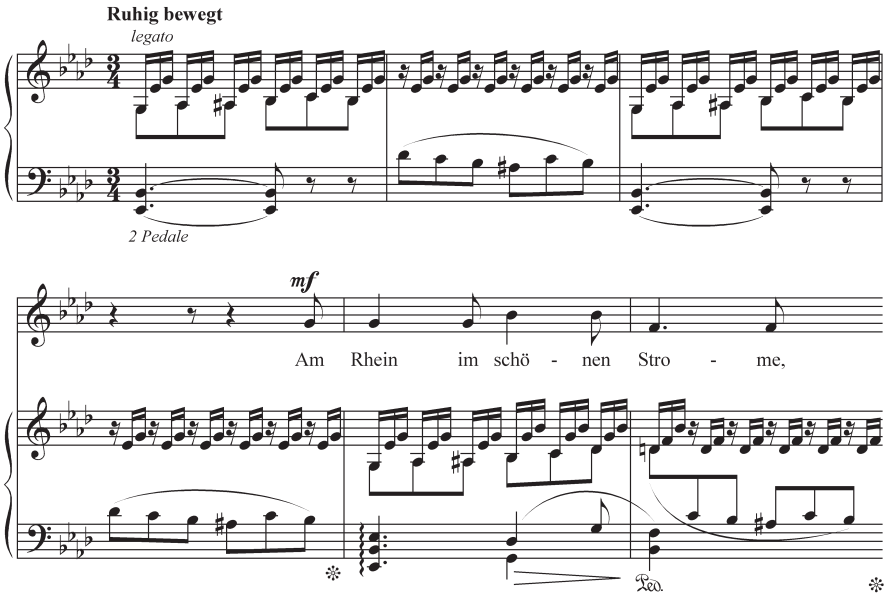


Example 2: *Am Rhein im schönen Strome* (1843), mm. 1–11

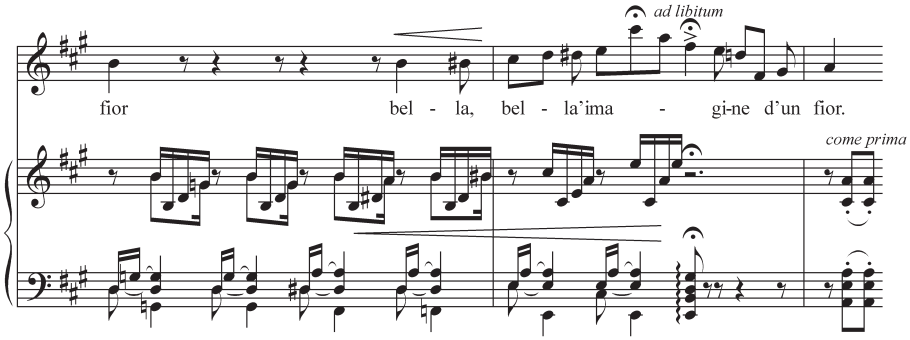
ting of *Freudvoll und leidvoll* is not simply a transposition of the soprano version, but slightly different at certain points, in line with the capabilities of the different voice type (Examples 10–11).

There is evidence in Liszt's correspondence that the orchestral song versions of *Die Loreley* and *Mignons Lied* were composed for Emilie Merian-Genast.[47] Most solo piano versions of the composer's songs were written for his own use during his virtuoso period, and are very similar to his Schubert song transcriptions, for example in the use of the solo left hand arrangement (Cf. Examples 12–13) and of the variation principle.

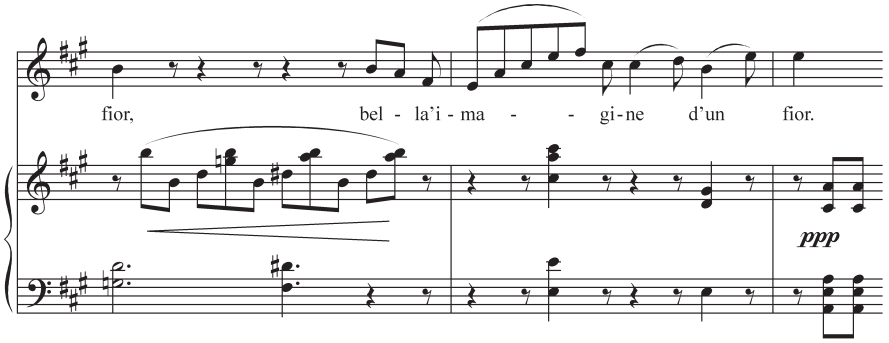
[47] Hamburger, "Franz Liszts Briefe an Emilie Merian-Genast", 386. Both orchestral songs were published 1863 in Leipzig by Kahnt.



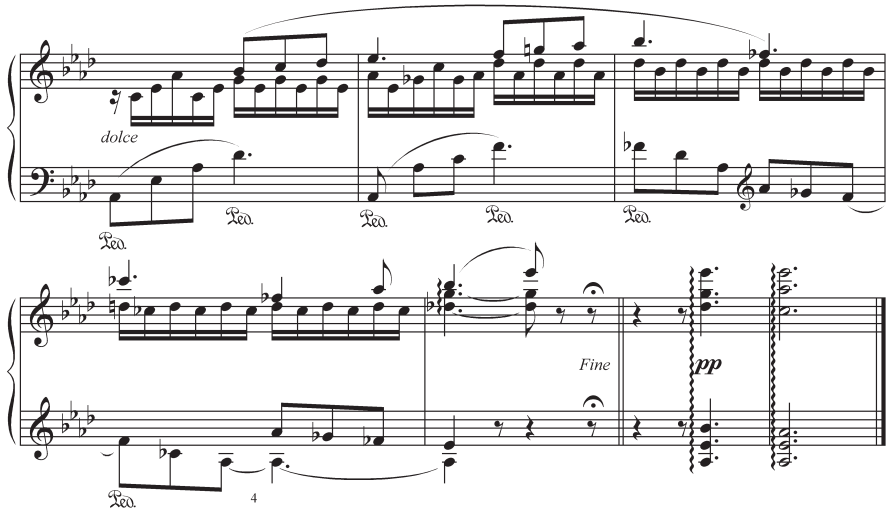
Example 3: *Am Rhein im schönen Strome* (1856/1860), mm. 1–6.



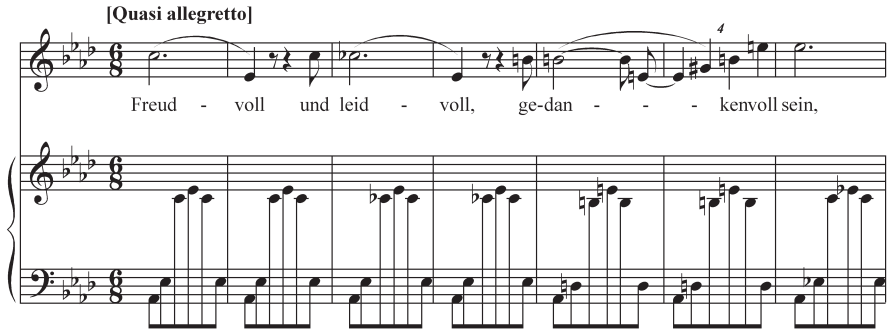
Example 4: *Angiolin dal biondo crin* (1843), mm. 50–52



Example 5: *Angiolin dal biondo crin* (1860), mm. 50–53

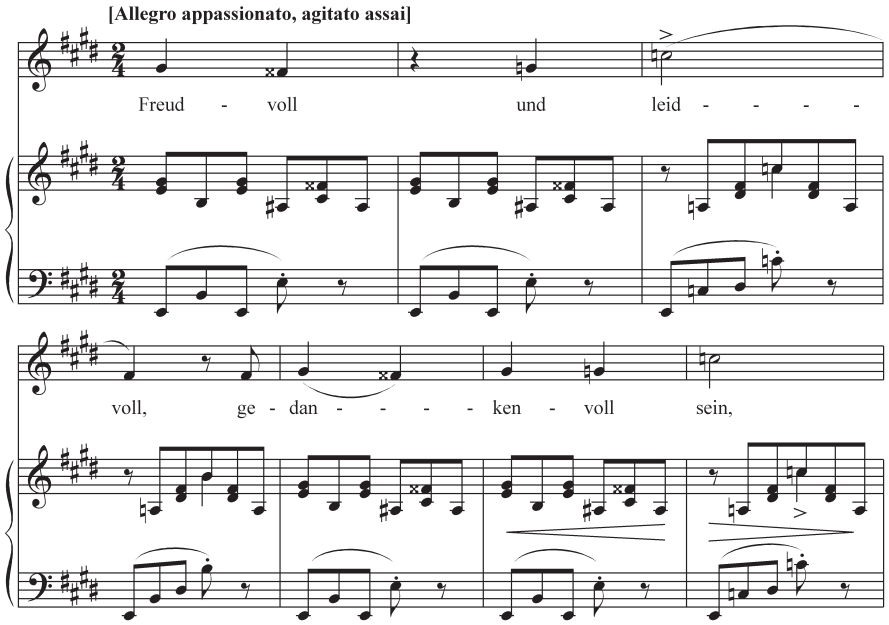


Example 6: The alternative endings of *S'il est un charmant gazon* (1860)

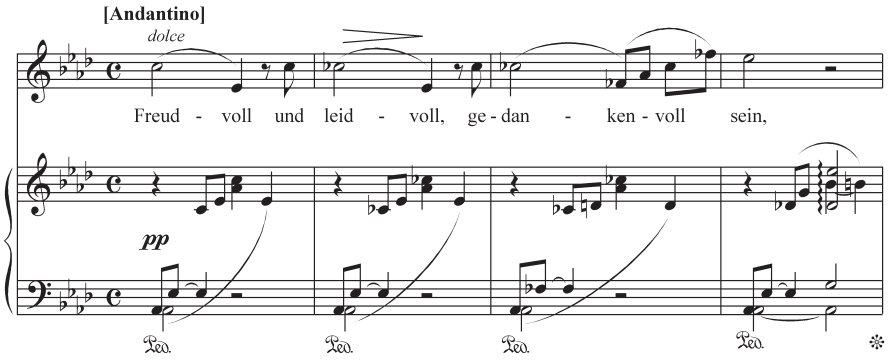


Example 7: *Freudvoll und leidvoll,* first setting, first version (1848), mm. 17–23

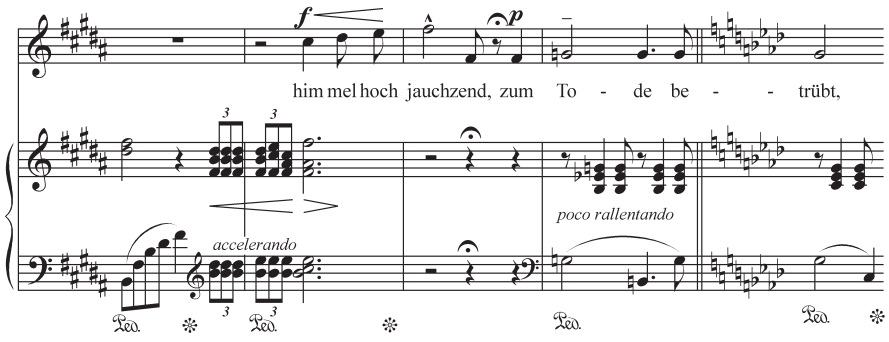
Thematic transformation (Cf. Example 7 and 9) was for Liszt not only a method of composition in his symphonic poems and programme symphonies, but a method of song revision. The use of this technique in the latter sheds light on some attributes of his compositional thinking. The variation principle played a central role in his output, but he was typically drawn to a kind of metric transformation that changed the character of the theme, to alteration of timbre, texture and type of accompaniment, and to tonal variation of the strophes, while the melody would remain largely unchanged as a kind of *cantus firmus*. Analysis of the song revisions show that this characteristic principle of musical construction in Liszt's symphonic works was important also in genres divorced from the German symphonic tradition. So the composition technique of the-



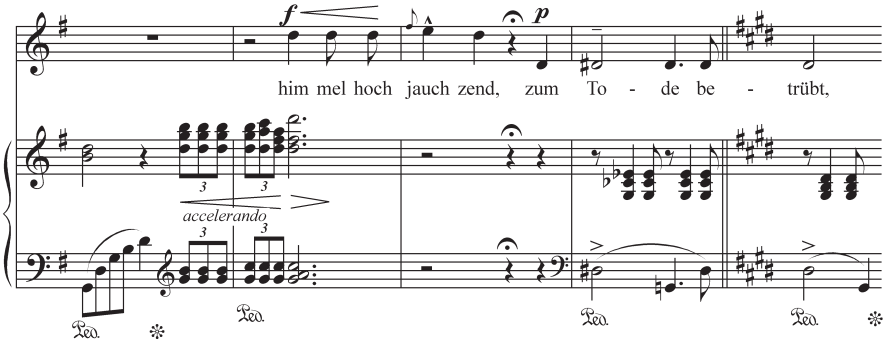
Example 8: *Freudvoll und leidvoll,* second setting (1848), mm. 14–20



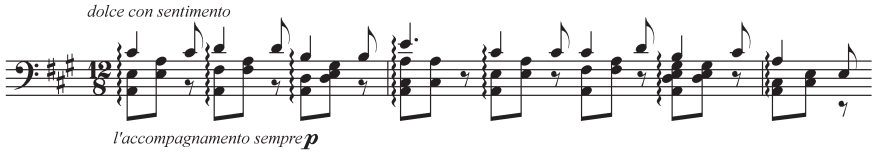
Example 9: *Freudvoll und leidvoll,* first setting, second version (1860), mm. 5–8



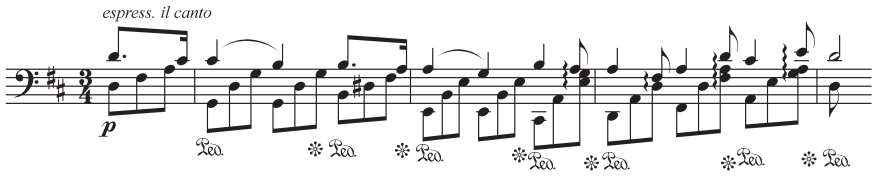
Example 10: *Freudvoll und leidvoll,* first setting, 1860 version for soprano, mm. 14–18



Example 11: *Freudvoll und leidvoll,* first setting, 1860 version for mezzo-soprano, mm. 14–18



Example 12: *Angiolin dal biondo crin,* solo piano version (1846), mm. 6–8



Example 13: Schubert–Liszt, *Lob der Tränen* (1837), mm. 6–8

matic transformation—in contrast to Dahlhaus's assumption[48] and agreement with the theses of Hansen[49] and Batta[50]—was not just a response to a compositional challenge typical of the symphonic genre. Liszt in his symphonic poems and programme symphonies was adapting an established method which he used also in improvisation and composition in his early years and in other genres as well.

[48] Carl Dahlhaus, "Liszt's Idee des Symponischen", in *Liszt-Studien,* Bd. 2: *Referate des 2. Europäischen Liszt-Symposions, Eisenstadt 1978,* hrsg. von Serge Gut (München–Salzburg: Katzbichler, 1981), 36–42.

[49] Hansen, Bernard, *Variationen und Varianten in den musikalischen Werken Franz Liszts* (Diss., Universität Hamburg, 1959).

[50] Batta András, *Az improvizációtól a szimfonikus költeményig* [From improvisation to the symphonic poem] (PhD diss., Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Főiskola, Budapest, 1987).

5. Cycle and collection

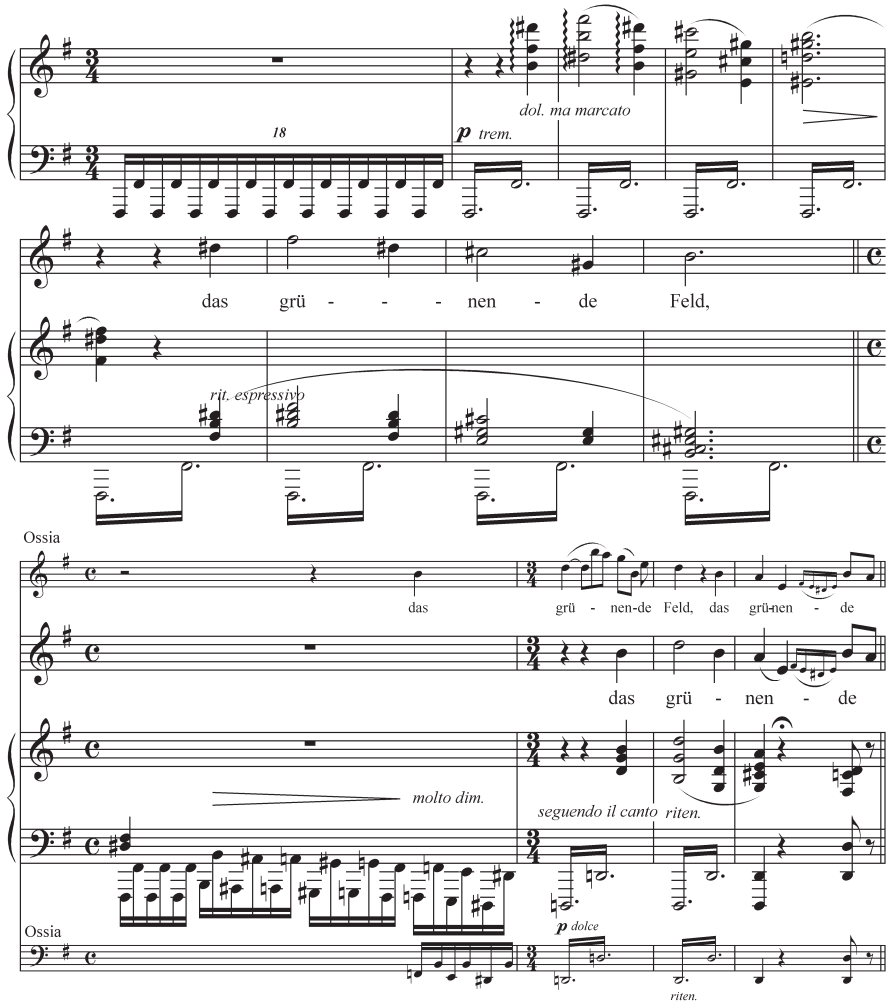
It is also interesting to examine the order of volumes I–IV of the *Gesammelte Lieder* and the predecessors of them, in the context of 19th-century song cycles, in order to seek signs of conscious arrangement of the songs or implications of a cycle. As the example of the cyclic arrangement of the *Müllerlieder* Schubert song transcriptions shows, along with many other things, Liszt was attracted to *attaca* connection of single movements.[51] Analysis of the Schiller songs indicates that he followed the Beethovenian tradition in composing a song cycle and wrote an *attacca* song cycle with thematic reprise. The three songs in the cycle *(Der Fischerknabe, Der Hirt, Der Alpenjäger),* taken from the beginning of Schillers historical drama *Wilhelm Tell,* follow each other without interruption. The second and third songs are linked by a bridge passage, and reminiscences of the first and second can be heard at the end of *Der Alpenjäger* (Examples 14–15), at least in the 1848 version. However, that thematic reprise was discarded in the revised version of 1860.

Nevertheless, the Schiller cycle is rather an exception in Liszt's song output. Most of his song opuses of the 1840s are very varied in all ways: they consists of songs born independently of each other and with different intentions, they are thoroughly heterogeneous in their poets, in the voice type of the singers, in the literary merit of the poems set to music, and what is more, in the language of the texts. For the first four volumes of the *Gesammelte Lieder,* Liszt found a clearly better arrangement than the one in his song collections published in the 1840s: he compiled and selected his earlier song compositions and placed them in a new order by poets. Yet unlike the Schiller songs, the first, second and fourth volumes formed a collection rather than a cycle. Indeed it turns out from the documents concerning the genesis of the *Gesammelte Lieder* that Liszt had a hard time putting his songs in order; there was protracted labour behind their eventual publication in 1860.[52]

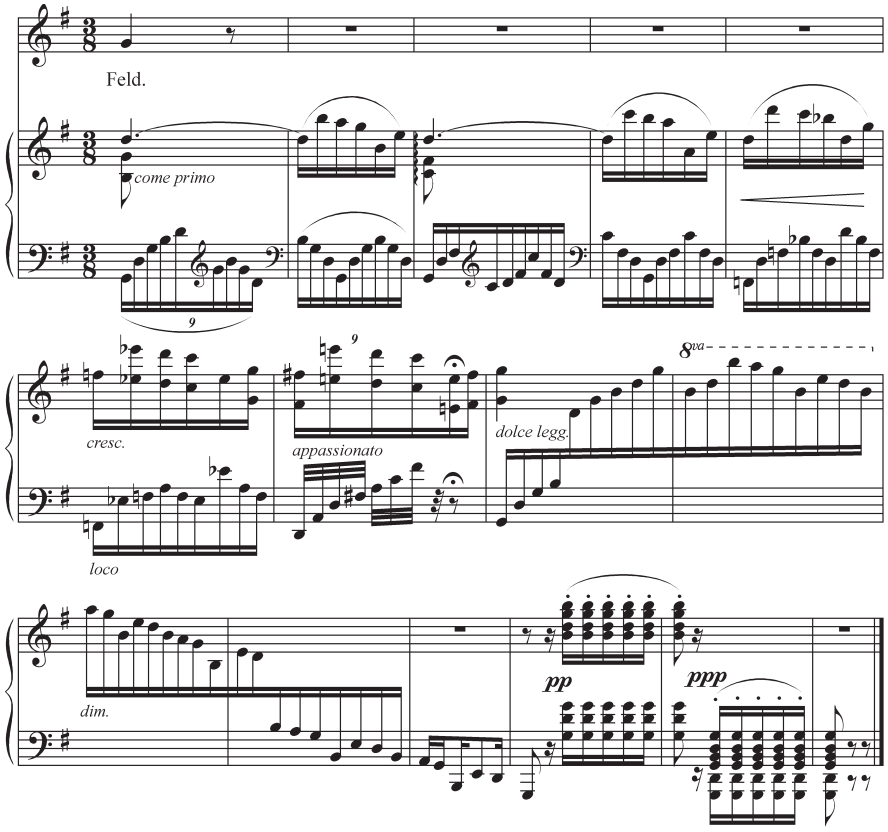
(English text revised by Brian McLean)

[51] The six items of this song cycle without words form a tonally closed whole, where the two central songs *(Der Jäger* and *Die böse Farbe)* follow each other without interruption and form a scherzo with a *maggiore* trio.

[52] See, among others, the autograph manuscript of his song *Ich möchte hingehn* (D-WRgs 60/D 38), where he jotted down the planned order of his *Collected Songs:* "Reihe[n] Folge / 1 Vergiftet – / Du bist wie eine Blume / 2 Anfangs – / 3 Kling leise / 4 Morgens steh / 5 / 6 } Fichtenbaum / 7 Ihr Auge / 8 Charlotte ? [= *Was Liebe sei,* poem by Charlotte von Hagn] / 9 Comment disaient-ils / 10 O [quand je dors] / 10 Amaranthe [= *Es muss ein Wunderbares sein,* taken from the epic *Amaranthe* by Oskar von Redwitz] / 11 Es rauschen die Winde / 12 Schwebe / 13 Väter Gruft / 14 Wo weilt er / 15 10 O quand je dors / 16 11 S'il est un charm[ant] / 17 Laßt mich ruhen / 18 in Liebeslust – / 19 – Ich möchte hingehn". These song titles, however, are here still not ordered by poets.



Example 14: Liszt, *Der Alpenjäger* (1848), the thematic reprise of *Der Hirt*



Example 15: Liszt, *Der Alpenjäger* (1848), the thematic reprise of *Der Fischerknabe*

Appendix

Contents of the song collections with a list of the musical sources[53]

A) Buch der Lieder. Gedichte von Goethe, Heine, Victor Hugo etc. mit Begleitung des Pianoforte … I [published 1843]. Ihrer königlichen Hoheit der Frau Prinzessin von Preußen in ehrfurchtsvoller Huldigung gewidmet.

1. (R 591a, S 273i, LW N5/1): **Die Lore Ley für Mezzo-Sopran oder Tenor-Baryton** (Heinrich Heine). First vocal version, G major, 149 measures. GA: –. • *Plan of a* German *cycle* in the Lichnowsky sketchbook (D-WRgs 60/N 8, 7). • Musical *sketch* in the Lichnowsky sketchbook (D-WRgs 60/N 8, 9). • The *autograph draft* of the song with a dedication to the Countess Marie d'Agoult (D-WRgs 60/D 97). • The autograph *fair copy* of the vocal part (F-Pn Ms. 176). • The *engraver's copy* of the first edition does not survive. • According to Liszt's letter to Heinrich Schlesinger (18 March 1843), copyist's copies not used as engraver's manuscripts were also made from the song,[54] but they do not survive. • Autograph *correction sheet* to the engraver's copy in Liszt's undated letter to Heinrich Schlesinger (US-Wc, General Collection).[55] The *proofs* of the first edition do not survive.[56] • A copy of the *first edition* (Berlin: Schlesinger, plate number: S.2822) in Liszt's *Handexemplar* (D-WRz L 842/Koll. 1). → **F), 1.** → **I), 1.**

2, 2bis. (R 567a, S 272i, LW N3/1): **Am [sic] Rhein für Mezzo-Sopran oder Tenor-Baryton** (Heinrich Heine). First vocal version, E major, $\frac{3}{4}$, 83 measures, the piano accompaniment in two versions, with sixteenth (2) or with eighth triplet figuration (2bis); GA VII/1, 20–29. • *Plan of a collection* in the Lichnowsky sketchbook (D-WRgs 60/N 8, p. 7). • The *autograph draft* does not survive. • The whereabouts of the *engraver's copy* of the first edition is unknown; according to the description of the Stargardt auc-

[53] The following abbreviations are used: A-Wn = Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien; D-BHrwa = Nationalarchiv der Richard-Wagner-Stiftung, Bayreuth; D-Bsb = Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv; D-DÜhh = Heinrich-Heine-Institut, Düsseldorf; D-WRgs = Stiftung Weimarer Klassik, Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Weimar; D-Mbs = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München; D-WRz = Stiftung Weimarer Klassik, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar; F-Pn = Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris; H-Bl = Liszt Ferenc Memorial Museum and Research Centre, Budapest; NL-DHk = Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag; US-NYpm = The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; US-Wc = The Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

[54] "A la fin du mois je serai à Varsovie. Vous m'y enverrez […] les epreuves de *Lore Ley,* (je n'en ai plus de copie, mais vous en avez gardé une exacte d'après celle de Costa) […] *Mignon*'s Lied, et *Angiolin dal biondo crin*." Short, *Liszt Letters,* 263.

[55] "Eine Erleichterung in der Singstimmen [sic] in der Lore Ley welche Sie auf meiner letzten Seite druken [sic] sollen." Short, *Liszt Letters,* 25 and 265.

[56] "Graf Soloman ist so gütig Ihnen die Correcturen zu überbringen. *Kullak* oder Krüger müßen durchaus die letzte Correctur *sehr* genau noch revisiren. Die Lore Ley insbesondere ist äusserst fehlerhaft […]." Short, *Liszt Letters,* 264.

tion catalogue (Stargardt Kat., March 1983, no. 628), this is a copyist's copy that contains the eighth triplet version in Liszt's handwriting. • The *proofs* of the first edition do not survive. • A copy of the *first edition* (Schlesinger: Berlin, plate number: S.2826) in Liszt's *Handexemplar* with his autograph corrections to the 1856 version (D-WRz L 842/Koll. 1). → **F), 2. → I), 2.**

3. (R 592a, S 275i, LW N8/1): **Mignon's Lied. … Für Mezzo-Sopran oder Tenor** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe). First vocal version, F sharp major, 𝐂, 103 measures; GA: –. • The autograph *draft* does not survive. • The *engraver's copy* of the first edition, a fair copy by an unknown copyist with Liszts autograph corrections (US-NYpm Cary 552). • *Fair copy* of an unknown copyist on the basis of the engraver's copy, corrected by an other unknown copyist (D-WRgs 60/D 7c). • The *proofs* of the first edition with Liszt's autograph corrections (US-NYpm PMC 202). • A copy of the first edition (Berlin: Schlesinger, plate number: S. 2823) in Liszt's *Handexemplar,* with his autograph corrections to the second vocal version (D-WRz L 842/Koll. 1). → **F), 3, 3bis. → G), 1, 1bis.**

4. (R 594a, S 278i, LW N9/1): **Der König von Thule für Mezzo-Sopran oder Tenor-Baryton** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe). First vocal version, F minor, 95 measures; GA: –. • Liszt's autograph *draft* does not survive. • The *engraver's copy* of the first edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the first edition do not survive. • A copy of the *first edition* (Berlin: Schlesinger, plate number: S. 2825) in Liszt's *Handexemplar* with his changes to the second vocal version (D-WRz L 842/Koll. 1). → **F), 4. → G), 2.**

5. (R 568a, S 279i, LW N10/1): **Der du von dem Himmel bist für Mezzo-Sopran oder Tenor-Baryton** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe). First vocal version, E major, $\frac{3}{4}$, 67 measures; GA: VII/1, 30–35. • Liszt's autograph *draft* does not survive. • The *engraver's copy* of the first edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the first edition do not survive. • A copy of the *first edition* (Berlin: Schlesinger, plate number: S. 2827) in Liszt's *Handexemplar* with Liszt's corrections to the second vocal version (D-WRz L 842/Koll. 1). → **F), 5. → G), 3.**

6. (R 593a, S 269i, LW N1/1): **Angiolin dal biondo crin. Englein du mit blondem Haar. Romanza per tenore** (Cesare Bocella). First vocal version, A major, 59 measures, German translation by Philipp Kaufmann; GA: –. • Liszt's autograph *draft* does not survive. • An autograph *album leaf* containing the beginning of the vocal part, dedicated to the tenor Friedrich Schmezer (US-NYpm Cary 570). • *Fair copy* by an unknown copyist, probably made on the basis of the composer's draft, with Liszt's autograph corrections. The text of the German translation is not identical with either Kaufmann's version or that of Cornelius (D-WRgs 60/D 46). • The *engraver's copy* of the first edition, a fair copy by Gaetano Belloni, corrected by Liszt (US-NYpm Cary 524). • The *proofs* of the first edition (US-NYpm Cary PMC 185). • A copy of the first edition (Berlin:

Schlesinger, plate number: S. 2824) in Liszt's *Handexemplar,* with his autograph corrections to the second vocal version (D-WRz L 842/Koll. 1). → **F), 6, 6bis.**

B) Sechs Gedichte für Gesang von Liszt. Buch der Lieder. Band II. Poésies lyriques pour une voix avec accompagnement de piano [published 1844].

1. (R 569a, S 282i, LW N11/1) **Oh! quand je dors – O wenn ich schlaf … Sopran oder Tenor** (Victor Hugo). First vocal version, E major, 104 measures, German translation by Philipp Kaufmann; GA VII/1, 36–41. • *Sketch* in Liszt's Lichnowsky sketchbook (D-WRgs 60/N 8, 9). • Liszt's autograph *draft* does not survive. • The *engraver's copy* of the first edition, a fair copy by Gaetano Belloni with Liszt's autograph corrections (US-Wc Heineman Waters Collection). • The *proofs* of the first edition do not survive.[57] • A copy of the first edition (Berlin: Schlesinger, plate number: S. 2915) in Liszt's *Handexemplar* (D-WRz, L 842/Koll. 2). → **J), 2.**

2. (R 570a, S 276i, LW N12/1) **Comment disaient-ils – Wie flieh'n, sprachen Sie … Sopran oder Tenor** (Victor Hugo). First vocal version, G sharp minor, 90 measures, German translation by Philipp Kaufmann; GA VII/1, 42–46. • The *draft* does not survive. • The *engraver's copy* of the first edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the first edition do not survive (see note 57). • An autograph *fair copy* of the vocal part with French and German text, probably made to the lost engraver's copy (NL-DHk 135 F14). • A copy of the *first edition* (Berlin: Schlesinger, plate number: S. 2916) in Liszt's *Handexemplar* (D-WRz, L 842/Koll. 2). → **J), 1.**

3. (R 571a, S 283i, LW N24/1) **Enfant! si j'étais roi – Mein Kind wär ich ein König … Sopran oder Tenor** (Victor Hugo). First vocal version, A flat major, $\frac{3}{4}$, 84 measures, German translation by Philipp Kaufmann; GA VII/1, 47–52. • Liszt's fragmentary *autograph draft* (D-WRgs 60/D 65). • The *engraver's copy* of the first edition (US-Wc Heineman Waters Collection). • The *proofs* of the first edition do not survive (see note 57). • A copy of the *first edition* (Berlin: Schlesinger, plate number: S. 2917) in Liszt's *Handexemplar* (D-WRz L 842/Koll. 2). → **J), 4.**

4. (R 572a, S 284i, LW N25/1) **S'il est un charmant gazon – Ist ein Ort, den lieblich grün … Sopran oder Tenor** (Victor Hugo). First vocal version, A flat major, 70 measures, German translation by Philipp Kaufmann; GA VII/1, 53–59. • Liszt's *autograph draft* (F-Pn W6, 61). • An autograph *fair copy,* a fragment of 17 measures with French and German text, probably a correction sheet to the engraver's copy of the first edition

[57] See Liszt's letter to Heinrich Schlesinger (26 December 1843): "Vous avez reçu par Schott sans doute les epreuves corrigé[e]s des 6 Mélodies françaises. […] vous me ferez un véritable plaisir en m'envoyant à mon adresse de Weymar […] des 6 autres mélodies dont le titre en France, en supposant que Maurice veuille les graver devra être celui de Poésies lyriques. / Texte Victor Hugo Musique F. Liszt." Short, *Liszt Letters,* 267.

(D-Bsb KHM 2708). • The rest of the *engraver's copy* of the first edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the first edition do not survive (see note 57). • A copy of the *first edition* (Berlin: Schlesinger, plate number: S. 2918) in Liszt's *Handexemplar* (D-WRz L 842/Koll. 2). → **J), 3.**

5. (R 573, S 285, LW N26) **La tombe et la rose – Das Grab und die Rose. La tombe dit à la rose – Das Grab sprach, es sprach zur Rose … Sopran oder Tenor** (Victor Hugo). German translation by Philipp Kaufmann; GA VII/1, 60–63. • The *draft* does not survive. • The *engraver's copy* of the first edition (US-Wc Heineman Waters Collection). • The *proofs* of the first edition do not survive (see note 57). • A copy of the *first edition* (Berlin: Schlesinger, plate number: S. 2919) in Liszt's *Handexemplar* (D-WRz L 842/Koll. 2).

6. (R 574, S 286, LW N27) **Gastibelza. Bolero … pour voix de Basso** (Victor Hugo). German translation by Philipp Kaufmann; GA VII/64–79. • The *draft* does not survive. • The *engraver's copy* of the first edition (US-Wc Heineman Waters Collection). • The *proofs* of the first edition do not survive (see note 57). • A copy of the *first edition* (Berlin: Schlesinger, plate number: S. 2920) in Liszt's *Handexemplar* (D-WRz L 842/Koll. 2).

C) Sechs Lieder für eine Singstimme mit Pianoforte-Begleitung [published 1844]. Ihrer königlichen Hoheit der Frau Erbgroßherzogin von Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach Prinzessin der Niederlande in tiefster Ehrfurcht gewidmet.

1. (R 607, S 287ii, LW N19) **Du bist wie eine Blume** (Heinrich Heine). First version, A major, 42 measures; GA: –; *The Liszt Society Journal* 20 (1995), Music section, 31–32 [= a corrected facsimile of the first edition]. • The *draft* of the song in F sharp major (D-Ff 15.100). • The *engraver's copy* of the first edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the first edition do not survive. • A copy of the *first edition* (Cologne: Eck & Co., without plate number) in Liszt's *Handexemplar* (D-WRz L 842/Koll. 3). → **I), 4, 4bis.**

2. (R 575a, S 288, LW N7/1) **Dichter, was Liebe sei** (Charlotte von Hagn). First version, A major, 25 measures; GA VII/1, 80–81; *The Liszt Society Journal* 20 (1995), Music section, 33–34 [= a corrected facsimile of the first edition]. • The *draft* of the song does not survive. • A *copyist's copy* of the song in Evdokija Rostopschina's album; probably made on the basis of Liszt's lost draft (The present whereabout of the album is unknown; in 1984 it was in Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini's possession).[58] • The *engraver's copy* of the first edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the first edition do

[58] See Tagliavini, Luigi Ferdinando. "La prima versione d'un lied di Liszt in una fonte sinora sconosciuta: l'album musicale della poetessa russa Evdokija Rostopčina", *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 19 (1984), 277–297.

not survive. • A copy of the *first edition* (Cologne: Eck & Co., without plate number) in Liszt's *Handexemplar* (D-WRz L 842/Koll. 3).

3. (R 608, S 289i, LW N29) **Vergiftet sind meine Lieder!** (Heinrich Heine). First version, C sharp minor, 25 measures; GA: –; *The Liszt Society Journal* 20 (1995), Music section, 35–36. [= a corrected facsimile of the first edition]. • Liszt's autograph *draft* (D-WRgs 60/D 85). • The *engraver's copy* of the first edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the first edition do not survive. • A copy of the *first edition* (Cologne: Eck & Co., without plate number) in Liszt's *Handexemplar* (D-WRz L 842/Koll. 3). → **I), 3, 3bis.**

4. (R 576a, S 290i, LW N16/1) **Morgens steh' ich auf** (Heinrich Heine). First version, A major, 40 measures; GA VII/1, 82–83; *The Liszt Society Journal* 20 (1995), Music section, 37–38. [= a corrected facsimile of the first edition]. • The *draft* of the song does not survive. • The *engraver's copy* of the first edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the first edition do not survive. • A copy of the *first edition* (Cologne: Eck & Co., without plate number) in Liszt's *Handexemplar,* with the composer's autograph corrections to the second version (D-WRz L 842/Koll. 3). → **I), 6.**

5. (R 577a, S 291i, LW N17/1) **Die todte Nachtigall** (Philipp Kaufmann). First version, F sharp minor, 86 measures; GA VII/1, 84–88; *The Liszt Society Journal* 20 (1995), Music section, 39–42. [= a corrected facsimile of the first edition]. • The *draft* of the song does not survive. • The *engraver's copy* of the first edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the first edition do not survive. • A copy of the *first edition* (Cologne: Eck & Co., without plate number) in Liszt's *Handexemplar* (D-WRz L 842/Koll. 3).

6. (R 625, S 277i, LW N21) **Bist du** (Elim Petrovits Metschersky). First version, A major, 79 measures; GA: –; *The Liszt Society Journal* 20 (1995), Music section, 43–46. [= a corrected facsimile of the first edition]. • The *draft* of the song does not survive. • The *engraver's copy* of the first edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the first edition do not survive. • A copy of the *first edition* (Cologne: Eck & Co., without plate number) in Liszt's *Handexemplar* (D-WRz L 842/Koll. 3).

D–E) Schiller und Göthe. [sic] Lieder [published 1848]. Ary Scheffer in innigster Verehrung und sympathischer Bewunderung gewidmet.

D) 1–3. (R 582a, S 292i, LW N32/1) **Lieder aus Schiller's Wilhelm Tell … für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Pianoforte. 1. Der Fischerknabe … Tenore** (Friedrich Schiller). First version, D flat major, 124 measures; GA VII/1, 132–141. **2. Der Hirt … Tenore** (Friedrich Schiller). First version, B flat major, 114 measures; GA VII/1, 142–148. 3. **Der Alpenjäger … Tenore** (Friedrich Schiller). First version, G minor, $\frac{6}{8}$, 115 measures; GA VII/1, 149–155. The autograph *draft* of the cycle (D-WRgs 60/D 2). • The *engraver's copy* of the first edition, Joachim Raff's fair copy with

Liszt's corrections (D-WRgs 60/D 5). • The *proofs* of the first edition without corrections (D-WRgs 60/D 1). • A copy of the *first edition* (Vienna: Haslinger, plate number: T.H.10,566.a) in Liszt's *Handexemplar,* with the composer's changes to the second version (D-WRz L 842/Koll. 4). → H), 1–3.

E) 3 Gedichte von Goethe.

1. (R 609a, S 297i, LW N34/1) **Wer nie sein Brod mit Thränen ass … Mezzo Sopran** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe). First version of the first setting, E minor, $\frac{3}{4}$, 84 measures; GA: –; *The Liszt Society Journal* 20 (1995), Music section, 47–51. [= a corrected facsimile of the first edition]. • Liszt's autograph *draft* (D-WRgs 60/D 3). • The *engraver's copy* of the first edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the first edition do not survive. • A copy of the *first edition* (Vienna: Haslinger, plate number: T.H.10,566.b) in Liszt's *Handexemplar,* with the composer's changes to the second version of the first setting (D-WRz L 842/Koll. 5). → **G), 5.**

2. (R 610a, S 306i, LW N46/1) **Über allen Gipfeln ist Ruh' … Tenor oder Mezzo Sopran** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe). First version of the solo song setting,[59] E major, 47 measures; GA: –; *The Liszt Society Journal* 20 (1995), Music section, 52–53. [= a corrected facsimile of the first edition]. • The *draft* of the song does not survive. • Adolph Stahr's *copy,* probably made on the basis of Liszt's lost draft (D-WRgs 60/D 4). • The *engraver's copy* of the first edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the first edition do not survive. • A copy of the *first edition* (Vienna: Haslinger, plate number: T.H.10,566.b) in Liszt's *Handexemplar* (D-WRz L 842/Koll. 5). → **G), 6.**

3. (R 579a, S 280i, LW N23/1) **Lied aus Egmont. (Freudvoll und leidvoll) 1te Version. Mezzo Sopran** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe). First version of the first (?) setting, A flat major, $\frac{6}{8}$, 84 measures; GA: –; *The Liszt Society Journal* 20 (1995), Music section, 54–57. [= a corrected facsimile of the first edition]. • Liszt's autograph *draft* (D-WRgs 60/D 87). • The *engraver's copy* of the first edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the first edition do not survive. • A copy of the *first edition* (Vienna: Haslinger, plate number: T.H.10,566.b) in Liszt's *Handexemplar* (D-WRz L 842/Koll. 5). → **G), 4, 4bis.**

4. (R 579b, S 280*bis,* LW N23/2) **Lied aus Egmont. (Freudvoll und leidvoll) 2te Version. Mezzo Sopran** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe). Second (?) setting, E major, $\frac{2}{4}$, 73 measures; GA: –; *The Liszt Society Journal* 20 (1995), Music section, 58–61. [= a corrected facsimile of the first edition]. • The *draft* of the song does not survive. • The *engraver's copy* of the first edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the first edition do not survive. • A copy of the *first edition* (Vienna: Haslinger, plate number: T.H.10,566.b) in Liszt's *Handexemplar* (D-WRz L 842/Koll. 5).

[59] Liszt also set the poem to music as a song for choir.

F) Buch der Lieder I. Neue verbesserte Ausgabe [?published 1856].

1. (R 591b, S 273ii, LW N4/2) **Die Lore Ley … Für Mezzo Sopran** (Heinrich Heine). Second vocal version, G major, 131 measures; GA: –. • An autograph *fair copy* (D-WRgs 60/D 88). • August Conradi's *fair copy* (D-WRgs 60/D 43). • The *engravers' copy* of the corrected edition, Joachim Raff's *fair copy* with Liszt's corrections (D-WRgs 60/D 89).[60] • *Proof sheets* of the corrected edition (D-WRgs 60/D 42). • A *copy* of the corrected edition (Berlin: Schlesinger, plate number: S.2822) (D-WRz L 857).

2. (R 567b, S 272ii, LW N3/2) **Am [sic] Rhein. Au Rhin. Für Tenor** (Heinrich Heine). Second vocal version, E major, 𝄞, 56 measures; GA VII/2, 37–40. • A copy of the *first edition* of the first vocal version (Berlin: Schlesinger, plate number: 2826) in Liszt's *Handexemplar,* with his corrections to the second vocal version (D-WRz L 842/Koll.1). • An autograph *fair copy* of the second version (D-DÜhh 56.438). • August Conradi's *fair copy* made on the basis of the previous source (D-WRgs 60/D 43). • The *engraver's copy* of the corrected edition, Joachim Raff's fair copy with Liszt's corrections (D-WRgs 60/D 89); see note 60. • The *proofs* of the corrected edition (D-WRgs 60/D 44). • A copy of the *corrected edition* (Berlin: Schlesinger, plate number: S.2826) (D-WRz L 859). → **A), 2.** → **I), 2.**

3, 3bis. (R 592b, S 275ii, LW N8/2) **Mignon. Für Mezzo Sopran / Für Alt** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe). Two variants of the second vocal version: for mezzo-soprano and for contralto. **3.** The version for mezzo-soprano, F sharp major, 𝄵, 102 measures; GA VII/2, VII and 23–30. • A *copy of the first edition* of the first vocal version (Berlin: Schlesinger, plate number: S.2823) in Liszt's *Handexemplar,* with his changes to the second vocal version (D-WRz L 842/Koll.1). • An autograph *correction sheet* to the above-mentioned source (D-WRgs 60/D 90). • August Conradi's *fair copy,* incomplete, the closing part is lost (D-WRgs 60/D 43). • The *engraver's copy* of the corrected edition, Joachim Raff's copy with Liszt's corrections (D-WRgs 60/D 89); see note 60. • The *proofs* of the corrected edition (D-WRgs 60/D 7b). • A copy of the *corrected edition* (Berlin: Schlesinger, plate number: S.2823) (H-Bl LGy 430/Koll. 4). **3bis.** Version for contralto, E flat major, 𝄡, 102 measures; GA: –. • The *engraver's copy* of the corrected edition; Joachim Raff's copy with Liszt's corrections (D-WRgs 60/D 7). • The *proofs* of the corrected edition (D-WRgs 60/D 7a). • A copy of the *corrected edition* (Berlin: Schlesinger, plate number: S.2823.A) (D-WRz L 853). → **A), 3.** → **G), 1, 1bis.**

[60] See Liszt's letter to Heinrich Schlesinger (18 December 1885): "Anbei, verehrter Freund, das Manuscript der 5 erste[n] Lieder welche ich Sie bitte *sobald als* möglich in einer 2ten Auflage (mit der Zusatz »von den [sic] Autor umgearbeitete und erleichterte Auflage« herauszugeben: – Das 6te (»Englein du mit blondem Haar[«]) send ich Ihnen in den nächsten Tagen, sobald Cornelius mit dem [sic] nöthigen Textabänderungen fertig ist." Short, *Liszt Letters,* 308.

4. (R 594b, S 278ii, LW N9/2) **Der König von Thule. Le Roi de Thule für Mezzo-Sopran oder Tenor** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe). Second vocal version, F minor, 99 measures; GA: –. • A copy of the *first edition* of the first vocal version (Berlin: Schlesinger, plate number: S.2825) in Liszt's *Handexemplar,* with his changes to the second vocal version (D-WRz L 842/Koll.1). • I suppose that there was also a manuscript *correction sheet* to the previous source.[61] It does not, however, survive. • Presumably a *fair copy* not used as an engraver's copy also existed, most likely as part of August Conradi's fair copy (D-WRgs 60/D 43). It does not, however, survive. • The *engraver's copy* of the corrected edition, Joachim Raff's fair copy with Liszt's corrections (D-WRgs 60/D 89); see note 60. • The *proofs* of the corrected edition. (D-WRgs 60/D 45). • A copy of the *corrected edition* (Berlin: Schlesinger, plate number: S.2827) (H-Bl LGy 430/Koll. 4). → **A), 4. → G), 2.**

5. (R 567b, S 279ii, LW N10/2) **Der du von dem Himmel bist. Invocation für Mezzo-Sopran oder Tenor** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe). Second vocal version, E major, $\frac{3}{4}$, 53 measures; GA VII/2, 47–50. • A copy of the first edition of the first vocal version (Berlin: Schlesinger, plate number: S. 2827) in Liszt's *Handexemplar* with his corrections to the second vocal version. (D-WRz L 842/Koll.1). • An autograph *correction sheet* to the previous source (D-Bhrwa Hs 121 A/5). • Presumably a *fair copy* not used as an engraver's copy also existed, most likely as part of August Conradi's fair copy (D-WRgs 60/D 43). It does not, however, survive. • The *engraver's copy* of the corrected edition, Joachim Raff's fair copy with Liszt's corrections (D-WRgs 60/D 89); see note 60. • The *proofs* of the corrected edition (D-WRgs 60/D 6a). • A copy of the *corrected edition* (Berlin: Schlesinger, plate number: S.2827) (D-WRz L 856). → **A), 5. → G), 3.**

6, 6bis. (R 593b, S 269ii, LW N1/2) **Angiolin dal biondo crin. Englein du mit blondem Haar … Romanza per Tenore e Piano … per Mezzo-Soprano o Barytono** (Cesare Bocella). Two variants of the second vocal version: for tenor and for mezzo-soprano or baritone. **6.** The version for tenor, A major, 56 measures, German translation by Peter Cornelius; GA VII/2, 31–36. • A copy of the first edition of the first vocal version (Berlin: Schlesinger, plate number: S.2824) in Liszt's *Handexemplar* with his corrections to the second vocal version (D-WRz L 842/Koll.1). • The *engraver's copy* of the corrected edition, August Conradi's fair copy with Liszt's changes and the fair copy of the German translation written by August Conradi (D-WRgs 60/D 72). • The *proofs* of the corrected edition (D-WRgs 60/D 47). • A copy of the *corrected edition* (Berlin: Schlesinger, plate number: S. 2824) (D-WRz L 863). **6bis.** The version for mezzo-soprano or baritone, F major, 57 measures, German translation by Peter Cornelius; GA: –.

[61] In Liszt's *Handexemplar* there are manuscript letters to mark the insertion points for changes noted on separate correction sheets.

• The *draft* of the F major version written for Salvatore Marchesi. It is slightly different from the printed version (Keio University, Tokyo). • Liszt's autograph *fair copy* (D-WRgs 60/D 81). • The *engraver's copy* of the corrected edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the corrected edition do not survive. • A copy of the *corrected edition* (Berlin: Schlesinger, plate number: S.2824A) (H-Bl LGy 430/Koll.1). → **A), 1.**

G–J) Franz Liszt's Gesammelte Lieder. In sechs Heften [first published 1860].

G) Heft I.

1, 1bis. (R 592b, S 275ii, LW N8/2) **Mignon's Lied** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe). Third version with two variants: for mezzo-soprano and for contralto. **1.** The version for mezzo-soprano, F sharp major, 102 measures; GA VII/2, 23–30. • The *engraver's copy* of the corrected edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the corrected edition do not survive. • A copy of the *corrected edition* (Leipzig: Kahnt, plate number: 1) (H-Bl LGy 399/I). **1bis.** The version for contralto, E flat major, 102 measures; GA: –. • The *engraver's copy* of the corrected edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the corrected edition do not survive. • A copy of the *corrected edition* (Leipzig: Kahnt, plate number: 1) (H-Bl LGy 399/I). → **A), 3.** → **F), 3, 3bis.**

2. (R 594b, S 278ii, LW N9/2) **Es war ein König in Thule. Mezzo Sopran** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe). Third vocal version, F minor, 98 measures; GA VII/2, 41–46. • The *engraver's copy* of the corrected edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the corrected edition do not survive. • A copy of the *corrected edition* (Leipzig: Kahnt, plate number: 1) (H-Bl LGy 399/I). → **A), 4.** → **F), 4.**

3. (R 568c, S 279iii, LW N10/3) **Der du von dem Himmel bist** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe). Fourth (?) vocal version, E major, 𝐂, 54 measures; GA VII/2, 145–146. • [NB: The function of an autograph (D-WRgs 60/D 6) containing the fragment of a third (?) vocal version is not clear. This source can be the removed part of a more extensive manuscript but also a correction sheet to a separate manuscript]. • The *draft* does not survive. • The *engraver's copy* of the corrected edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the corrected edition do not survive. • A copy of the *corrected edition* (Leipzig: Kahnt, plate number: 1) (H-Bl LGy 399/I). → **A), 5.** → **F), 5.**

4, 4bis. (R 579c, S 280ii, LW N23/1/2) **Freudvoll und leidvoll** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe). Third version of the first setting with two variants: for mezzo-soprano / for soprano. [NB: The draft of the unpublished second version of the first setting does not survive. This version of the song is preserved by August Conradi's *fair copy* (D-WRgs 60/D 10) made probably on the basis of the lost draft.]: **4.** The version for mezzo-soprano, E major, 𝐂, 37 measures; GA: –. • A *draft* or *fair copy* corrected by Liszt to this mezzo-soprano variant of the third version of the first setting does not survive. • The *engraver's copy* of the corrected edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the corrected

edition do not survive. • A copy of the *corrected edition* (Leipzig: Kahnt, plate number: 1) (H-Bl LGy 399/I). **4bis.** The version for soprano, A flat major, **𝐂**, 37 measures; GA VII/2, 66–67. • The autograph *fair copy* of the new version (D-WRgs 60/D 9). • The *engraver's copy* of the corrected edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the corrected edition do not survive. • A copy of the *corrected edition* (Leipzig: Kahnt, plate number: 1) (H-Bl LGy 399/I). → **E), 3.**

5. (R 609a, S 297ii, LW N34/1) **Wer nie sein Brod mit Thränen ass. Mezzo Sopran** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe). The second version of the first setting, E minor, $\frac{3}{4}$, 82 measures; GA VII/2, 139–142. • A copy of the first edition of the first version of the first setting (Vienna: Haslinger, plate number: T.H.10,566.b.) in Liszt's *Handexemplar,* with his corrections to the second version (D-WRz L 842/Koll.5). • An autograph *correction sheet* to the previous source (A-Wn Mus. Hs. 42.393). • The *engraver's copy* of the corrected edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the corrected edition do not survive. • A copy of the *corrected edition* (Leipzig: Kahnt, plate number: 1) (H-Bl LGy 399/I). → **E), 1.**

6. (R 610b, S 306iii, LW N46/2) **Ueber allen Gipfeln ist Ruh'. Tenor oder Mezzo-Sopran** (Johann Wolfgang Goethe). The second version of the song setting (see note 59), E major, 44 measures; GA VII/2, 143–144. • The *engraver's copy* of the corrected edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the corrected edition do not survive. • A copy of the *corrected edition* (Leipzig: Kahnt, plate number: 1) (H-Bl LGy 399/I). → **E), 2.**

H) Heft II.

1–3. (R 582b, S 292ii, LW N 32/2) **1. Der Fischerknabe** (Friedrich Schiller). Second version, D flat major, 88 measures; GA VII/2, 147–151. **2. Der Hirt** (Friedrich Schiller). Second version, B flat major, 89 measures; GA VII/2, 152–155. **3. Der Alpen-Jäger** (Friedrich Schiller). Second version, G minor, **𝐂**, 52 measures; GA VII/2, 156–158. • A copy of the *first edition* of the first vocal version (Vienna: Haslinger, plate number: T.H.10,566.a) in Liszt's *Handexemplar,* with his corrections to the second vocal version (D-WRz L 842/Koll.4). • The autograph *fair copy* of the second version of the cycle (D-WRgs 60/D 80). • The *engraver's copy* of the corrected edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the corrected edition do not survive. • A copy of the *corrected edition* (Leipzig: Kahnt, plate number: 2) (H-Bl LGy 399/II). → **D), 1–3.**

I) Heft III

1. (R 591b, S 273iii, LW N5/2) **Die Loreley.** (Mezzo-Sopran oder Tenor) (Heinrich Heine). Third vocal version, G major, 131 measures (with the proposed abbreviation: 121 measures); GA VII/2, 16–22. • The *engraver's copy* of the corrected edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the corrected edition do not survive. • A copy of the *corrected edition* (Leipzig: Kahnt, plate number: 3) (H-Bl LGy 399/III).

2. (R 567b, S 272ii, LW N3/2) **Am [sic] Rhein im schönen Strome. (Tenor)** (Heinrich Heine). Second vocal version, E major, $\frac{6}{8}$, 56 measures; GA VII/2, 37–40. • The *engraver's copy* of the new edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the new edition do not survive. • A copy of the *corrected edition* (Leipzig: Kahnt, plate number: 3) (H-Bl LGy 399/III). → **A), 2.** → **F), 2.**

3, 3bis. (R 608, S 289iii és 289iii*bis,* LW N29) **Vergiftet sind meine Lieder** (Heinrich Heine). Second version with two variants: for tenor and for baritone. **3.** The version for tenor, C sharp minor, without piano prelude, 36 measures; GA VII/2, 135–136. • The autograph *fair copy* of the new version (D-WRgs 60/D 22). • A *fair copy* by August Conradi (D-WRgs 60/D 21). • *Plan of the order* of the collected edition (D-WRgs 60/D 38). • The *engraver's copy* of the corrected edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the corrected edition do not survive. • A copy of the *corrected edition* (Leipzig: Kahnt, plate number: 3) (H-Bl LGy 399/III). **3bis.** The version for baritone, G sharp minor, with piano prelude, 38 measures; GA: –. • The autograph *draft* of the new version (D-WRgs 60/D 22). • A *fair copy* by August Conradi (D-WRgs 60/D 21). • *Plan of the order* of the collected edition (D-WRgs 60/D 38). • The *engraver's copy* of the corrected edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the collected edition do not survive. • A copy of the *corrected edition* (Leipzig: Kahnt, plate number: 3) (H-Bl LGy 399/III). → **C), 3.**

4, 4bis. (R 607, S 287iv, LW N19) **Du bist wie eine Blume** (Heinrich Heine). Second version with two variants: for tenor and for baritone or mezzo-soprano. **4.** The version for tenor, A major, 45 measures; GA VII/2, 133–134. • A *fair copy* by August Conradi (D-WRgs 60/D 20b). • *Plan of the order* of the collected edition (D-WRgs 60/D 38). • The *engraver's copy* of the corrected edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the corrected edition do not survive. • A copy of the *corrected edition* (Leipzig: Kahnt, plate number: 3) (H-Bl LGy 399/III). **4bis.** The version for baritone or mezzo-soprano, F sharp major, 45 measures; GA: –. • A *fair copy* containing a version slightly different from the definitive one (US-NYpm Cary 551). • Another autograph *fair copy* of the version slightly different from the definitive one (D-Mbs Mildeana). • A *fair copy* by August Conradi on the basis of the previously mentioned source, with Liszt's corrections (D-WRgs 60/D 20b). • *Plan of the order* of the collected edition (D-WRgs 60/D 38). • The *engraver's copy* of the corrected edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the corrected edition do not survive. • A copy of the *corrected edition* (Leipzig: Kahnt, plate number: 3) from Eduard Liszt's estate, with the composer's autograph performance instructions (H-Bl LGy 399/III). → **C), 1.**

5. (R 602, S 311iv, LW N48) **Anfangs wollt ich fast verzagen** (Heinrich Heine). [The voice type is not specified, it is simply called: "Singstimme"] GA VII/2, 109–110. • Liszt's *draft* does not survive. • *Fair copy* by an unknown copyist with Liszt's autograph corrections (D-WRgs 60/D 24). • *Fair copy* by Joachim Raff (D-WRgs 60/D 26).

• Liszt's autograph *fair copy* (D-WRgs 60/D 23). • *Fair copy* by August Conradi with Liszt's autograph corrections (D-WRgs 60/D 25). • Liszt's later autograph fair copy based on D-WRgs 60/D 23 (D-BHrwa II/CH.4). • *Plan of the order* of the collected edition (D-WRgs 60/D 38). • The *engraver's copy* of the first edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the first edition do not survive. • A copy of the *first edition* (Leipzig: Kahnt, plate number: 3) (H-Bl LGy 399/III).

6. (R 576b, S 290iii, LW N16/2) **Morgens steh ich auf und frage. Tenor und Baryton** (Heinrich Heine). Third version, G major, 46 measures; GA VII/2, 137–138. • A copy of the *first edition* of the first version (Cologne: Eck & Co., without plate number) in Liszt's *Handexemplar* with his changes (D-WRz L 842/Koll. 3). • [NB: The draft of the unpublished second version does not survive. This version is preserved in a *fair copy* by August Conradi (D-WRgs 60/D 27)]. • *Plan of the order* of the collected edition (D-WRgs 60/D 38). • The *engraver's copy* of the corrected edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the corrected edition do not survive. • A copy of the *corrected edition* (Leipzig: Kahnt, plate number: 3) (H-Bl LGy 399/III). → **C), 4.**

7. (R 599a, S 309ii, LW N36/1) **Ein Fichtenbaum steht einsam** (Heinrich Heine). First (?) setting, C minor, 58 measures; GA VII/2, 90–92. • Liszt's *draft* does not survive. • A *fair copy* by Joachim Raff (D-WRgs 60/D 41). • *Plan of the order* of the collected edition (D-WRgs 60/D 38). • The *engraver's copy* of the first edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the first edition do not survive. • A copy of the *first edition* (Leipzig: Kahnt, plate number: 3) (H-Bl LGy 399/III).

8. (R 599b, S 309*bis,* LW N36/2) **Ein Fichtenbaum steht einsam** (Heinrich Heine). Second (?) setting, C minor, 47 measures; GA VII/2, 93–95. • Liszt's *draft* does not survive. • Liszt's autograph *fair copy* (D-WRgs 60/D 84). • *Plan of the order* of the collected edition (D-WRgs 60/D 38). • The *engraver's copy* of the first edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the first edition do not survive. • A copy of the *first edition* (Leipzig: Kahnt, plate number: 3) (H-Bl LGy 399/III).

J) Heft IV.

1. (R 570b, S 276iii, LW N12/2) **Comment disaient-ils. Sopran ou Tenor** (Victor Hugo). Second version, G sharp minor, 88/89 measures, the ending in two variants; GA VII/2, 164–166. • The *draft* of the second version (D-WRgs 60/D 54), German translation inserted by Peter Cornelius. • A *fair copy* by August Conradi with Liszt's corrections (D-WRgs 60/D 55). • *Plan of the order* of the collected edition (D-WRgs 60/D 38). • The *engraver's copy* of the new edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the new edition do not survive. • A copy of the *new edition* (Leipzig: Kahnt, plate number:

4) only with French text (H-Bl LGy 399/IV). • An autograph correction sheet, *cadenza* for Lillie Hegermann-Lindencrone at the end of the song.[62] → **B), 2.**

2. (R 569b, S 282ii, LW N11/2) **Oh! quand je dors – O komm' im Traum. Tenor** (Victor Hugo). Second version, E major, 93 measures, German translation by Peter Cornelius; GA VII/2, 159–163. • The *draft* of the second version (D-WRgs 60/D 56). • *Plan of the order* of the collected edition (D-WRgs 60/D 38). • The *engraver's copy* of the new edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the new edition do not survive. • A copy of the *new edition* (Leipzig: Kahnt, plate number: 4) (H-Bl LGy 399/IV). → **B), 1.**

3. (R 572b, S 284iii, LW N25/2) **S'il est un charmant gazon – Gibt es wo einen Rasen Grün. Tenor** (Victor Hugo). • Third version, A flat major, 58 (with the alternative ending: 56) measures, German translation by Peter Cornelius; GA VII/2, 171–174. • [NB: The *draft* of the unpublished second version: D-WRgs 60/D 59]. • The *draft* of the third version (D-WRgs 60/D 82). • *Plan of the order* of the collected edition (D-WRgs 60/D 38). • The *engraver's copy* of the new edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the new edition do not survive. • A copy of the *new edition* (Leipzig: Kahnt, plate number: 4) (H-Bl LGy 399/IV). → **B), 4.**

4. (R 571b, S 283iii, LW N24/2) **Enfant si j'étais roi – Mein Kind, wär ich König. Tenor** (Victor Hugo). Second version, A flat major, **𝔠**, 66 measures; German translation by Peter Cornelius; GA VII/2, 167–170. • The *draft* of the second version (D-WRgs 60/D 78). • The *engraver's copy* of the new edition does not survive. • The *proofs* of the new edition do not survive. • A copy of the *new edition* (Leipzig: Kahnt, plate number: 4) (H-Bl LGy 399/IV). → **B), 3.**

[62] Noted by Liszt on the reverse of his visiting card. The whereabouts of this source are unknown. For a facsimile see Lillie de Hegermann-Lindencrone, *The Sunny Side of Diplomatic Life, 1875–1912,* <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/13955/13955-h/13955-h.htm> (18 June 2007).

Judit Rajk

The Features of the 19th-Century Russian Romance Reflected through the Lyric Poetry of Pushkin

This study is an extract of the DLA doctoral thesis entitled *Puskin's Lyric Poetry and the 19th-Century Russian Romance,* defended in 2009 (research director: Márta Papp).

1. Introduction

I have the Russian progressive theatre director Anatoly Vasilyev, director of the Moscow School of Dramatic Arts, to thank for my first encounter as a singer with the Russian romance, a unique genre in Russian Romantic song literature.[1] I was involved in 1994 for almost six months in rehearsing at the Művész Theater, Budapest (now the Thália) his stage adaptation of a Dostoyevsky novella *Uncle's Dream.* One important theatrical element in this was the use of interludes in the form of Russian romances, which I was asked to perform. Years later, Vasilyev's very sensitive and appropriate selection became the basis on which I put together my first song recital in Moscow. Singing songs in Russian to a Russian audience was a great challenge. I was taken by their attentiveness, the way they followed my performance not critically, as *cognoscenti* would, but almost as if they were singing along, for they knew the verses by heart. Even now I bear in mind the advice on performance, emphases, and articulation gained from my unknown Moscow listeners.

I am sure these romances, integral to my repertory since the start of my career, cannot be omitted from our cultural perception of Russia, as elements of the Russian self-image. This was my starting point; it was around this theme that I set about weaving the results of several years' collecting, research, and experience and knowledge gained as a concert performer. This study is intended to be a brief exposition of a vocal genre that has been largely ignored in modern musicology and omitted from the concert scene in Hungary, but it is also a kind of "emotional voyage", born of a conviction that I can share with others, even outside the concert hall, the joy to be gained from these works.

How come that the romance genre is still so embedded in the entirety of everyday Russian music? What is the integral link between these vocal works and Russian Romantic poetry, along with social and public events in the Russia of the late 18th century and early 19th century? To answer involves finding the root beneath the in-

[1] As the Russian genre *romance* has no precise equivalent term in English, in this writing I use the term *romance* for the Russian art songs on literary texts.

separability of the Russian music and literature that arose in the early 18th century and deciding to what, if any extent, Russian music became subordinate to literature after the reforms of Tsar Peter the Great. According to Boris Gasparov, in a recent exploration of Russian Romanticism in the light of five great operas, music served to express and strengthen literature's "intellectual and aesthetic underpinning".[2] It is possible to argue against this view, but there was certainly mutual influence and effect on music and literature, and on each other's sources and references. The Russian romance is inseparable from Russian identity. As a new, independent, and typical genre of Russian vocal music, it spread rapidly through Europe, and reached Reform-era Hungary, probably through Gypsy musicians.[3] Mór Jókai, in an episode entitled "The one great power" in the first chapter of his *Novel of the Coming Century,* quotes a "dreamy Russian song":

> Over the resounding jubilation came the tune of that beautiful Russian romance, which was being sung in the street: Hermione Peleia's favourite song:
>
> "The dove addressed the great pine tree:
> Shield me well, O trunk of pine,
> The pine replied then to the dove:
> Sit here, live here on these boughs of mine."

Of the many romances I have performed on the concert platform, the ones closest to my heart are the Pushkin settings. So I was keen to find out what influence the artistry, poetic idiom, and musicality of Pushkin's works the development of the genre, and how much of a catalyst the social transformation Pushkin himself became in Russian vocal music. Pushkin's artistry, of course, was not confined to the realm of the romance and cannot be divorced from the whole of Russian music, as his works gave rise also to operas, ballets and symphonic poems, but his lyric poetry is inseparable from the romance genre, for it inspired composers from Dargomyzhsky to Tchaikovsky, Shostakovich and Schnittke. It linked Russian music in with European traditions, for although Pushkin never traveled outside Russia, the songs set to his verses communicated an experience of Europe to Russian audiences. Furthermore, Pushkin is associated with the Russian romance genre not just as a lyricist, but as a collector of song texts in conjunction with his friend Sergey Aleksandrovich Sobolevsky. This volume – thanks

[2] Boris Gasparov, *Five Operas and a Symphony: Words and Music in Russian Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), xvii.

[3] For more detail see Ferenc Liszt's A *czigányokról és a czigány zenéről Magyarországon* [On the Gypsies and Gypsy Music in Hungary – a Hungarian translation of *Des Bohémiennes et de leur musique en Hongrie*] (Budapest: Magyar Mercurius, 2004); and Bálint Sárosi, *A cigányzenekar múltja* [The Past of Gypsy Band] (Budapest: Nap, 2004).

to the editing work of the folklorist Pyotr Kireyevsky in 1826 – is an important source for research into Russian folk music.[4]

Numerous later composers in Russia (including the Soviet era) returned to Pushkin's verses. The source material is sizable, and so I introduce from the voluminous repertory those whose typical – or atypical – nature serve to explain this uniquely toned genre of Russian vocal music. I approach the analysis of Pushkin lyrics from the angle of performance. And of the many composers of varying importance, I deal primarily with those who exerted a decisive influence, primarily the compositions of Aleksandr Sergeyvich Dargomyzhsky, which serve to support or illustrate the majority of my observations. Besides personal preference – I was singing Dargomyzhsky romances in the Vasilyev adaptation mentioned initially – there are other reasons for this. Dargomyzhsky is associated with the development of a new musical idiom in romance and Russian vocal culture, with creating a singing style that paid close attention to the stresses of the text language, and so produced a declamatory style of vocal speech. His oeuvre is not widely known, but his compositional devices were influential precursors to the work of Mussorgsky and Stravinsky.

I received fundamental assistance in writing this study from Márta Papp, who helped to orientate me in the tangled, complex realm of Russian songs. I also thank her for joining János Bojti in enriching Hungarian musicology with extensive and much needed editing work on Mussorgsky's correspondence and related documents and memoirs,[5] knowledge of which, besides providing source material, gives pleasure comparable to that of reading of a great Russian novel. Vasilyev, apart from his artistry, was a profound inspiration to me in my work with Russian romance, both as a singer and as a doctoral student.

2. The antecedents of the Russian romance

> Russian literature does not encompass such figures of love as those found in West European literature. We have nothing to compare with the love of the troubadours,

[4] Márta Papp, "Orosz népdal – dal – románc" [Russian folk songs, songs, romances], *Magyar Zene* 44/1 (February 2006), 5–30. This lengthy comparative study of numerous Russian musical anthologies, song publications, and folk song collections, analyzes how peasant folk music and urban folklore, village music and city music-making, were drawn into 18th-century Russian vocal music. It is an indispensable source for understanding the antecedents of 18th- and 19th-century folk music, and so I do not deal with these folk music collections here in any detail.

[5] *Muszorgszkij – Levelek, dokumentumok, emlékezések* [Mussorgsky – Letters, documents, reminiscences], ed. by János Bojti and Márta Papp (Budapest: Kávé, 1997).

> with Tristan and Isolde, with Dante and Beatrice, with Romeo and Juliet. […] We did not experience the age of chivalry; there were no troubadours here.[6]

Of the many linguists, musicologists, anthropologists, and other researchers quoted in this study, almost all seek the Russian romance's cultural roots in folklore and religious chant. Without taking issue with them specifically, I also see antecedents elsewhere: in the absence of beauty, love, femininity, and aesthetics, and in discovery of this hiatus. I see in the want of a cult of love described in the quotation from Berdyaev that heads this section, and in its unexpectedly powerful emergence, contributors to an ethos that spans the social periods and art trends of the Russian romance. The advent of national Romanticism brought an explosive transformation to Russian society and culture. No age of chivalry though there may have been, the embourgeoisement of society was sudden enough. Alongside all this social change, the arts and culture regenerated with remarkable speed, despite the transition from the Middle Ages to the new era taking place in Russia without the Renaissance or Reformation that played such important roles in cultural renewal in the countries of Western Europe. Russia's secular culture turned both "western" and "national"; it used all it learned from Europe, but in language, choice of theme and unique approach, it remained uniquely Russian. Berdyaev called this circumstance the secret of "The Soul of Russia". This vocal genre with antecedents so different from European music tradition beat a kind of path toward European modernity.

Russia, due to its cultural milieu, traditions of history, philosophy and literature, own brand of mysticism, and tardy emergence of literacy, was deprived for centuries of depictions of nature and of everyday emotional relations and human feelings. In a word, it was deprived of the beauty that the culture of the West (and even the Far East) had been depicting boldly since the 11th and 12th centuries. In neither specific nor allegorical depiction is beauty or its relationship present: beauty such as woman, the female soul *(dusha),* and others that in Russian are feminine in gender and embody beauty, such as love *(lyubov),* nature *(priroda),* landscape *(myestnost),* moon *(loona),* star *(zvyezda),* hope *(nadyezhda),* farewell *(razlooka),* regret *(toska),* joy *(radost),* etc. And as I list these words, they already take shape as a song: "Ya pomnyoo val'sa, zvook pryelyestny" [In my ears rings the waltz, sweet melody], and as the opening lines of a popular waltz romance by Listov, one suited to the subject.

[6] Nikolai Berdyaev, *Dosztojevszkij világszemlélete* [The world outlook of Dostoyevsky], transl. by István Baán (Budapest: Európa, 1993), 256.

3. Roots in Slav mythology and Russian folk music

An examination of the principal figures in Slavic mythology and Old Russian literature, and Eastern Slav folk poetry, appears to confirm that beauty did not serve as a model, that depiction of it was absent from the outset in Russian cultural history, along with the female idol and the figure of the woman in love. Although the concept of duality, *Rod i Rodici,* is a basic principle in Eastern Slav mythology, the only important goddess found is Mokos, the Earth Mother. She was worshiped across the centuries, and in the later Orthodox liturgy the ritual of prostration survived, while the figure of the goddess subsisted in the cult of the martyred Paraskeva (as almost the only important female figure in the Eastern Slav church, apart from the Virgin Mary), worshiped as the patron saint of the home and soil, and later of merchants, and a surviving tradition to this day.

Russian folk poetry only contributes tangentially to Russian romance. Though love motifs are found in the courtship games *(gorelki)* of folk tradition, which later returned in Romantic literature,[7] the influential genre of folk poetry, the *bilina,*[8] deals more with monumental and heroic themes. In Russian epics, the songs are about male valor and heroic battles. Jesters are not the amorous heroes of European cultures, who are neither troubadours nor bards. By the same token, there is a characteristic formal element of the grotesque, mockery and satire in certain *bilina* and stories. These return later in the *russkaya pesnya,* the *narodnaya pesnya,* and a class of romances. Thematically the closest to the romance are Russian folklore lyrics (work songs, convict and soldier songs, love songs), especially the emotionally drenched love songs that resemble Hungarian folk poetry in expressing feelings in nature metaphors and visual contrasts (often bird symbols). From these songs derive the bird metaphors (cuckoo, nightingale, swan, falcon) popularly used in the romance. Another precursor are the short songs called *kolyadka* linked to myths and beliefs about heavenly bodies: the sun and stars.

After 988, when Prince Vladimir I made Byzantine Christianity the religion of the Old Russian Empire, the genre of sacred song, church folk songs, the *dukhovniye pesnyi* developed. In these medieval songs, which frequently take dialog form, can be discerned an element also present in the romance: repetition and its cumulative effect, as one of the stylistic hallmarks of Russian culture, irrespective of genre. Ritual repetition marks the Orthodox Church liturgy and the pictorial iconostasis as well.

The first major secular work – also important to an account of the origin of the romance – is the 12th-century *Song of Igor's Campaign,* concerning battles with the no-

[7] Turgenyev in his play *A Month in the Country* quotes a *gorelki* as a love-song: "No flame flickers, no ember boils, / But my fiery heart burns and boils for a maiden so fair."

[8] *Bilina* spread through oral Slav folklore as remarkable creations. The word *bity* (to be) comes from the past tense of them. They incorporate historical hymns, legends, ballads and stories about heroes of the past, like Greek mythology, in the language of story-telling and in remarkably detailed and varied forms.

madic people around Kiev. The natural images and dirges of the epic survive in copies and exerted great influence on Russian poetry in the first half of the 19th century, and to these Russian Romanticism often returns. The traditions of folk and secular poetry merge well in the opening lines of this brief extract from the *Song of Igor, Yaroslavna's Lament* fuses:

a Dunae Jaroslavnin golos slyshitsya
kukushkoyu bezvesnoju rano kukut
"Polechu", – govorit, – "kukushkoyu,
po Dunaju…"[9]

By the Danube Yaroslavna's voice is heard,
Like an unknown cuckoo cuckooing wide:
"I will fly", she weeps, "like a cuckoo bird
By the Danube side…"

Both folk songs and religious chants speak unreservedly about beauty, be it an image or instance of nature, sexuality, femininity or even liturgical sanctity. Only the lyrical songs deal typically with gladness and sorrow, building their metaphors on parallels and contrasts, but not even the outbursts and onomatopoeia of the wealth of 16th-century madrigal literature in Europe can be found in these songs, most of them sung in unison. For anyone who knows the often exaggerated, overwritten, even musical cliché-ridden world of the Russian romance and Romanticism with its music overflowing with emotion, in fact to the extent of it often being "over the top" finds it hard to fathom how all this could have been absent, or only faintly visible in Russian culture for century after century. This cannot be ascribed only to the centralized power structure and insular church, or the complete lack of secular culture and education, which restricted tastes and aspirations, for Russian culture, right up to the reforms of Peter the Great, defined its identity purely in its own terms. In the 16th-century centralized Russian state of Ivan the Terrible, world culture – by then enriched in music and literature with countless works of troubadour poetry and chivalrous epics and arriving at such genres as the sonnet, *frottola* and madrigal – was represented only by translations. Only in 1547 was the first important Russian secular work published: *The Tale of Peter and Fevroniya of Murom,* a tragic love narrative on the lines of *Abélard and Héloïse*.[10]

[9] By an unknown poet.

[10] The tragic 11th-century story of Pierre Abélard, a creator of French scholasticism, and of the educated Héloïse, was popular as a literary theme among contemporaries and among later writers and poets. The Russian poem in English: "Peter and Fevronia of Murom", in S. Zenskovsky: *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles and Tales* (New York: Meridian, 1974).

4. Social and literary turning point

Russia at the beginning of the 17th century, despite significant modernization, remained an isolated world. It had to wait for that century's Raskolnikov movements for any democratization of culture: for works about beauty, love, passion and desire as opposed to religious moral philosophy. The religious and social struggles that ended the Russian Middle Ages brought also the publication of world literature and poetry. This intellectual rejuvenation is inseparable from the reign of Peter the Great (r. 1696–1725), who made radical attempts to integrate Russia into European culture. This was the first time since Russia had adopted the Orthodox Christianity of Byzantium that there was an opening up to outside culture. Peter flouted cultural and religious traditions, confronted the church establishment, and chose Europe. This "open a window on Europe" movement *(v Evropu prorubity okno)*[11] led to such important intellectual results as reform of the Russian church and creation of the Academy.

This reform, which we might term an "intercultural dialogue" today, brought also a renewal of music. The use of musical instruments had been forbidden in the Orthodox Church liturgy and there were no trained performers or composers of instrumental music in Russia. As with architecture and the visual arts, Peter invited Italian, French and German masters to his court. These composers not only raised musical life to a fresh level, but informed Europe of their experiences in Russia and exported news of Russian culture, which had been effectively unknown in the West. Interestingly, the first musical expression of Russian identity came from such foreign composers working in Russia (among them Domenico Dall'Oglio, Luigi Madonis, Reinhardt Keiser), who used folk music elements in instrumental works on Russian themes. The court of Peter the Great and then of Catherine II the Great (1762–1796) became important artistic centers. By the mid-18th century, the country had gain twin intellectual centers, St. Petersburg and Moscow, which are still rivals to this day. Catherine paid great attention to culture – she herself wrote verse – and lavishly supported new literary and musical initiatives. This was the era when Russia first appeared on Europe's intellectual scene, escaping out of centuries of isolation. Compositions by Paisiello, Cimarosa and Galuppi, all guests at the court of the Tsar, began to inspire Russian composers as well.

Under Catherine the Great, the situation of women also changed. Russian women assumed a role as true custodians of intellectual education, familiar to us from the heroines of Dostoyevsky, Chekhov and Tolstoy, without which the 20th-century artistry of Marina Tsvetaeva, Anna Ahmatova, Sofia Gubaidulina and Ludmilla Ulickaya could not have arisen. Aristocratic women learned languages, became familiar with Western culture, and attained considerable musical ability as well. They inspired Russian poets as muses emboldening them with their love or torturing them through their indiffer-

[11] "Open a window on Europe" – phrase from the poem by Alexander Pushkin's "Bronze Horseman".

ence, and even acting as patrons. They became passionate readers of poets, and it was in their salons that composers' songs and romances were born. There is a somewhat ironic phrase from the Pushkin era to describe such educated women: "girl reader" *(devich'e chtenie)*. It is enough to recall Pushkin's Tatiana:

Ey rano nravilis' romany;
Oni ey zamenyali vsyo;
Ona vlyublyalasya v obmany
I Richardsona i Russo.

From the first she craved romances;
Her delight, she loved them so,
Whatever part most entrances
In Richardson or Rousseau.

Pushkin's depictions of female characters significantly changed the accept feminine ideal. Dostoyevsky, however, reinforcing the Berdyaev motto at the start of this chapter, records that the depiction of beauty in Russian art began with Pushkin's lyrics:

> He was the first (and truly the first, for before there was no one) to show us the artistically shaped types of Russian beauty, the beauty which comes straight from the Russian soul and has its roots in folk truths, the soil of our land: there it was that he discovered these types.[12]

Yuri Lotman described at length how Pushkin, with Tatiana, his female protagonist in *Onegin,* created a new romantic ideal of beauty that contrasted with the slim bodies and brimming good health of female figures in the 18th century. This "poetic girl figure" becomes, partly through Pushkin, the heroine of grand operas (Liza, Tatiana) and muse of the sung romance.

> In the Romantic era, women had to be pale and dreamy; sadness befitted them. Men liked it if tears were seen glistening in sorrowful, dreamy blue female eyes, and if a woman read verse it somehow penetrated to the depths, into a more idealized world than the one around her.[13]

The Academy was founded in 1725, and Lomonosov drew up rules of Russian grammar and verse by fusing Church Slavonic with the vernacular. Works by city ver-

[12] Dostoyevsky's contribution was delivered on 8 June 1880, at a two-day Pushkin commemorative session of the Society of Admirers of Russian Literature.

[13] Quoted by István Nagy in his study of Yuri Mikhalovich Lotman's image of Pushkin's Tsvetayeva: "Because women read the poets in this way and not another", in *Puskintól Tolsztojig és tovább… Tanulmányok az orosz irodalom és költészettan köréből* [From Pushkin to Tolstoy and onward: Studies in Russian literature and poetics] (Budapest: Argumentum, 2006), 95.

sifiers and songs with instrumental accompaniment were propagated, in the manner of folk songs, in the form of handwritten chapbooks or "notated songs" *(knizhnaya pesnya)*. This steady turn toward folklore was influenced by the French Enlightenment. People began to collect relics of Russian literacy and folk music. At first, they primarily recorded the words; the first major publication, a set of four volumes issued by Mikhail Chulkov and Mikhail Popov in 1770–1773 and called *Sobranie raznyh pesen* [Collection of Various Songs] contained almost 800 texts. This collection immediately found readers and "users", and the volumes were reprinted several times. Later, as musical education expanded among the urban intelligentsia, the melodies were recorded as well. With the publication of *knizhnaya pesnya,* village folk music entered urban art music. Publications notated by amateurs passed from hand to hand in the noble salons, attaining great popularity. Although the melodies were scored for a single voice, performances were often in three parts, with a guitar or keyboard accompaniment, or with vocal homophonic harmony drawn from liturgical music. Folk music sources, thanks to the many notations and arrangements, blended increasingly with the folk-style art songs known as *rossiyskaya pesnya* or *russkaya pesnya,* and from the 19th century as the romance.

5. The 19th-century rejuvenation: the "Russian renaissance"

The beginning of the 19th century brought the diversity of the European Renaissance into Russian culture. On a social level, urbanization and embourgeoisement were important factors (between 1762 and 1796 Russia's population grew by 17 million)[14] even if the bourgeoisie could not compare in importance and influence to their counterparts in Western Europe after the French Revolution, or the political force of the European Renaissance patricians. In terms of its intellectual renewal of Russia, though, it played a seminal role. The church lost ground as urban civilization developed, as the Court sided with modern education as opposed to that of the Orthodox Church, and philosophical views gradually replaced theological traditions. The bourgeois intelligentsia *(raznochintsy)* attained an increasingly influential role in the transformation of Russian intellectual life, not just as promoters of urban culture, but as representatives of all the ideals which confronted the church, the power of the Tsar, and the prerogatives of the landed gentry. Its defense of the interests of the ordinary person was increasingly impassioned. That ideal gave rise to one of the most characteristic thematic types of the Russian romance: a mocking, grotesque social critique.

[14] Mikhail Heller, *Az orosz birodalom története* [History of the Russian Empire], transl. by Magdolna Balog, Ilona Kiss and Erna Pál (Budapest: Osiris, 2003), 414.

In the history of music, it is worth mentioning the "philosophers'" circle *(lubomudriye)* and its best-known creator, the philosopher and literary historian Vissarion Belinsky (1811–1848). During a brief life – like Pushkin – he became a shaping force in his era and later in the century. He was the first to direct attention to the musicality of Pushkin's lyric poems. His analysis of the Pushkin verse "Night Zephyr" *(Nochnoy zefir)* is frequently quoted. Several romance composers set this to music, as its text, with its references to the "glittering moon", the "undulating river" and the sound of a guitar naturally offers musical expression:

Nochnoy zefir struit yefir
bezhit, shumit Gvadalkvivir.

Night's soft zephir puffs its fragrance,
roars the river Gvadalkvivir.

> What have we here? A magical picture, a fantastic spectacle, or a musical chord?… The sound of a soft serenade on a secret, translucent, sensual southern night?… Can these unique lines of verse be heard in the harmonized music, as the ether resonates, as the breeze nimbly blows, as the silver wave laps?... What have we here? Poetry, painting, music? Both one and the other, all in one, so that the painting resounds, the sound paints a picture, and in their harmony appears the meaning of the words.[15]

Belinsky not only characterizes Pushkin's poetry but also that of the so-called "golden age" when primarily it was literature that dominated the arts. But his influence helped other artistic branches to fulfill their purpose, "it is one, it is the other, it is all as one".

6. The renewal of secular vocal music: song as an expression of national identity

As in the European Renaissance, it was a rejuvenation of secular vocal music that became perhaps the greatest achievement in the golden age of Russian music history. The craving for emotion, harmony and beauty could best be fulfilled by singing, expanding and supplementing the content of words, metaphors, similes, personifications, and other poetic images. But the sublime, dignified, rhetorical singing so marked in the madrigal, the *canzonetta,* and particularly the French *chanson* was not characteristic of Russian songs initially, where the folk character tended to predominate. Richard Taruskin attempted in several of his writings to summarize the elements with which

[15] Vissarion Grigoryevich Belinsky, "Razdelenie poyezy na rody i vidy", in *Muzykal'ny mir Pushkina* (Moscow and Leningrad: GMI, 1950), 6.

to define 18th- and 19th-century Russian identity in music.[16] He mentions two icons: folklore and religious chants.

The circumstances of the collection and publication of Russian folksong texts embody a unique feature of 18th-century Russian music life. Initially collectors, concentrated exclusively on the words, not bothering to record the melody largely because they lacked musical education. So the texts of these collections could then be subjected to further musical "arrangements" with new melodies, turning them into "folksy" composed songs. In a study mentioned previously, Márta Papp gives a detailed account of this period, analyzing the "centuries of long mingling" of Russian folk music and art music, the "multiple mutual cross-influences of village music-making, urban music-making and the work of individual composers".[17] Many have regarded Romanticism's turn to folk poetry as a uniquely Russian feature, but it should not be forgotten that the national Romantic era was thriving across Europe at that time. But it is true that such a degree of fusion of folk music and urban art music, reaching a point of inseparability, combined with an esthetic of peasant life as an "absolute value", is rarely found elsewhere. There are examples of this from the history of Russian philosophical movements through to Marxism and communism. In art music it suffices to note the operatic characters and choruses of Tchaikovsky or the Five.

Another uniquely Russian feature in the music of this period is that of the "singing peasant".[18] Song is undoubtedly the most characteristic element in Russian musical identity, though Russian folk music is often not just vocal. (A good example of the early existence of instrumental folk music is the story of Sadko,[19] played on the *gusle,* an instrument made from maple, who escapes from trouble through his music-making, is a good example of the early existence of instrumental folk music.) The influential role of the voice is reinforced by the Orthodox Church banning the use of instruments: liturgical music is exclusively sung. So there is no disputing that both the icons Taruskin posited as shaping Russia musically, folklore and liturgical music, have the human voice as the fundamental element of them.

Folk song and religious chant: this was the heritage the Russian Romantic composers revised and broke away from in secular art music. The secular reform of Peter the Great and Alexander I led to church music being sharply divided from secular

[16] Richard Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

[17] Papp, "Orosz népdal".

[18] The expression "singing peasant" was used by Marina Ritzarev in a study of Russian music between 1760–1960 which examines national traits: Marina Ritzarev, *The Conflict between Nationalistic and Pluralistic Traditions in Russian Musical Narratives* (Haifa: Haifa University, 1998). She sees the singing peasant – like the samovar or the troika – as a politically and culturally constructed artistic symbol.

[19] The crafty figure of Sadko resembles that of the Finnish Väjnämöinen. Behind the figure is a historical hero, Satko Satinyets, who built the church to Boris and Gleb in Novgorod in 1167.

music-making and retreating into churches and monasteries. Where the tradition of liturgical song survived was in the form of harmony. Hardly any 19th-century Russian composer but Anton Rubinstein wrote works in oratorio style with religious themes, at a time when the genre was at a height in Europe. Glinka, Rimsky-Korsakov and Tchaikovsky wrote *a capella* liturgies, but exclusively for church rites. Para-liturgical music closely linked to the culture of Western Christianity (cantatas, masses, hymns, or instrumentally accompanied liturgical songs) was unknown in Russian art music. On the other hand, liturgical melodies and songs *(obradoviye pesni)* were frequently set. (Rimsky-Korsakov chose the themes of his *Great Russian Christmas Oratorio* op. 36 from the *Obikhod* Orthodox folksong collection; another example is the third, Pastorale movement of Tchaikovsky's *Manfred Symphony,* op. 58.)

Alongside the "singing peasant", as a personification of national identity, arose the "singing citizen" (although it was early to talk of citizenship in the European sense at this stage). The "singing citizen" valued and promoted trained musicians. Rubinstein even attempted to make the musician into an institutionalized, "free-artist" *(svobodniy hudoshnyk)* profession that might receive an official rank in the highly important hierarchy of Russian officials.[20] The demands of the "singing citizen" brought about a reform of vocal music. It has been mentioned that musical education became popular, particularly among women of a certain rank, and any evening in a gentry salon would have been unimaginable without songs to the accompaniment of piano, guitar or balalaika. Home music-making became a regular feature of daily life among the nobility and bourgeois of befitting rank under the decree of Peter the Great, and it gravitated towards the sentimental genre of the Russian romance. From the mid-19th century, music performed in the salons of the aristocracy and indeed upper officialdom led to a new form of social organization; music societies formed at this time, and following the example of Peter the Great, private patrons became important. The biggest influence on the development of musical life was the foundation of the Russian Music Society, led by Rubinstein and supported by the Vielgorsky brothers,[21] which initiated official institutions, such as the first professional symphony orchestra (1859) and the Conservatoire (1862). The authors of the new romance (including Taruskin's "three Alexanders" – Alyabyev, Gurilyov and Varlamov)[22] chose their texts from sentimental poetry. Still lacking as a variety of emotions and wild passions, which it was left to the poetry of Pushkin to consummate it.

[20] See Dorothea Redepenning, "Anti-Academism", in *Russian Content in European Form*. <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2004-09-14-redepenning-en.html> (12 November 2006).
[21] The two counts, Mikhail and Matvey, were themselves musicians.
[22] Richard Taruskin, "Csillagocska – Etűd népi stílusban" [Little star: study in folk style], *Magyar Zene* 38/4 (November 2000), 348.

7. A unique form of self-expression of Russian emotions

The definition of the Russian romance as a musical-cum-literary genre is none too clear. The term should not be confused with the 16th-century *romance (roman, romanice*) of literary theory, a strophic song form with a narrative character, dwelling on amorous adventures and heroic deeds. This other genre, popularized in Spain, comprised of four short strophes of romance verse lines, the lines themselves comprising two half-lines each of eight syllables. This basic form developed significantly from the late 16th and early 17th century, partly through its musical settings. There then appeared between the refrains repetitions and lyrical interludes; the romance became formally and musically more expressive and complex as a genre. At the same time, its simple basic strophic form was incorporated into folk poetry and so spread and varied the pattern of folk songs. The term is encountered even earlier, in relation to the work of poets and composers of 12th- and 13th-century French troubadour culture, the *trouvères,* who wrote in the vernacular and whose refrain songs were also called romances. These Old French romances with their tales of love and pastoral themes were primarily the genre of the educated class. By the 18th century, the genre had becomes highly popular as an independent character work, as a composition for solo voice and instruments.

The foreign composers of the Tsar's court began to familiarize the romance in Russia at the end of the 18th century. Then alongside the major reforms in literature at that time, it began to alter in the early 19th century. The genre came to consist of composed Russian songs, or rather poems written for a singing voice *(pesnya na golos)* and to be heard at salons. Here, in contrast to the medieval and renaissance bards, the writer of the text, the composer of the music and the performer of both were usually different people. The terms Russian song *(russkaya pesnya)* and romance came to mean the same thing in common parlance. Uncertainty about the origins of sources and the inaccuracy of many song collections make it hard to say what can be classed an old melismatic Russian song and what the work of an anonymous urban composer. The customary distinction, where the name of a composer is lacking, is whether a piece derives from folk music (a song) or belongs to urban art music (a romance). But that assignation of genre is rendered uncertain because the stylistic features of Russian songs and Russian romances are very close, and the pieces underwent continual change. Márta Papp examined such "refashioning" or transformation not only in the harmonies and ornaments of the melodies, but in the style and manner of performance. Her study names Balakirev's 1866 folk song collection[23] as the most important authentic document for tracing peasant melismatic *protyazhnaya* melodies distorted by a mixing of

[23] Mily Alekseyevich Balakirev, *Sbornik russkikh narodnykh pesen* (1866).

folk song and romance.[24] The romance in 19th-century Russia was not just a genre, but a means of emotive self-expression, in which was crystallized all in which the society of the Romantic era lived.

8. The literary content and musical traits of the romance

The romance as a song form involves a continual weave of text and music, with sentiments being described through the union between them, but the genre cannot be associated with any single typical verse form; it possesses a definitive, individual sound realm of its own. The syllabic Slavic languages are not renowned for metrical verse, so that verses gain their meter and inner rhythms from the sound pattern (of course alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables can create in the language constructs that are equivalent to the feet of metrical verse), which Igor Smirnov termed verse sonority.[25] Naturally this does not imply an absence in the lyrics of pathos-laden hexameters or lamenting anapaests. It just means that rhythmic "scansion" is not a unique property of the language, and the rhythm "deviates" frequently.[26] When heard as a romance, the textual character comes to the fore because it is linked to music: the rhythm of thought and *enjambement* is easily "singable". The romance is a manner of speaking: making prose out of poetry through music (among other factors).

So the special character of the genre lies in choice of themes and use of poetic and musical elements. One typical poetic device is introspection, a metaphoric and allegoric mode of expression with associative comparisons and repeated duality (earth and sky, here and there, inside and out, far and near), desires and hopes, frank communication of overwhelming emotions, and idealized description of daily life and natural landscape. These are classed below in ten major groups based on utilized poetic devices and subject-matter, but the categories are not rigid or exclusive.[27]

[24] Papp, "Orosz népdal".

[25] Igor Smirnov, *Úton az irodalom elmélete felé* [Towards the theory of literature] (Budapest: Helikon, 1999), 133. Quoted by Kornélia Horváth, "A verselméletről és egy Puskin versről" [On verse theory and a Puskhin poem], in *Puskintól Tolsztojig,* 41.

[26] This is the term coined by the Polish literary scholar Jerzy Faryno for such twists of rhythmic direction.

[27] The literary scholar Thomas P. Hodge likewise analyzed in a comprehensive work the Russian art song and 19th-century Russian poetry itself in a comprehensive work, but he did not create similarly strict classes. Thomas P. Hodge, *A Double Garland: Poetry and Music in Early 19th-Century Russia* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2000), 66–107.

Type 1

First place goes indisputably to works of poetic passion, about love, fidelity and male friendship but it includes songs about unhappy memories of broken relationships, as well as elegies, epitaphs and laments. A typical formal element is the strophic use of refrains. One fine example of a lyrical romance with simple harmonization is Dargomyzhsky's strophic "Ya vas lyubil" [I Loved You], setting a sorrowful verse by Pushkin. Here – and in Russian romance literature this compositional device is frequent – the composer arbitrarily adapts the verse as well, repeating the final line to heighten emotion and act as a kind of refrain, and using dynamic and tempo changes to indicate the style of performance.

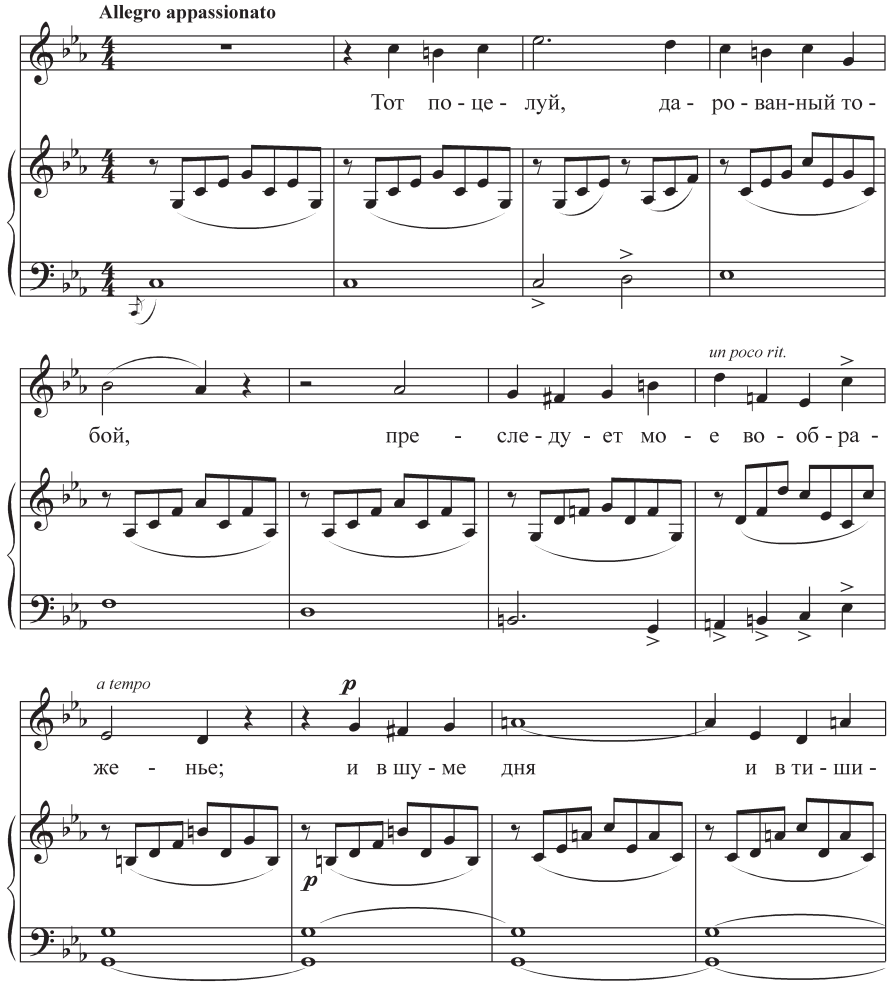
Ya vas lyubil bezmolvno, beznadezhno,
To robost'yu, to revnost'yu tomim;
Ya vas lyubil tak iskrenno, tak nezhno,
Kak day vam Bog, lyubimoy byt' drugim.

I loved you mutely, of hope shorn, oppressed,
First calmly, then jealously spilled –
In devotion I loved and in tenderness:
God grant others' love be so filled!

One small alteration, freer treatment of the text, a four-line verse extended to five – this well exemplifies how naturally Russian art song alters a literary text. The linguistic and verse features mentioned permit this, leaving the literary work augmented and unimpaired.

There is a wealth of romances to be placed in this category, in many of which the influence of Italian *bel canto,* the Italian *cantilena,* can be sensed, not least due to a marked presence of Italian composers in Russia. The ingratiating tunefulness of many songs of this type made them popular hits, perhaps the best-known being Dargomyzhsky's setting of a Baratinsky verse, "Poceluy" [Kiss], whose use of *ritardando* and stresses on word and melody become a stereotype of the passionate, mannered Russian salon-romance (Example 1).[28]

[28] The classical musicological verdict on the Russian romance is unclear, in part because the emotional, "popular" melodies of Russian songs often turned them into international hits. An example is a setting of the "Dorogoy dlinnoyu" by Podrevsky, which became familiar in 1968, in an arrangement by Gene Raskin, as the pop song "Those Were the Days". By a similar convoluted path, the Dmitriev romance of 1793, "My Little Gray Turtle-dove" was arranged by Prokofiev for his score for Aleksander Faintsimmer's 1934 film *Lieutenant Kijé* and for his suite op. 60. This melody was to be used by Sting on his 1985 album *The Dream of the Blue Turtles* in his famous anti-Cold War song, "Russians".



Example 1: Dargomyzhsky, *Poceluy,* bars 1–12

Type 2

Another typical subject in the period, and so in romances, was to communicate the sense of being a "superfluous person", made famous by Lermontov. This sense of boredom and quiet, sorrowful resignation, is not uniquely Russian, though a stereotype. It is more a spirit of the age (familiar from Byron, Baudelaire and others), even if there is no doubt that it is also characteristic of the "Russian soul" and became part of Russian self-awareness. This Slavonic "otherness" was formulated in 1832 in an untitled verse by Lermontov:

Net, ya ne Bayron, ya drugoy,
Eshhe nevedomy izbrannik,
Kak on, gonimy mirom strannik,
No tol'ko s russkoyu dushoy.

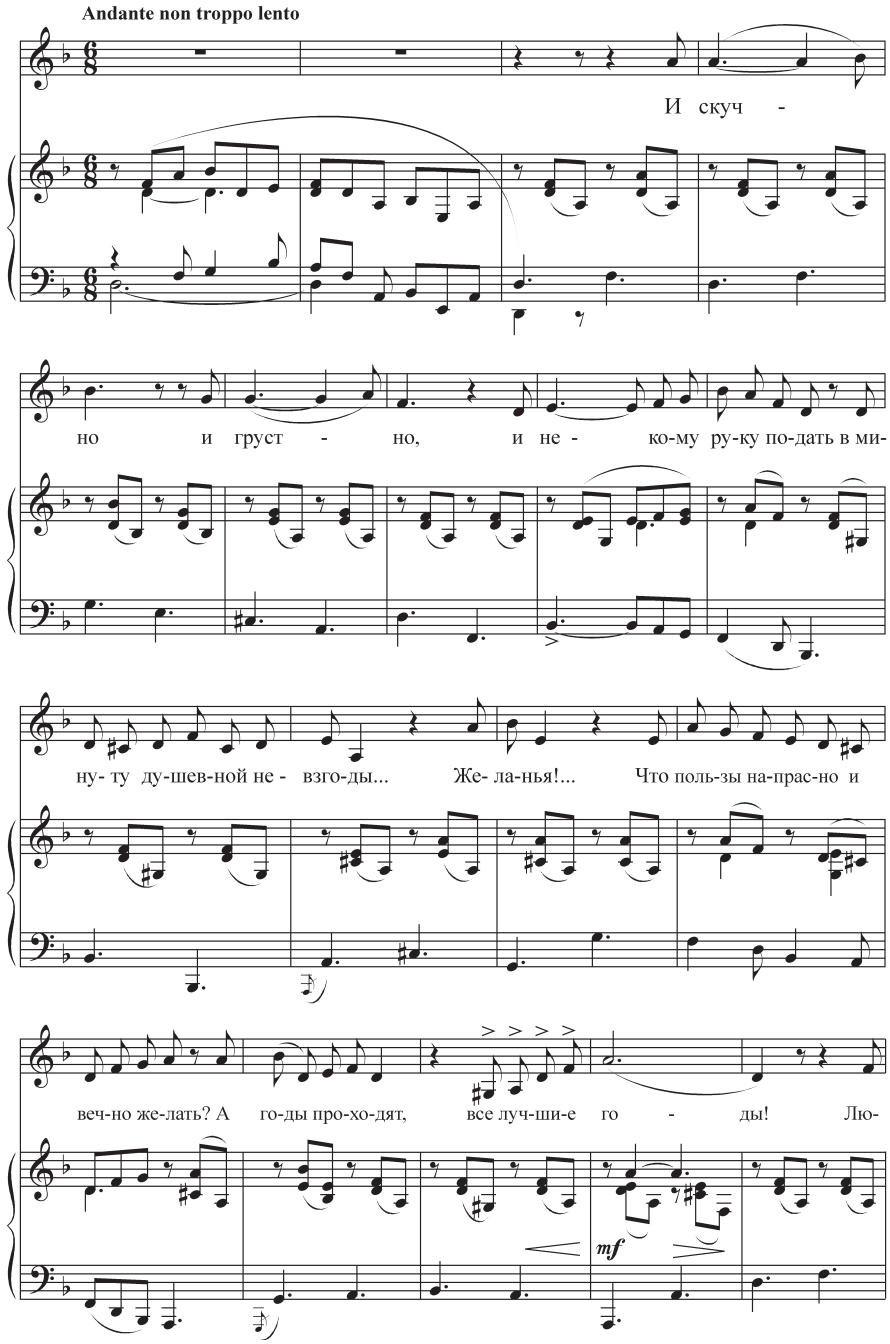
No, I am no Byron; I part:
In the unknown path I tread
I'm like him ill-used by fate,
But in me beats a Russian heart.

One of the most beautiful examples of the Russian romance is another Lermontov verse, "I skuchno i grustno" [I am weary and sad] as set by Dargomyzhsky. This meditative soliloquy and its melodic course precisely reflect the dynamics and structure of the verse. The slow, melancholy, upward melody, with a plaintive, Phrygian-style upbeat leads into the lines "I skuchno i grustno, i nekomu/ruku poda'" [I am weary and sad! – No one will ever / hold your hand] appears in text-like sixteenth notes in the music. The words *zhelan'ya* [desires], *lyubit'* [to love], *radost'* [joy], *muki* [tortures] are exclamatory sighs of hope, with a rising-falling intonation, and they are depicted syllable by syllable, with *marcato* quasi-stage instructions or "commentaries" that steer us back to reality: "vse luchshie gody" [the best years], "kak posmotrish'" [if you look around], "glupaya shutka" [stupid joke]. The composer emphasizes the resignation of the line "i vse tam nichtozhna" [and everything is meaningless] that closes the second verse section with a great descending *ritardando*. This is the most moving part of the song, denoting utter resignation once the euphoria of passion has fled and life becomes no more than an "empty, stupid joke".[29]

Type 3

Inseparable from the history of the period (indeed from the modern history of Russia) are persecution, imprisonment, exile and homesickness. Institutional censorship was a powerful presence. Publication bans and exile were the lot of many exponents of the arts, philosophers, and officials, not just the famous "Caucasian Prisoner" Pushkin, or Lermontov, banished to the Caucasus himself for writing a verse about Pushkin's. Such an experience lay behind many works, among them Pushkin's 1822 verse "Uznik" [The Prisoner]. In 1843 Alyabyev turned this into a harsh-toned song that underlined the

[29] György Kurtág made an exceptionally thoughtful and musical setting of this verse as the first movement of his 1994 choral work *Songs of Despair and Sorrow* op. 18. For more detail see Márta Papp, "*A csüggedés és keserűség dalai.* Kurtág György kórusciklusáról" [*Songs of despair and sorrow:* On György Kurtág's choral cycle], *Muzsika* 44/2 (February 2001), 5–11. (Part 1), and 44/3 (March 2001), 26–30 (Part 2).



Example 2: Dargomyzhsky, *I skuchno i grustno,* bars 1–18

rebellion of the prisoners with a repeated forte in the last line of each verse. The same verse was set later by Anton Rubinstein, probably under the influence of his musical studies in Germany, as its style approaches that of German Romanticism. The opening melody is reminiscent of the folk song settings of Mendelssohn and Schumann, and its central section, with dreams of freedom – "My vol'nye pticy; pora, brat, pora!" [We are free as birds, let us fly!] and sequences of hammering triplets, of Schubert's "Erlkönig".

Type 4

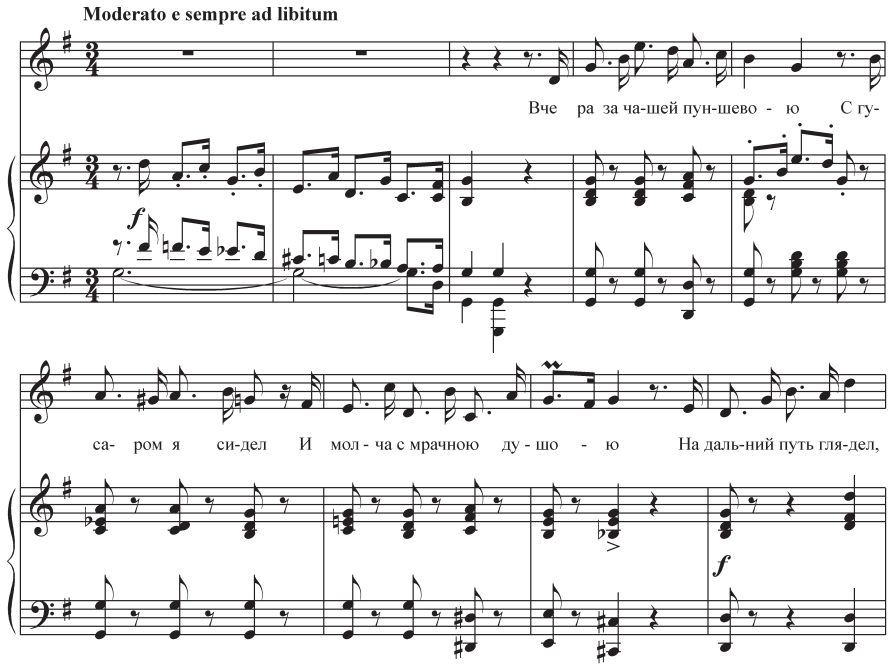
National feelings brought forth by political and social conditions encouraged romances that told of Slavic heroism and noble struggles. A big role in this was played by the patriotic war against Napoleon, which inspired plaintive soldiers' songs. Glinka rejuvenated the Russian song, and notably its patriotic vocal works, primarily through the new musical idiom he spread with his rhythmic forms of the text, his treatment of tempo, and his transposition of folk song elements, although his works also bear traits of European Classicism and early Romanticism, and operatic hallmarks: the sonata form, rondo themes, and the use of the melodic aria and *cavatina* as self-contained songs. A favored subject of his songs and romances – and of both his operas, *A Life for the Tsar* and *Ruslan and Lyudmila,* despite their story background – is the heroic struggle of the Russian people.

The strophic romance *Virtus Antique,* written in 1840, creates pathos, although it is a little shrill with its $\frac{4}{4}$ meter, the piano and voice moving in unison, and sharp rhythms imitating the beating of drums. It was written to verses by Nestor Kukol'nik as the ninth of twelve-part song cycle, *Proshchaniye s Peterburgom* [Farewell to St. Petersburg], and bears the subtitle *Rycarsky romans* [chivalrous romance]. It tells of the determination of a knight setting off for the Holy Land but wanting to return back home. To be found in the romance are melodic fragments of the heroic theme in Ruslan's second act aria (the composer was already working on the opera at the time). Glinka's set of romances for soprano/mezzo-soprano, bass, and chorus (along with Alyabyev's triptych *Farewell to the Nightingale*) is one of the first song cycles in Russian music history. Although Glinka did not name it as such, the identical lyrical language (and that of the poetic verses) and the choice of themes evoked the construction of the great Romantic cycles, even though there remains a marked difference between Glinka's set and similar ones by Schubert and Schumann, with their themes of farewell, separation and return. With Glinka the melodies were written first and the texts completed later by Kukol'nik. But Glinka's melodies are effective without texts, and the majority are played enthusiastically by instrumental soloists. The educated Count Vladimir Odoyevski, whose salon in St. Petersburg was visited by Liszt, had this to say of him:

> As was the habit of Mikhail Ivanovich, the melody was ready before the text. What can I say? A wealth of musical ideas spilled onto the paper from his splendid

fingers, where his ideas seemingly continued to develop on their own, to blossom, and to be reborn…[30]

The 1842 Dargomyzhsky song setting of Pushkin's very early (1815) verse "Sleza" [Tears] is a fine narration with an intimate tone, describing the laments of lonely, homesick soldiers. Its musical setting – unlike the great majority of early melodic romances, where the piano accompanies with simple triads and chords and the vocal melody provides the variety, is notable for the way Dargomyzhsky gives the piano the decision role in the song, which makes it more comparable with Mussorgsky's. In the romance, divided into five strophes, the vocal part monotonously tells the story in a musical question-and-answer format, to a uniform rhythm, while exceptionally varied material is heard from the piano. The song opens with a long, descending chromatic progression above a tonic pedal in the piano bass, which returns as an interlude between the strophes (Example 3). Despite its extended rhythms, the first motif begins weightlessly in sixteenth notes, so that the melodic stress is different from that of the vocal line, which enters later (and the melodic progression begins with a sixteenth-note upbeat) and is rhythmically contrasted to it. During the vocal line, the piano plays brief chords,



Example 3: Dargomyzhsky, *Sleza,* bars 1–9

[30] Vladimir Odoyevski, "Dva pisma 1892–93", in Slifstein, *Glinka i Pushkin* (Moszkva: GMI, 1950), 85.

except in the *lento* third-verse section, where the vocal line becomes emphatic and the piano prepares the way with triads for the singer's plaintive exclamation: "Gusar! uzh net yiyo so mnoyu!" [Hussar, my beloved is not with me!] Dargomyzhsky emphatically repeats the final lines of the first, second and fifth verse sections with *forte-piano* dynamic alternations as the usual formal element.

Type 5

With foreigners arriving in the country in increasing numbers and the experiences of an increasing number of the Russian aristocracy traveling abroad, many romances focus on foreign peoples, journeys, and exotic folk customs. A popular theme was the Mediterranean and the exoticism of Italy and Spain, but there are many songs also about Gypsies and about people from the East. As Márta Papp put it:

> […] Eastern color in Russian music is neither an outward effect, nor a decadent hut for the exotic, but an integral part of the music: it has a folk conception – it feeds on the music of the neighboring Eastern and South-eastern peoples belonging to the Russian empire of that time.[31]

Dargomyzhsky set many verses about the sun-drenched South. Let us compare his setting of a Shirkov verse and a work with a similar theme, Laura's romance, from his opera based on a Pushkin text, *The Stone Guest* (Act 1, Scene 2). (In the latter two Spanish romances are heard, both sung by Laura. They are the only self-contained numbers in the opera, the rest of which is *parlando* or spoken.)

The first two lines of the Shirkov verse are:

Odelas' tumanami Sierra-Nevada
Volnami igraet kristal'niy Henil'.

The mist is down on Sierra Nevada,
The crystal Genil plays with the waves.

The interlude song written to Pushkin's verse "The Stone Guest" starts:

Odelas' tumanom Grenada
vsjo dremlet vokrug.

Granada is swimming in mist
Around it everything dozes.

[31] Márta Papp, "Glinka: *Ruszlán és Ludmilla – A hét zeneműve* (1984)" [radio broadcast: *Ruslan and Lyudmilla*, musical work of the week]. <http://www.mr3-bartok.hu> (8 December 2007).

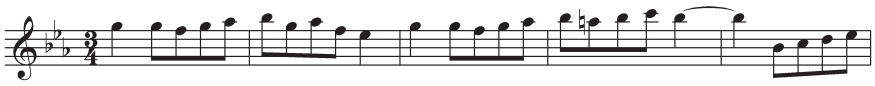
The subtitle of the Shirkov romance is "Bolero", and the piano introduces its melody with trilled ornamentation and a characteristic $\frac{3}{4}$ Spanish dance rhythm. The romance has an A–B–B_V–A structure, with the bolero returning at the end in the tempo of the opening *Allegro*. The two central verse sections are constructed on identical musical material, but their tempi alternate fast and slow. The piano accompaniment, in contrast to the bolero's rhythmic chords, has *legato* broken chords. Although the theme is identical, the musical formulation of the romance heard in Laura's evening party in *The Stone Guest* differs strongly. The meter is still a dancing $\frac{3}{4}$, but there is no trace of rattling sixteenth notes or runs. The melody progresses in an even dance step in the piano and in the vocal part, consistently reflecting the textual emphases of the verse. Broadening the melody every four bars is a characteristic Andalusian *seguidilla,* while the theme of the piano introduction is a melody from Glinka's famous orchestral capriccio, *Yota Aragonesa* (cf. Examples 4 and 5).

Songs about Gypsies were also popular. Folk-poetry sources and song collections held many Gypsy songs, but the theme was only taken up in literature in 1824 by Pushkin, in his narrative poem "Cygany", [Gypsies] which was not published until 1827. However, it is very important in Russian song as well. Zemfira, the Gypsy girl and female protagonist, sings two songs in the work. The first is a sorrowful bird song: *Ptichka bozhiya ne znayet / Ni zaboty, ni truda* [Look at God's bird, / no cares, no sorrows]. The second, *Stary muzh, grozny muzh* [You are a monster, old friend] was based on a Moldavian folk song. Pushkin's work became one of the romance texts most often set, with over twenty composers producing songs out of it. The text is important as a precursor to the romance parodies associated with Dargomirzhsky. The song was made popular by Mikhail Vielgorsky[32] who published the Pushkin text in 1825 (two years before Pushkin's own publication) in the *Moscow Telegraph* with his own harmonization. Of the better known composers, it was set by Vertovsky in 1832, Gurilyov in 1849, Alyabyev in 1860 and Rubinstein in 1868.

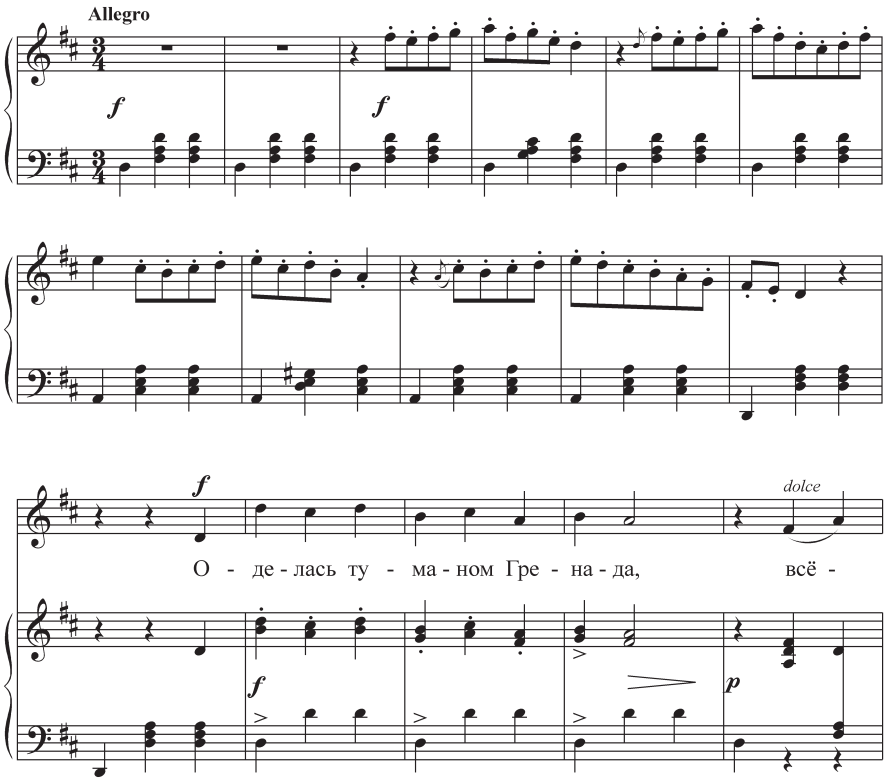
Type 6

Travel experiences led to evocation of specific regions. Descriptions of times of day, seasons, and natural phenomena are linked to various landscape descriptions. These are pleasingly fused in a Dargomyzhsky romance setting of the Pushkin verse mentioned earlier, "Nochnoy zefir" [Nocturnal Zephyr]. The $\frac{6}{8}$ rondo theme (Example 6) with its A–B–A–C–A form, rich in acoustic and "visual" musical images, is a broad vocal *legato,* a musical imitation of an undulating river disturbed by nocturnal breezes in the moonlight. The theme is introduced by fast broken triads in sixteenth notes in the

[32] His name is familiar from Liszt bibliographies. Liszt's farewell concert of his first concert tour in Russia was held in Vielgorsky's St Petersburg salon on 16 May 1842, at which Glinka was present.



Example 4: Opening theme of *Yota Aragonesa*

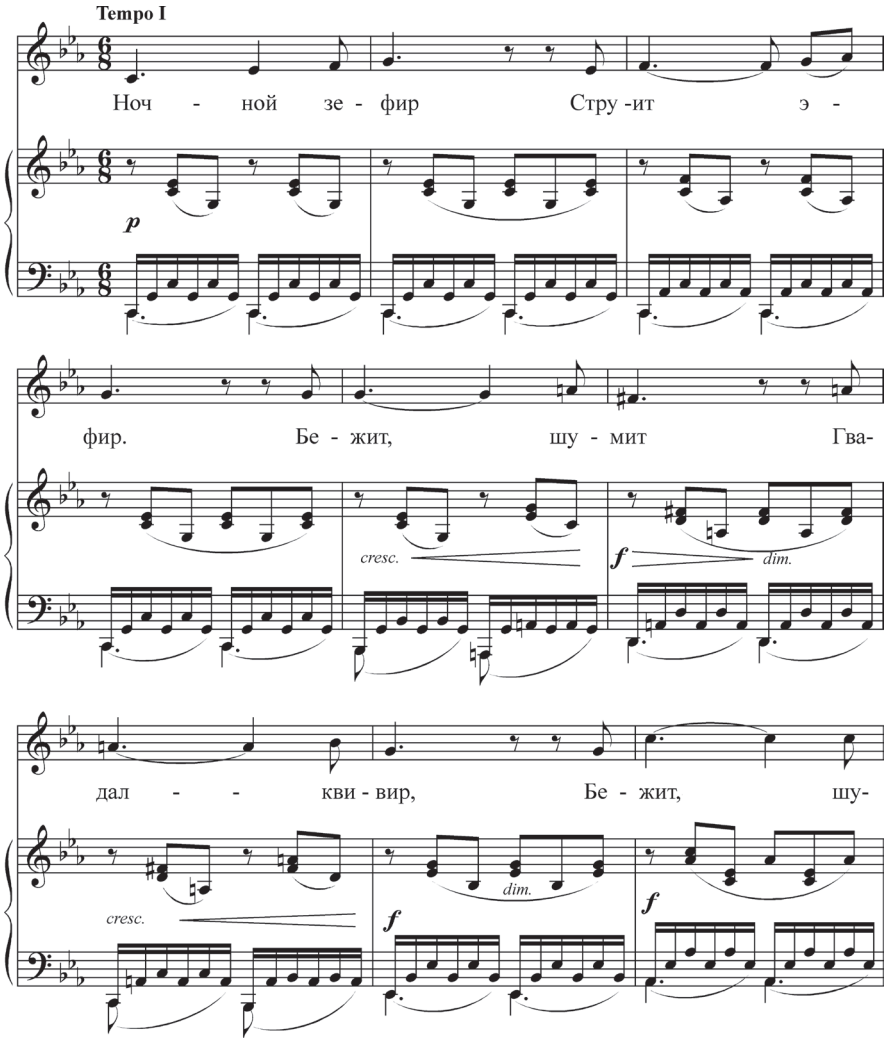


Example 5: Dargomyzhsky, *Spanish Romance,* from the opera *The Stone Guest,* bars 1–16.

piano bass. The contrasting episodes are both $\frac{3}{4}$ dances, one a rhythmic Spanish bolero (Example 7) and the other a lighter, more melancholy minuet (Example 8). The nimble triplets of the vocal line in the bolero section, and the thirty-second notes of the piano are imitations of guitar music. The two dance movements make a pleasing contrast in the melodic line. While the vocalist sings the serenade in the brief notes of the bolero, the sweetly inviting *legato* melody of the minuet is heard.

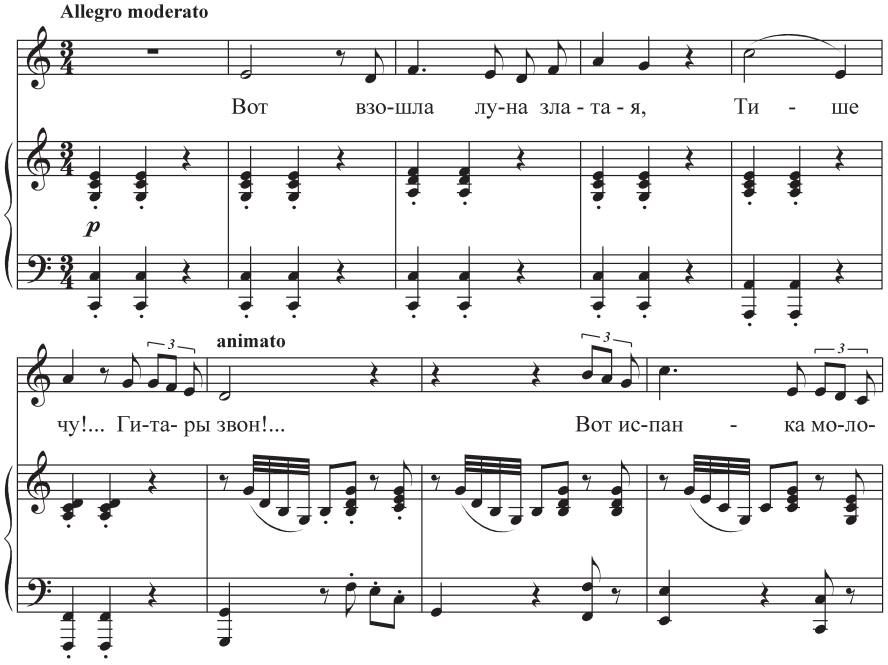
Type 7

In the romances that deal with nature, there is a predilection for the same bird metaphors as in folk poetry. These mainly emotion-full, sorrowful romances are exceptionally popular. The image of the nightingale, turtle dove or grim crow naturally became

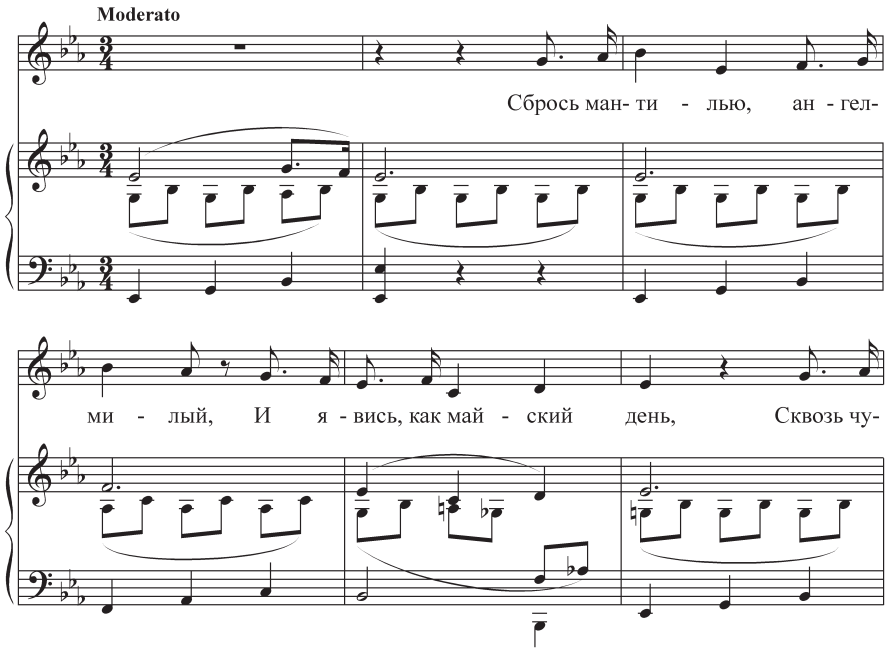


Example 6: Dargomyzhsky, *Nochnoy zefir,* bars 3–11

the most famous elements in the romance, not just for the vocalist imitating their sounds, the *pevchy,* but through their symbols. Famous songs about the sad nightingale are inseparable from Alyabyev. The nightingale is an archetype inherited from folk poetry, and a basic song about the bird was highly popular as a Gypsy song. The dance song, beginning *Solovey moy, soloveyushka…* [Nightingale, little nightingale…] can be found in the Lvov–Prach folk song collection and is a *plyasovaya*. Delvig originally wrote the verse "Solovey" [Nightingale] to a folk song melody. In 1823, Alyabyev set it to music once again and in 1828, wrote a song with a nightingale theme: *Proshhanie s solov'em* [Farewell to the nightingale] the first of his set of three songs. He ornamented



Example 7: Dargomyzhsky, *Nochnoy zefir,* bars 20–28



Example 8: Dargomyzhsky, *Nochnoy zefir,* bars 56–61

the simple folk song, and for this reason the most famous divas of the day, including Pauline Viardot, were happy to chose it as an "insert song" in the singing lesson scene of Rossini's *Barber of Seville*.[33] The ornamented song with its evocation of a melodic *protyaznaya* has been popular ever since it was written; Glinka, Gurilyov, Liszt, and indeed Vladimir Visotsky in the 1970s all set it.

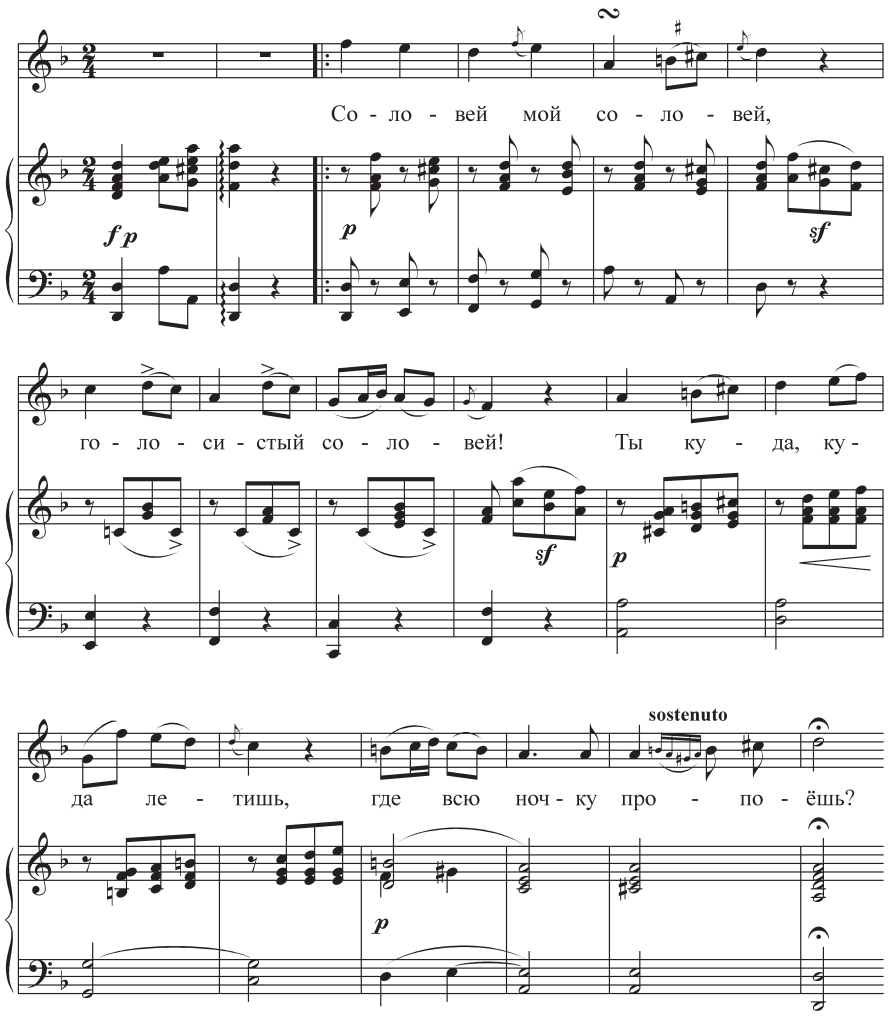
Allusion has been made to Glinka's cycle *Farewell to Petersburg*. The tenth song of the cycle is also Glinka's best known romance, *Zhavoronok* [Skylark], loved by not just singers but by flautists, violinists and trumpeters as a brief concert piece, thanks to many transcriptions. Many identify the Russian romance with its enticing, sentimental *cantilena*.

Type 8

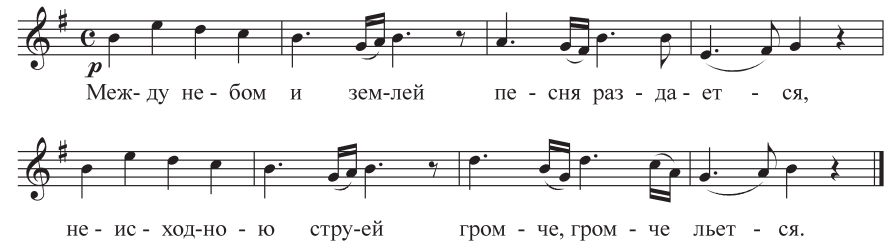
A separate group of romances consists of those to do with dance, in praise of wine, or the mocking. Into this same can be placed the Russian *chinovnik:* comic songs and romance parodies that poke fun at ordinary people. The often mocking, satirical tone of these works causes them to differ in their musical devices from the romances previously discussed. The songs generally tell actual stories and mock specific people, and their texts and music are typically easy to understand: plain keys, plain modulations, simple forms, and stories sung and related in broad quarter notes. One of Glinka's earliest romances to an early Pushkin verse is *Zazdravny kubok* [Toast]. This evokes the dance and polonaise, perhaps because he wrote the work in Poland and dedicated it in his memoirs to Veuve Clicot champagne. The staccato chords of the piano in the middle section imitate the fizziness of the drink. Glinka makes the singer repeat the closing line of the first two verses twice, and of the third three times, so that the musical form of originally simple strophes approaches that of a rondo.

Among the most famous of the romance parodies are Dargomyzhsky's songs "Chervyak" [Worm] and "Titulyarny sovetnik" [Titular councilor], written in 1857–59. Comparing them with his earlier vocal works reveals some fundamental changes. He now preferred mocking verses by the satirical magazine *Iskra*'s authors, Vasily Kurotskin and Pyotr Veynberg, over the poetic lyrics of Pushkin and Lermontov. Dargomyzhsky demanded that the soliloquizing texts be performed in a declamatory style he had invented, with instructions in the score such as *skromno* [modestly], *ulybayas'* [smiling], *ser'ezno* [solemnly], and *prishhuriv glaz* [with a wink]. Dargomyzhsky labelled his work a comic song, in which he tells the tragedy of a *chinovnik* [petty clerk] in two-and-a-half minutes.

[33] Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically,* 199.



Example 9: Alyabyev, *Solovej,* bars 1–18



Example 10: Glinka, theme of his romance *Zhavoronok*

Type 9

Many songs from Balakirev's 1877 folksong collection became influential romance themes. He transposed from folk poetry into romance work songs about various trades and peasant tasks, simple lullabies, and strophic dance songs. These are not expressly romances in terms of their origins and antecedents, rather *russkaya pesnya,* but they are romances as far as their performance practice is concerned. The group includes Rimsky-Korsakov's three-volume collection of a hundred songs, op. 24, published in St. Petersburg in 1877, which was in truth a professionally harmonized folk song anthology. In its preface, Rimsky-Korsakov informs the reader that he heard and learned the majority of songs from his uncle and mother between 1810 and 1820, but he points out that many have already appeared in other collections with different harmonies so where possible he notates the earlier versions. Browsing these volumes one finds songs which Mussorgsky, Dargomyzhsky and Balakirev also set.

Type 10

The romances that connect most closely to the subject of this study are those where the *Leitmotiv* is poetry and music itself. These are true portraits of the time, reflecting the milieu in which and for which they were created, a mirror image of their world, where music and poetry made their entry as exalted activities, with the bard as the hero. The prototype is the poet of *Onegin,* Lensky, who following Renaissance traditions became a metaphor for a troubadour. In 1816, Pushkin published a verse, *Pevets* [Bard], which was set to music by Verstovsky and published in a supplement to the literary journal *Dennitsa* in 1831, whereby it became extremely well known and popular. This was taken as a text for over 40 romances, by Alyabyev (about 1830), Rubinstein (1849), Tchaikovsky (1878), and Sokolov (1899), among others. Another late example of this type was Rimsky-Korsakov's romance of 1899, based on Pushkin's 1827 verse *Poyet* [Poet], in which the composer links the fine *enjambement* links of the verse lines with broad piano *legatos*.

9. The musical characteristics of the romance

Although romances can be classified musically, but their thematic character, tone, intonation, and diversity of prosody and formal composition makes this harder than grouping them by subject-matter. The pattern for their musical character is the *protyazhnaya,* where the same song often appears in two versions: ornamented (melismatic) and plain (syllabic, emphasizing the leading of the melody). The tone is generally serious and sorrowful, tending to descending steps of a fourth or a sixth, and descending cadences. These folk-style melodies are frequently in a natural minor key, or what

Balakirev called the "Russian minor", and there is also a predilection for the Dorian mode. Naturally many are "distorted" into harmonic keys as well.[34] (These key categories relate almost exclusively to the vocal lines. With the harmonization, composers created a unique heterophony, often employing a spontaneously *glissando* dissonance of the lower parts derived from church liturgical music and vocal folk polyphony, as well as chromaticism.) Taruskin collected together the features of the Russian *protyazhnaya,* mentioning as perhaps the most characteristic the tonal ambiguity caused by diatonicism.[35] He describes this as a kind of inter-key "suspension" *(peremennosty)* created as the melody "touches the lower neighbor of the keynote once or several times with cadential sequences". In these twisting, seventh-degree cadences can be discovered one of the secrets of the unique musical atmosphere of Russian songs. The ornamented fifth running to the keynote is another "secret" element "that provides the basis for further variation and treatment". This aspect of *protyazhnaya* is described by Zemtsovsky[36] as the *intonation thesis,* while Glinka simply called it "the Russian musical soul".[37] Romance composers often used such devices typical of Russian folk song in conjunction with Italian *bel canto* ornamentation and *coloratura,* to create an art song and style with unique melodic qualities. The melismata – traces of *protyazhnaya* – are not autotelic ornaments designed to display the technical skill of the performer, but integral to the melody (as found, in an admittedly strange parallel, in Gregorian chant). The vocal range of the songs grew, in response to the better technique of trained singers. The scores feature increasing numbers of performance tempi and dynamics.

By the second half of the 19th century, the musical idiom and color of the songs had significantly changed. Dargomyzhsky, Mussorgsky and Rimsky-Korsakov courageously employed chromaticism, often using all twelve notes of the chromatic scale, *parlando* dramatic declamation, and a fusion of the traditions of Russian folklore and liturgical singing with forms from European art music, to create a new musical trend, a Russian "realist" style. Their songs[38] are in truth brief dramatic scenes, anticipating in their sound the songs and monologues of Debussy, Bartók and Schoenberg.

[34] For more detail on Balakirev's polemic with Stasov about the survival of the church modes, see Taruskin, "Csillagocska", 353.
[35] Ibid., 345–370.
[36] Izaly Zemtsovsky (b. 1936), Russian musicologist and ethnographer, whose research field was Russian song and folk song.
[37] Ibid., 362.
[38] The vocal albums always have a double generic description: Russian songs and romances.

10. The vocal quality of Pushkin's lyrics

> Say a poet's name and you hear a sound. That sound is his and his only. Its inflection, intimacy, and rising and falling variations are like the tone of a great singer's voice, imprinted on our memory for ever.[39]

The words of Sándor Márai about Pushkin in 1937 almost repeat an acknowledgment from Tchaikovsky some sixty years earlier:

> By the power of his talent he broke from the narrows of poetry into the infinite domain of music. Irrespective of the essence he expressed in verse form, of the verse itself, there is something in the sequence of sounds that touches deep in the soul. That *something* is none other than music.[40]

What was Pushkin's innovation, which brought language closer to music? Basically, he broke up the lines and syntactic units, bringing the verse closer to diction in its intonation and rhythm. This confronts readers with the content and mood of the text and forgets the verse rules and rhythmic formulae of Antiquity. Yet Pushkin's poetry remains within the basic bounds of the genre. That is what inspired musical settings of the texts, through which the texture returned again – recorded in the musical score – within a rhythmic framework. In a musical setting, the "prosaic" verses undergo an interesting reversal. Pushkin was famous not just for his lyrics but the musical interpretations of them. The number of musical works he inspired is vast. This created the possibility for them to survive in music.[41]

An examination of Pushkin's oeuvre allows us to see how he also battled between prose and poetry. His verse novels, *The Little House of Kolomna, Boris Godunov* or *Onegin* stretch the boundaries of genre. He said this about *Boris Godunov*:

[39] Sándor Márai, "Puskin halálának 100. évfordulójára (1937)" [On the centenary of Puskin's death (1937)], in *Az orosz irodalom története a kezdetektől 1940-ig* [History of Russian literature from the beginnings to 1940], ed. by Zsuzsa Zöldhelyi (Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 1997), 86.

[40] In a letter of 3 August 1877 in Pyotr Il'yich Tchaikovsky, *Perepiszka sz N.F. Mekk* [Correspondence with Nadezhda von Mekk], I–III (Moscow/Leningrad, 1934–1936), vol. I, 26. Quoted in Gabriella Hima, "'…sötétnél is sötétebb sötétség…': Muszorgszkij *Borisz Godunov*-értelmezéséhez és nemzeti jövőképéhez" ["Darker than darkness": Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov* interpretation and vision of the nation's future], *Palimpszeszt* 17 (8 May 2002).

[41] Paul Friedrich, *Music in Russian Poetry* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1998), 62. The study mentions 260 Pushkin verses set to music as romances, monologues or classical songs. I also examined the matter in the bibliography to Pushkin in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* and came to a similar result.

> I changed sturdy alexandrines for five-foot blank free verse; indeed in some scenes
> I sank into despised prose.[42]

Pushkin was preoccupied with identifying poetry, defining of the form and spirit of a poem as a style. In a study of 1825 he goes into the precedents and beginnings of Romantic poetry, talking knowledgeably of the "new ornaments" of verse, of rhyme, the harmonic games of troubadour poetry, the poetic images of these, in other words of all the influences to be found in his own lyrics:

> The ear rejoiced in the dual emphases of the sounds; difficulties surmounted are always a joy, love of order and conformity a feature of human experience. The troubadours played with rhymes, creating ever new forms for its sake, so giving rise to the refrain dance song, ballad, rondo, and sonnet.[43]

It is not just the rhythms and forms of lyrics that prove how important vocalism was to Pushkin, but the intensity with which he depicted music-making and singing in his works, as a side of daily life. He may have known the existing collections of folk song texts, and their influence – or memories resurfacing from peasant songs learned from his beloved nurse Arina Rodina in Mikhaylovskaya – made him fond of quoting songs in his works.

Stravinsky based his opera *Mavra* on Pushkin's poem *The Little House at Kolomna,* written in Boldino in 1830, where he quotes two popular romances of the time:

> Igrat' umela takzhe na gitare,
> I pela: Stonet siziy golubok,
> I *Vidu 'l ya,* i to, sto uzh postare.
>
> He nicely plucked the guitar string,
> As he sang: "Sad song of the turtle dove!"
> And "Shall I go if they tarry?" an ancient song.

The first quotation, *Stonet siziy golubok* [The grey turtle dove coos] comes from Ivan Dmitriyev's verse "My Little Gray Turtle Dove", which Dubyansky made famous in his sentimental settings as *rossiyskaya pesnya*.[44] The other is from a folk song – *Vidu ya na rechenku* [I go down to the brook] – published in the 1790 Lvov–Prach

[42] Aleksandr Sergeyevich Pushkin, "Levél a Moszkovszkij Vesztnyik kiadójának" [Letter to the publisher of the *Moscow Telegraph*], in *Cikkek, történelmi tanulmányok, napló* [Articles, historical studies, diary] (Budapest: Európa, 1981), 38.

[43] Aleksandr Sergeyevich Pushkin, "A klasszikus és romantikus költészetről" [On Classical and Romantic poetry], in *Cikkek,* 19.

[44] Dubyansky, *Karmannaya kniga dlya lyubimeley muziku* (1795).

anthology,[45] and was published as a song six years later in Dmitriyev's volume.[46] In the second chapter of *Onegin,* beginning with the motto "O, Rus!" [O Russia!],[47] he introduces the realm of an isolated, boring Russian village:

Potom prinosyat i gitaru:
I zapishhit ona (bog moy!):
Pridi v chertog ko mne zlatoy!

Soon they find a guitar
and she (poor guitar!) squawks a song:
To my gold halls come along![48]

In the third chapter he introduces the *Girls' Song* picking raspberries:

V sadu sluzhanki, na gryadakh
Sbirali yagodu v kustakh,
I khorom po nakazu peli

In the dense garden, raspberries to pick,
Servants work quick,
All dutifully sing.

In his poem *Winter Journey* [Zimnaya doroga] he wrote:

Sto-to slishitsya rodnoye
V dolgikh pesnyakh yamshkhika:
To razgul'e udaloe,
To serdechnaka toska.

And he gathers for the song,
Oh, dear home-country songs!…
One of delight sings,
'Tother sighs and sobs.

Another verse, "Zima. Chto delat' nam v derevne?" [It is winter. Are people here in the village?], evokes the mood of winter:

[45] Alexey Fyodorovich Lvov and Ivan Prach, *Sobraniye narodikh ruskih pesen. Na muziku polozhil Ivan Prach* (1790). Folksong collection with melody, 2nd edition, published 1796.
[46] Dmitriyev, *Karmanniy pesennik, ili cobraniye luchshikh svetskiy i prostonarodnikh pesen* (1796).
[47] The motto is a mocking pun: "rus" in lower case means "village", in upper case Russia.
[48] From Pushkin's notes to *Onegin* it transpires that the quoted song, *The Fairy of Dnyepr* is from a Krasnopolsky opera, incidental songs from which were popular in St Petersburg.

A tam i druzhniy smeh,
i pesni vecherkom…

And now laughter
and songs resound in the house.

In the verse "Napersnica volshebnoy stariny" [The music of the magical past] Pushkin recalls the lullaby of his beloved nurse:

Ty, detskuju kachaja kolibel',
Moy yuniy sluh napevami plenila

You were up with me half the night,
Your piping ditty always charmed me.

One special source is the novel *The Captain's Daughter*. Each chapter starts with a brief motto, several of them taken from well-known peasant songs of Pushkin's time. The second has an old peasant song, with a *starinnaya pesnya* motto: "Tstorona l' moya, storonushka / Tstorona neznakomaya…" [I never was in these parts before, / I like you, foreign land…]; the third chapter has an old soldiers' song, a *soldatskaya pesnya:* "My v fortetsy zhivem, / Khleb edim i vodu p'em" [We live in a little fort, / If there's bread we eat well…] Then in three chapters, the motto is each time a folk song, a *narodnaya pesnya:* in the fifth "Akh ty, devka, devka krasnaya! / Ne khodi, devka, moloda zamuzh" [Hey little girl, cute little girl / Don't marry, little girl, too young], in the sixth "Vy, molodye rebyata, posluskhayte, / Chto my, starye stariki, budem skazyvati" [Hark, young friends, hark, / To what older heads tell you], and in the seventh, "Golova moya, golovushka, / Golova posluzhivaya!" [My head, little head, / My worn-out head]. The motto of chapter 12 is a wedding song, a *svadebnaya pesnya:* "Kak u nashey u jablon'ky / Ni verkhushki net, ni otrostochek" [On our apple tree / Hangs no leaves nor foliage]. The eighth chapter quotes a well-known song about Volga boat haulers:

He shumi, mati zelenaya dubrovushka,
Ne meshay mne dobromu molodtsu
dumu dumati.

Do not creek, do not groan, my oak-wood mother,
Disturb not a poor lad's
Sigh of sorrow.

Analysis of the Pushkin lyrics based on the musical sources "heard" within them again raises the question of the primacy of music or of text. If the question is broadened to examine not just music and text but the subsequent fate of the new work of

music created from the two, a clear answer seems increasingly remote. For when the text setting of a new work is raised into literature – by versifying it – it gains a new rhythmic form and intonation. To analyze the question further, in the musical quotations in Pushkin's verses, which "sound familiar", gain new meaning in the context of the text: the melodies becomes devices of situation, mood painting, and characterization. Pushkin in his writings approached music as an aesthetic and as an embodiment of harmony, and in an extraordinary way, writing of it with such love and passion, and above all with such profoundly precise knowledge,[49] that his works become music in their own right, irrespective of their form. This unique and obviously Pushkinian polyphony almost antedates the Bakhtin category of Dostoyevsky's novels with multiple narrators.[50] By the same token it is striking to find in the musical polyphony of verses turned to romances that this is less the case in the musical editing. The text itself carries the polyphony, but in the relation between vocal solo and piano accompaniment, this is present in a far more simplified form. This brings up one of the most important aesthetic questions of the Russian romance as a genre. To what degree can these brief songs be key works in a composer's œuvre, and what – if any – musical value do they possess?

11. The 19th-century Russian romance as a synthesis of renewal of the arts

If the romances are examined exclusively in functional terms, they can be judged to rank as extra-musical program music, within salon music. With that conclusion, and not without stereotyping, the genre is lumbered with a none-too-advantageous aesthetic classification of being "banal" and belonging to a functional category of music consisting of cheap clichés and trivial harmonies. That certainly applies to the great majority of romances: they are songs by amateur composers and music-loving poets, often simple, strophic in structure with brief repeating periods, and overwritten, sentimental melodies and key changes. But why among these typically Russian songs written for communal music-making, which we call romances, are there yet some in which a rather more elevated quality can be sensed, despite their formal simplicities? Musical value is attached primarily to romance composers who did not rely on well-worn formulae or imitate others, but developed the genre further. The recitative and

[49] That Pushkin was educated musically appears not only in his knowledge of folklore and Russian songs, but in his approach to Mozart. The motto of his work *Don Juan's Stone Guest* is the opening line of Leporello's aria from the second act of Don Giovanni: "O statua gentilissima Del gran' Commendatore!" He clearly knew Mozart's and Da Ponte's opera well.

[50] Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin, "Dosztojevszkij poétikájának problémái" [The problems of Dostoyevsky's poetics], in *A szó esztétikája* [Aesthetics of the word] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1976), 33. Bakhtin terms polyphony the relations among Dostoyevsky's fictional heroes, their coexistence and independence, etc.

declamatory songs of Dargomyzhsky, Rimsky-Korsakov and Mussorgsky contain no elements that might not have existed in earlier periods of music history (examples include characteristics of early polyphony, 16th-century chromaticism, liturgical chanting, *bel canto* and folklore), but the manner with which they are employed is individual and unique. So in terms of their connections they become stylistic elements typical of an era, a genre, and a composer. For there is another angle from which to view them, besides musical analysis and subjective individual taste, and that is their complex cultural and social context. One layer is the targeted social milieu at the time of composition, the audience that heard it (for whom it was sung) and their reaction to it. Another layer is the process, following its composition, whereby it survived and lived on. Thus the entirety of the work simultaneously characterizes the creators, the listeners and the cultural environment as well. How can the romances be assessed with this in mind? Should they be regarded as 18th- and 19th-century Russia's most characteristic form, as sentimental depictions of society or mocking social criticism, depending on their moods. Or is their importance greater still? Going beyond their role as a portrait of the times and examining how the romance influenced the development of Russian national opera, as the romances do indeed permeate the musical textures of Russian national opera, then romance-style melodies, arias and other self-contained numbers (duets, ensembles, and choruses) are often replaced by romance interludes or folk song extracts, then we receive an indisputably affirmative answer.

12. The performance characteristics of Russian romances

Russian literature serves as a source for authentic descriptions not only of the role of romances, but of how they were performed. Dostoyevsky's in his story *The Jealous Husband* quotes a Glinka romance and then expounds at length on its performance:

> In this romance the tension of passion increased with every line and word; it was precisely through the force of this exceptional tension that the most trivial mistake, the slightest exaggeration or compulsion – which could happen so easily – would have killed the whole thought and destroyed the atmosphere. For someone to sing this small but beautiful piece called for sincerity, truly complete enthusiasm, real passion, and complete poetic understanding. Without these the romance would not have achieved its effect, but remained quite amorphous, indeed might have sounded tasteless: it would have been impossible to express such a force of passion, but sincerity and simplicity saved it.

The question is the extent to which a singer today can follow the style of performance Dostoyevsky describes, when performing these little songs. Naturally, as a requirement for performing any song and vocal work, a performer must be aware of the

original lyrics, the acoustic of the text and the meaning of the words, and must accept that literary translations involve a poetic freedom, so that this can often provide help in creating the mood. Only familiarity with the texture can guarantee that the declamation, i. e. the articulation, is in harmony with the musical forms and modes of expression. Romances, with their heightened emotional content, linguistic devices, and not least their tunefulness, can easily seduce a performer into exaggeration and affectation. A performer must take care to ensure, despite the syllabic Russian language, that texts are not given exaggerated emphasis, which could be counterproductive and make the text cumbersome, against the composer's intentions. Despite the lofty themes, exaggerated historic rhetoric should also be avoided, and a balance struck between techniques of vocal speech *(recitar cantando)* and spoken singing *(cantar recitando)*.

Compared with Italian *bel canto* arias or German Romantic Lieder, these songs are not difficult in terms of vocal technique. They were written for salon singers; their registers are comfortable for the requisite pitch of voice, with no awkward upward or downward leaps, long-held bravura high notes, or difficult ornaments, and with the exception of some later works by Mussorgsky and Rimsky-Korsakov, no problems with intonation. Their linguistic and musical coherence is created by the performer, and by the performer's sense of style and proportions. Meyerhold in 1936 wrote,

> Pushkin did not like "dramatic melody". He generally looked down on theatrical devices and was no advocate of Romantic pathos. I would prefer to call him a Romantic realist. And with him I would shout:
>
> Down with recitation, down with dramatic melody! Down with sentimentality and theatrical effects, and down with Romantic pathos and so called fidelity to the Classicists and Romantics, down with the bloated resonators! Long live music![51]

13. Memory of a performance

However alien the saccharine world of romances may appear to the convention-challenging theater of Meyerhold, it was not by chance that I quoted him. One of his followers was Vasilyev, whose first appearance as a director in Hungary in 1994 was a stage production of Dostoyevsky's *Uncle's Dream,* mentioned in the introduction. The performance was marked by spectacle, dramaturgy, and a rhythm of scenes Meyerholdian in its precision. It was a profound experience for me as a singer and lead character to take part in over six months' of rehearsals. Vasilyev used the romances almost as "scen-

[51] Vsevolod Emilevich Meyerhold, "Puskin a rendező" [Pushkin the director], in *Mejerhold műhelye* [Meyerhold's workshop], selected by László Peterdi Nagy (Budapest: Gondolat, 1981), 319.

ery", whose performance appeared "haphazard" within the process,[52] so much so that Vasilyev several times after the première and during performances changed the order of the songs. In truth these "haphazardly" sung romances organized the surrealist scenes into a unity, and as

> the voice of feeling in the polyphony of voices, created balance between the dialogues of the characters. […] On stage the double of the singer Zina (one of the main female characters) represents the nostalgic presence of romantic love and emotional abundance, and the inner lyrical voice of Zina herself.[53]

During our work with Vasilyev, the question arose several times as to how I should behave when performing romances. At the first rehearsal, after looking at my musical primer, I sang the song in a kind of "Italianate" *bel canto* style. My performance was followed by a long silence, and then a conversation began with the oft-heard opening "Hmm, Judit…". Then I heard from Vasilyev about the "scenes without expression" and "haphazard scenes". Improvisation was the essence of this technique (obvious relating to theatrical performance rather than matters of music): "a random emotion flaring up" a random stress.[54] He observed this with merciless precision throughout the rehearsals and recommended that I "let it all hang out" when singing romances. I learned one other important thing from Vasilyev: inner timing, the time of existence in the role: that state of the performer which exists with the works, changing for each romance and song, which determines from inside, after a dramatic or resounding musical cadence or conclusion, when the singer can emerge from the role and how long she can possess the role; when a musical work or performance of a romance begins, and when it ends; with the sounding of the notes or before.

(English translation by Brian McLean)

[52] Tamás Koltai, "Vasziljev-tonett. Fjodor Dosztojevszkij: *A nagybácsi álma*" [Vasilyev Thonet: *Uncle's Dream* by Fyodor Dostoyevsky], *Színház* 27/7 (July 1994), 17–19.

[53] Nina Király, "'Ez nem álom, ez valóság'. Anatolij Vasziljev rendezéséről" ["This is no dream, but reality." On Anatoly Vasilyev's staging], *Színház* 27/7 (July 1994), 20.

[54] Vasilyev called this method of improvisation by abstracting from theatrical relations "self-evident theatre"*(estyestvenniy teatr)*.

Boglárka Terray Várkonyi

Harmonic Language in Verdi's *Otello*

The essay is a chapter of the author's DLA doctoral dissertation entitled *Verdi kései stílusának kialakulása és jegyei az Otellóban* [The emergence and characteristics of Verdi's later style in *Otello*], defended in 2005 (research director: Katalin Komlós).

This study aims to isolate a moment from the process of Verdi's changes in harmonic and formal language outlined so far, and to subject this – his penultimate opera – to closer scrutiny. The choice of work is subjective, since in Verdi's case it is *Falstaff* that is generally regarded as the most suitable for representing the most mature stage of his career. With the unmatched humour of its harmonic language it is the boldest and perhaps the most advanced piece in his œuvre.

In contrast, what makes *Otello* so peerless is its depiction of tragedy, and an approach that is capable of subordinating the music to the meaning of the lyric and tempo of the unfolding drama – that is, to the timing of the individual events in the plot – but without ever detracting from it. Many have rightfully praised Boito's role in the creation of Verdi's final masterpiece. Here we should note that it was extremely fortunate for the history of music that they did not meet ten or twenty years earlier. The brilliant librettist "merely" fulfilled the wishes of the composer. If the need to place the drama above everything else had not developed fully within Verdi by that time, Boito would have created these libretti in vain.

In this way, *Otello* is a joint masterpiece. The dramatics emerging in Italian opera, which in 1850s was manifest in *Rigoletto* and *La Traviata,* which built on the examples of their predecessors, was now also created in another language, that of Verdi's later period. This language had its antecedents, but *Otello* is the first piece in which Verdi speaks it continuously. It is the phenomena and grammar of this language, or at least elements of this, that we are attempting to describe here.

There is no doubt that certain harmonic devices – even those that we boldly refer to as *common* – account for a negligible proportion of the several-hour work. Nevertheless, viewed both from up close and from a distance, the pattern of the music's fabric is made of the proportions and colours of these. When attempting to review the structural elements of this painstakingly woven tapestry there is no better means at our disposal than to descend to the level of note and chord relationships, even key relationships, where Verdi was also to be found at the time of *Otello*'s composition. We do this

in the knowledge that, even at best, it will only shed light on a fraction of the intuition that that ultimately gives the power of the drama.

I do not believe that a given harmonic phenomenon or device has to carry the same meaning every time it occurs. Just as the same sentence can have different meanings depending on the context, in this case too, a given element can carry a variety of emotions and thoughts. This does not rule out the possibility of our demonstrating similarities of thought between scenes in which Verdi uses the same devices; but I regard as dangerous the method that attempts to see or show similarities in the thoughts of the characters purely on the basis of the harmonic similarities. And neither does reversing the situation yield better results: Verdi does not necessarily use the same devices to depict similar dramaturgical moments, but there is still no reason to fear the collapse of a theory for this reason.[1]

When determining the structure of this chapter, my most important consideration was to try and isolate the musical devices used to depict the individual characters. Only a small part of the specialist literature deals with harmonic analysis, and of these works it is primarily the writings of Hepokoski and Lendvai that should be highlighted. The literature contains observations regarding key, the highlighting of one or two chord types that occur relatively frequently, or a more detailed analysis of a scene, but during my work it increasingly seemed that it would be useful to also examine the whole opera from the perspective of a few individual characters.[2] I made this decision despite the fact that this makes it difficult – if at all possible – to maintain the chronological order of the plot; but this was not my intention this time. Another feature of this method is that a given moment in the opera may appear several times in this section, each time in relation to a different phenomenon.

Of the characters, I examined the music of Iago, Otello and Desdemona in detail. After making general observations regarding their figures, I highlight the phenomena (modulations, chord types and other patterns) that are most commonly related to all three of them in the course of the work; then this is followed by an interpretation of the meaning of these devices that is specific to each of them. During my analysis of

[1] James A. Hepokoski expresses similar thoughts with regard to the key structure of the piece: "Any attempt to demonstrate a rigorously 'inevitable' tonal plan throughout the details of the act – or to involve the various keys in a remorseless system of nuanced, psychological symbolism consistent throughout the opera – seems unwise. *Ne cherchons pas midi à quatre heure*s." Hepokoski, *Giuseppe Verdi: Otello* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 143.

[2] Péter Várnai's method is also based on an analysis of the musical substance of the three main characters, but his criteria place the motifs in the centre, in contrast to the harmonic analysis of my paper. See Várnai, *Verdi operakalauz* (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1978).

the characters a great source of assistance was the opera production book *(disposizione scenica)* co-written by Boito and Verdi, in which the stage instructions are preceded by a detailed textual description of every single character in the opera.[3]

1. Iago

When scrutinising the harmonies of the characters, it makes sense to first discuss the role of Iago. The importance of this figure is suggested not only by the plot of the drama, but several times by Verdi and Boito themselves. The librettist wanted his name to be the title of the opera; but the character descriptions of the *disposizione scenica* are the most informative:

> [Iago] sees the worst in nature, in God. He does bad things for the sake of it. He is a con-artist. The cause of the hatred he feels towards Otello is not as serious as the revenge that it precipitates. Otello chose Cassio as his captain, rather than him. But this was reason enough for him. [...] Iago is the true author of the drama; he weaves the threads, gathers them together, combines and intertwines them. [...] He should be young and beautiful [...] genial, pure and almost loveable in appearance. Everyone believes him to be honest, except his wife who knows him well. Were it not for the great attractiveness of his friendliness and apparent honesty, his schemes could never take on such grand proportions. One of his greatest arts is the ability to alter his facial expression so as to best deceive and dominate whoever he is with at any given time.

The extent of his role is approximately the same as that of Otello, while Desdemona sings less than both of them. Iago's activity is also reflected in the fact that he engages every other character in dialogue: besides the dialogue between Otello and Iago that is part of the basic layer of the opera, he incites Roderigo, who is later pushed into the background, to get Cassio drunk; several times during the opera he guides Cassio to Desdemona, and he is also the one who describes the conflicts that have arisen to Lodovico in the third act. It is only with Desdemona that he exchanges no words apart from the few sentences that he utters in the presence of the delegation, hardly even addressing her, but only muttering in response to her words, mainly in order to infuriate Otello. Apart from his dialogues, his most important manifestation is the Credo of the second act, but he is also present in the quartet of the same act, and in the *concertato*

[3] The custom of publishing printed editions of *production books,* already popular in France, became widspread in Italy in the middle of the 19th century. They were modeled on the French *cahiers de mise-en-scène*. Their purpose was originally to list the composer's instructions on stage-setting, which had multiplied due to the evolution of theatre technology (e.g. lighting); but with time they also came to include instructions regarding movements and expressions on the stage.

at the end of the third act. In the fourth act, however, he says no more than a few sentences; here his intrigues lead us to the final tragedy without him.

Before describing the harmonic devices that typify his character, we should first highlight a rhythmic and metric features associated with him. In the most detailed image of his self-representation, the Credo and the *scena* that leads up to it, the triplet is given a prominent role, at this time still as an upbeat, but later in the *pezzo* it is the basic pulse, effectively changing the notated $\frac{4}{4}$ metre to $\frac{12}{8}$. If we accept the triplet or the even more frequent triple metre as an attribute of Iago, it is worth taking a look back, and ahead, to see how this is manifested in the other scenes of the work.

In the first act we find triplets that can be associated with Iago in the introduction to the drinking song. This takes the form of a rhythm of broken diminished seventh chords, which – as we will see later on – is virtually inseparable from him. But if broaden the scope of our observations from the triplet to the triple-time pulse, it is clear that the entire drinking song, and even the brawl that follows it, is in $\frac{6}{8}$ time; and only Otello's entrance changes the metre to $\frac{4}{4}$, which Iago also adopts for his deceitful story.

Typical occurrences of the $\frac{6}{8}$ metre include the dream story, while we come across the $\frac{12}{8}$ metre in the quartet of the second act and the Iago–Cassio–Otello trio (in A flat major and C major) in the third act. It is noteworthy that both here and after the drinking song the chromatic scale is paired with a $\frac{12}{8}$ metre.

Even more closely associated with Iago's character is another device that is also observable in the Credo, but is still not a harmonic one: the trill. This is perhaps the only effect that is never associated with anyone else in the opera; indeed, even the orchestra only plays it during Iago's music. In spite of this, its message and meaning are difficult to determine. We cannot ascribe to the trill a vole associated with such evil as the diminished seventh chords, and the situations in which Verdi uses it are also extremely varied.[4] In some places it illustrates a flattering gesture, in others self-satisfaction, and elsewhere ironically calm words. Their only common feature is that they all stem from Iago's being.[5]

The diminished seventh chords represent a group of harmonies in *Otello* that seem to be easily linked to a character. Ernő Lendvai calls the diminished fourth[6] the "chord of tension in baroque music", referring to the fact that even before the 19th century the distancial division of the octave had the role of representing uncertainty and generating tension. It comes as no surprise then that Iago, the "true author of the drama", who

[4] "Ed io rimango Die sua moresca signoria l'alfiere" (To Roderigo, Act I, Scene 1); "vivida piaga le squarcia il seno" to Otello, Act II, Scene 3), and the same orchestral quote in the introduction to Act III; the sentences preceding the dream story: "E qual certezza v'abbisogna? – Avinti vederli forse? […] Ardua impresa sarebbe" (Act II, Scene 5); the interrogation (Scene III); at the very end of Act III "Ecco il leone", etc.

[5] In addition to the trill, Péter Várnai mentions the *unisono* melodies as characteristics of Iago. Várnai, *Verdi operakalauz,* 379–380.

[6] Ernő Lendvai, *Verdi és a 20. század* (Budapest: Akkord, 1998), 114.

"weaves and combines the threads", does not sing without diminished seventh chords in any of his important and *sincere* moments. But this is not the end of our examination of the meaning of this chord. Because when Iago brings Otello under his power, he infiltrates not only his soul, but also his music with his own anger and diminished seventh chords.

The most distinctive occurences of the chord type – primarily related to Otello – are those that make up patches spanning several bars, as a repeated chord, orchestral tremolo or broken chord. One example of this is Iago's second line in the storm scene, in which he is already wishing for Otello's destruction: "L'alvo frenetico del mar sia la sua tomba" (Act I, scene 1, J^{+6}–J^{+8}).[7] The diminished seventh chord resolves during the words "È salvo" (ibid. J^{+10}–J^{+11}). The same G–B–D flat –F flat diminished seventh chord is the backbone of his last utterance at the end of the third act ("Chi può vietar che questa fronte prema col mio tallone?", Scene 9, U^{-4}–U).

There are no moments in the first act when Iago's inner being is openly displayed, so we hardly come across any diminished sevenths either. The mixture heard during the dialogue conducted with Roderigo (Act I, Scene 1) is more expressive of the lyric than the plot ("Presto in uggia verranno i foschi baci di quel selvaggio dalle gonfie labbra", U^{+3}–U^{4}). Perhaps the orchestral introduction to the *brindisi* invokes something of the layer of meaning that the diminished sevenths have in the storm scene, where it is associated with evil or underhand scheming. Iago's true self can only be revealed when he is alone. Such a situation arises in the second act, where in the great confession, the Credo he makes use – albeit not impartially – of the diminished sevenths. In the section before the dream story the diminished sevenths accompanying Iago's words are more expressive of Otello's anxiety ("Signor, frenate l'ansie. E qual certezza v'abbissogna?").

In the third act, after the handkerchief trio the C major fanfare signifying the arrival of the delegation is joined by Iago, with the diminished seventh: "Vedeste ben come'egli ha riso? E il fazzoletto?" (Scene 6, A^{+1}–A^{+3}). Some ten bars later, again accompanied by a diminished chord, he suggests: "val meglio soffocarla, là, nel suo letto, là, dove ha peccato" (ibid. A^{+11}–A^{+13}). And to make the scene even more suggestive, he concludes with the delay familiar from the *bacio* theme. There is an unconcealed outburst at the moment when Otello announces that he will return to Venice on the order of the Doge, and Cassio will be his successor. Iago cannot react to this even any other way than with a diminished seventh, this time not only as a chord, but as an interval. If only for a moment, he has lost his self-control and shown his true colours.

[7] The rehearsal marks in parantheses relate to the Ricordi edition of the vocal score. The figures in superscript refer to where the given detail begins and ends in terms of the number of bars before or after the rehearsal letter.

Mediant and submediant relationships in the role of Iago

Two types of these are associated with several characters. One is a minor chord following a major chord or rather a major key which is built on the third degree of the major scale, one major third *higher,* and therefore it is the parallel of the major chord one fifth higher (e.g. C major–E minor, mediant). The other is the same, but in reverse: the music shifts from a major chord or key to its sixth degree, one major third *lower* (e.g. E minor – C major, submediant).[8] The latter variant is the I–VI^{6} relationship discussed later on, which most commonly occurs in the minor scale.

One pair of notes of this type is particularly associated with Iago's character: C major – E minor. The *recitative* passage preceding the dream story concludes in E minor, and following this the story itself starts in a percussive and muted way in C major, due in no small part to the horn's expressive timbre (Act II, Scene 5, I and the bars preceding it). The other modulation type, however, is far more characteristic of Iago, and this is especially true in moments when he would like to appear truly convincing, innocent or perhaps flattering to Otello. Thus in the first act, when Otello asks him to give an account of the disturbance caused by Cassio, he begins his tale in C major. It is in C major that he describes how peaceful everything was, until – and this is where the modulation to E minor occurs – they suddenly began to fight with each other.

In the second act, when Otello unsuspectingly steps over to Iago, who is starting to put pressure on the relationship between Cassio and Desdemona, Iago once again wants to present himself as trustworthy and well-intentioned. He starts in D major, but as a well-placed E sharp reveals that he has managed to unsettle Otello, Iago does all he can to "reassure" his superior. And there is no better way of doing this than to modulate to the parallel F sharp minor. At that time Otello still has the presence of mind to return to D major (Scene 3, L^{-4}–L).

In the third act too, we come across the C major – E minor modulation when, in the dialogue between Iago and Cassio, Iago has taken the handkerchief serving as proof. The modulation signifies for us what the handkerchief suggests about Iago to the Moor: here is the proof that he is Otello's saviour (Scene 5, Y–Y^{+8}).

Mixtures in the role of Iago

One of the most emphatic tones in the harmonic characterisation of Iago is the mixture, often combined with chromaticism, most frequently the real mixture. This could be ascending or descending, and as well as the chromatic examples it also occurs diatonically.

[8] Lendvai discusses both types in detail in the chapter entitled "Funkció" of his book. Lendvai, *Verdi és a 20. század,* 72–74.

First let us examine one that is distinguished by its shortness. After the Credo Iago is left alone, but in the distance he sees Cassio conversing with Desdemona and calls on Satan to guide Otello in that direction. In the even, eight-time passage, albeit only for half a bar, a sixth-chord mixture is played, which falls chromatically almost throughout (a minor sixth, G major sixth, F sharp major sixth, F major sixth, E major sixth). It is these fleeting half-bars that give the profile of a particular figure, these are what suggest a certain character for the characters within the opera as a whole (Act II, Scene 2, H^{+25}). It is not any longer, but perhaps due to its slower tempo and its timing within the drama it has greater import, when at the first flaring of Otello's jealousy it is Iago himself who sanctimoniously warns him to beware of jealousy ("Temete, Signor, la gelosia!", Act II, Scene 3, O^{-16}). Before the fearsome unison F sharp minor melody also heard in the introduction to the third act, Iago's words are accompanied by a spine-chilling mixture that rises chromatically from B major to D major.

After this it is amazing to see how different an effect Verdi achieves with a similarly chromatic mixture in the dream story (Act II, Scene 5, J^{-3}–J^{-2}). It descends a long way, from D to F, in a mixture that is accurate almost throughout, only the transposition of the first two major chords is different from that of the eight seventh chords that follow. Here, the long chromatic descent paints a picture of Cassio's lustful longing, as falsely represented by Iago. This gesture permeates the story like a long, drawn-out sigh. At the end of the act, without words, the descending major mixture of the orchestral postlude also invokes Iago (Act II, Scene 5, last six bars). His work is nearing fruition, the effect of his schemes can be felt in the *pesante* pillars after the revenge duet that concludes the act.

A special moment in the third act is when the fanfare of the Venetian delegation is heard in the background, but we are still on the plane of the dialogue between Otello and Iago (Scene 6). It is in these moments that Otello names Iago as captain, for his "services" rendered to date. Amidst the major broken chords and empty fifths of the trumpets, Iago's mildly chromatic mixture stands out in particular, even though it ends in the diatonic C major ("Ma ad evitar sospetti Desdemona si mostri a quei Messeri", B^{+4}–B^{7}). The flat *staccato* eigths set against the triple-time rhythm surrounding the four-bar mixture also suggest that Iago is up to no good. This is stealthy, cautious music in the midst of the blaring fanfare. It should be noted, therefore, that the real mixture is not the only type of mixture associated with Iago.

At the end of the act, in a direct correlation with Otello's words, a huge avalanche of descending chromatic major sixths begins ("Il fazzoletto! il fazzoletto!", Scene 9, T^{-4}–T^{-1}). If we were in any doubt that the unstoppable current of this mixture is intended to invoke Iago, further help with the interpretation is given by the fact that when the steep descent finally ends on a deep F sharp and Iago speaks, putting into words what the music has already said: "Il mio velen lavora".

A similar phenomenon to the mixtures is the real sequence at the beginning of the second act, which accompanies the raising of the curtain (A^{+3}–A^{+4}); then Iago appears,

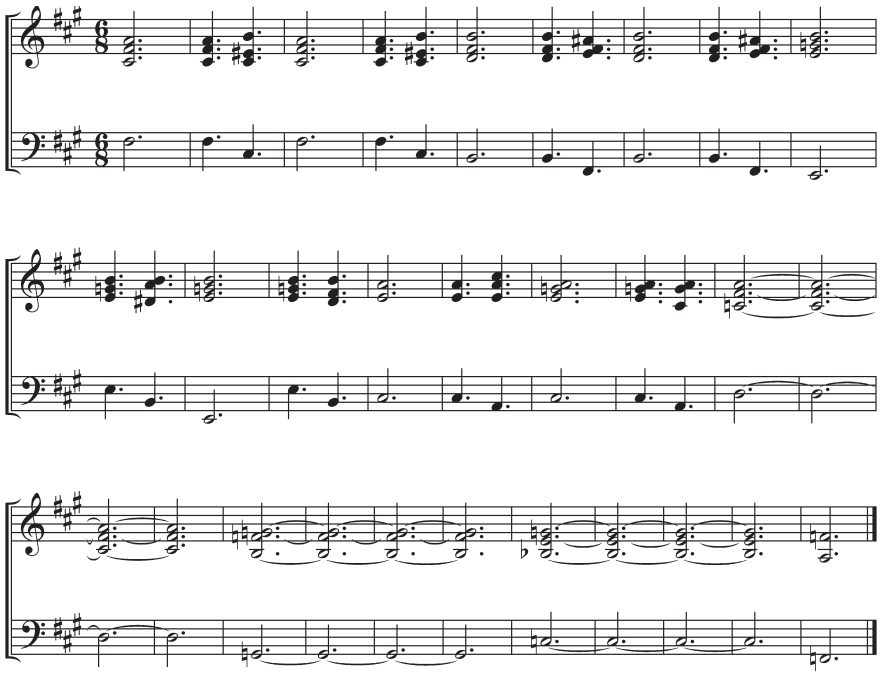
hypocritically comforting Cassio. The sequence has four precise segments, descending by major seconds (C–G, B flat–F, A flat–E flat, G flat–D flat), accompanied by one more that is similar (F minor–C major). In the F minor/F major section that precedes and follows it, this forms a prominent island with its smooth cadence. It is a telling depiction of Iago's slick cunning.

Significant authentic and plagal movements in the role of Iago

When discussing this theme, it becomes clearer than ever that the collection of examples illustrating this phenomenon has been chosen subjectively. This is because it would naturally be impossible and senseless to evaluate every single chord relationship in this musical work in terms of its function. Therefore we usually only highlight the parts of the opera as a whole where the plagal or authentic movements are striking because of their *quantity,* or – and this a consideration that gives greater scope for subjectivity – appear more significant than usual in terms of their role, *their quality.* The first category mainly consists of sequences, while the second is made up of cadences that – perhaps only to me – have a special significance in the characterisation of a particular character.

In Iago's case the most typical plagal movement is the cadence. At both the beginning and end of the character's Credo he chooses this device – twice in the latter case – and his intermediate cadences are also often plagal (Act II, Scene 2, H^{-8}–H^{-1}). At the end of the act, as Otello too is swept along, the revenge duet is concluded in this way ("Dio vendicator", Scene 5, P^{+6}–P^{+10}). The authentic movement, however, is more distinctive as a sequence in relation to Iago. It is particularly noteworthy that while plagal movements appear regularly in the music of Otello and Desdemona, authentic sequences (except at the start of the amorous duet) are exclusively associated with Iago. His very first words, in the storm scene, are framed by an authentic sequence preceded by a chromatically ascending triple-time real mixture ("È infranto l'artimon", Act I, Scene 1, I^{+18}–H^{+19}). Not much later the same device is used before the drinking song for a few chords, when he tries to get Cassio drunk ("Sì ancora bever devi", ibid. DD^{-6}).

The part following the drinking song, however, is far longer and more nuanced. No sooner does Montano arrive than Iago starts his lies. He utters only one sentence (Act I, Scene 1, "Ogni notte in tal guisa Cassio preludia al sonno", LL^{+4}), but by then his scheming is already working anyway. The keys follow each other in authentic sequence (F sharp minor, B minor, E minor), but the new key, which is always the fourth degree of the previous one, always appears after the fifth degree, in other words as a *plagal* movement. Starting from the A major that follows the E minor, the situation changes: from this point onwards we are dealing not with key, but with an authentic chord sequence (A^7, D^7, G^7, C^7, F), which is again very lengthy (MM^{-4}–NN; for the harmonic notation of the whole section, see Example 1).



Example 1: Act I, Scene 1, harmonic notation of the part from LL+4 to NN

Due to the above, the whole scene gives the impression that some unstoppable process has got under way. Although the harmonic rhythm is even – with four-bar units throughout – it nevertheless seems that the avalanche begins slowly at first, barely discernibly, hidden behind a plagal mask, then from the dominant sevenths onwards it crashes on unstoppably.

There is one more scene in the piece where Iago gives free rein to his authentic fifth sequences: in the second act, Otello's entrance, before the unforgettable "Ciò m'accora" sigh (see the last bars of Scene 2). We receive a faithful picture of Iago's soul as he calms himself down before the appearance of the Moor, trying to appear meditative, but agitated inside. The increasingly sparse rhythm of this passage, the gradual transition from *staccato* chords to sustained notes, all suggest that at this moment somebody would very much like to project the image of a man subdued and deep in thought.

2. Otello

Otello's role is the most closely connected to that of Iago, rather than to that of his wife. We retain this impression throughout the opera, even though he hardly exchanges a word with anyone apart from Desdemona in the first and last acts. From the second act

onwards, nevertheless, we suspect that Iago is the driving force behind all his actions. This is not only the case in scenes where Iago is actually present, but we also sense him in the background when Desdemona tries on two occasions to speak out in support of Cassio; and the fourth act is the work of Iago himself, even though he is hardly on the stage by then. The monologue from the third act, which starts in A sharp minor ("Dio! mi potevi scagliar", Scene 3) may be an exception to the above, although it soon turns out that even this is not free from Iago's musical influence. According to the *disposizione scenica:*

> [the first] act depicts him in all his glory, radiant and in his prime. His first words ring out in a storm, thundering victory; his last words are sighed amidst kisses, yearning for love. First we see the hero, then the lover, and how great this hero is, how he is worthy of love and capable of such passion. It is out of this exceptional love that the terrible jealousy is born, as a consequence of Iago's cunning actions. [...] Iago's words act as poison, injected into the Moor's veins. This moral poisoning is what all of his horrors must express. Otello progresses, step-by-step, through the most terrible anguishes of the human heart: doubt, rage, deadly despondence. Otello is the great victim of the tragedy, and of Iago.

In the discussion of Iago's role it has already been mentioned that the triple-time movement is an element that is originally associated with Iago, and which stems from him; but for a large part of the work it nevertheless permeates Otello's music as well. During the second act the triplets appear with him too, first in the orchestral accompaniment to the pezzo starting "Ora e per sempre addio", then in the closing duet.[9] The clear meaning of the formula is reinforced by the striking similarity between the end of the Credo and the conclusion of the second act.

Triplets also crop up occasionally in the third act. We can speculate on whether it is mere coincidence that in Otello's most desolate moment, during his solo beginning "Dio! mi potevi scagliar" this pattern is a key element, and features as an upbeat just like at the beginning of the second act. The triplet version of the fanfare announcing the delegation is not a direct reference either. Again we only realise this when, at the end of the act, it is repeated as a diminished chord, and Iago's merciless accompanying words area repeated ("Il mio velen lavora", Scene 9, T^{+4} és T^{+6}).

[9] Hepokoski points out that the rhythm pattern in this act – starting from "Ora e per sempre addio" – is paired with the descending-fourth melody, which he perceptively calls Otello's *downfall* motif. Hepokoski, *Giuseppe Verdi: Otello,* 156–157 and 160–162.

Diminished seventh chords in the role of Otello

By way of introduction it is worth quoting Verdi's letter to Francesco Florimo dated January 5, 1871:

> Attend a few performances of modern works, without allowing yourselves to be bewitched either by their many beauties, harmonic and instrumental, or by the chord of the diminished seventh, the rock and refuge of us all, who do not know how to compose four bars without half-a-dozen of these sevenths.[10]

Both the letter and the use of the chord type under examination suggest that in Verdi's eyes (or rather, in the case, in his ears), this type of chord was suitable for creating great, if not the greatest, tension. This is why he sees a danger in its use; he believes that the opera composers of the age tended to amass diminished sevenths *instead* of creating dramatic tension.

This chord type, in Hepokoski's words, is the typical means of giving musical expression to Otello's raging. In his book he does not discuss the details, but nonetheless it is striking that from Otello's first jealous rage onwards the diminished seventh accompanies the title character's wildest moments throughout the work. The first such occasion is in the second act. After Iago's tense, seemingly hesitant questions intended to arouse suspicion ("Ciò m'accora"; "Vi confidaste a Cassio?", Scene 3) Otello – losing his temper remarkably soon – throws all of Iago's questions back in his face, and as his suspicions grow, the hitherto dominant sevenths give way to increasingly frequent diminished sevenths (M^{+3}–M^{+7}). This scene is of key importance not only because it is the first of Otello's jealousy scenes, but also because it the dramatic situation makes it clear that it was Iago who planted the seeds of jealousy in Otello's heart, and it is from Iago's musical *vocabulary* Otello adopts the use of diminished sevenths.

Similarly, awakening from his monologue after the quartet he distorts the dominant sevenths into diminished sevenths when Iago calls on him ("Tu! indietro!", Act II, Scene 5, A–A^{+5}). Here too the weight of the chord – as in the previous example – is increased by the fact that Otello is silent for a short bar, allowing the orchestra's brash diminished seventh to come into the foreground. In neither of these cases do we hear the chord sung as a broken chord by the singer; both times it appears as an accompanying harmony.

We are already in the third act when Desdemona is unable to produce, at the request of her husband, the handkerchief received as a token of their love. The effect is similar to what we have seen before. Otello's impatient demands once again end in diminished sevenths (Scene 2, G^{+4}–G^{+7}, this time emphasised by the ascending chromatic scale that appears at such times), which cannot be resolved by anything other than Desdemona's

[10] Frank Walker, "Verdi and Francesco Florimo: Some Unpublished Letters", *Music & Letters* 26/4 (October 1945), 205.

innocent reply, free of all suspicion: "Tu di me ti fai gioco, storni così l'inchiesta di Cassio" (ibid. G^{+8}–G^{+12}). As the dialogue continues he enters an unmistakable relationship with evil, with hell itself, when Desdemona protests her innocence: "vede l'Eterno la mia fede!" Otello retorts, with diminished sevenths: "No! la vede l'inferno" (ibid. J^{+7}–J^{+10}).

The two climactic points of the scene are when Otello retorts to Desdemona: "non sei forse una vil cortigiana?" and "quella vil cortigiana che è la sposa d'Otello". The first time it is the word *cortigiana* itself that triggers the diminished seventh; and the second time, at the end of the scene, it is not during Otello's words that the tension bursts out, but upon Desdemona's departure, when the orchestra begins its transition to the monologue of the devastated Otello. The transition starts in E minor, but soon there are only note-outlines that are hardly visible through the thick curtain of diminished sevenths, which, following a two-octave tumbling chromatic descent, resolve themselves in A flat minor (ibid. M–M^{+10}).

The rage and emotion that overcomes Otello before the handkerchief trio is expressed with the same diminished sevenths, rushing into nothing, that we have heard during the dialogue with Desdemona (Act II., Scene 4, R^{-14}–R^{-1}). While at that time the chord notated as C–E flat–F sharp–A became G major, here the enharmonic A–C–E flat–G flat chord is resolved by the G flat major melody (ibid. 5. jel., R–R^{+9}). As he listens, the cruellest moment for the Moor is undoubtedly when Iago produces the handkerchief, the *fazzoletto*. And Otello loses control: the orchestra once again speaks to us in diminished sevenths – this time as broken chords – about his despair ("È quello! è quello", ibid. X^{+8}–X^{+9}). And if it is not clear from the situation that Iago's intrigues are at work, the trills that follow the broken chord remove all ambiguity (ibid. X^{+10}–X^{+11}). Although we do not hear it as Otello's speaks, the moment at which the C major fanfare announcing the arrival of the delegation (known from the middle of the third act) distorts into a diminished seventh at the end of the act, is intended to represent his downfall (Scene 9, T^{+4}–T^{+7}). This is echoed again at the end of the act (ibid. U^{+10}–U^{+11}).

The same seventh, based on F sharp but build on C, sounds out in the fourth act at the moment of Desdemona's strangling (EE^{+8}–EE^{+20}), and it remains unresolved as we have already seen in a few other examples. The chord just ends rather than going anywhere, although the *piano* and *pianississimo* following the several-bar *fortississimo* section does bring some relief, especially owing to the fact that the diminished seventh built on C is soon followed by a major chord built on the same note (FF^{-1}). After this the lightning flashes of the third-related progressions and tritone-related chords that can be found in the few bars that follow this (FF–FF^{+5}) soon jolt us out of an already uneasy peace. The chord also plays an important role in the continuation of the scene, right up to the title character's suicide, where the chord shows its now familiar, brash, violent face one last time ("Ah! ferma! Sciagurato", Scene 4, OO^{+3}–OO^{+4}).

The diminished seventh chord is not associated with such tempestuous emotions from the very beginning, however. In the first act, and at the beginning of the second,

it expresses anxious trepidation rather than fury. In the chronology of the story we are now taking a steps backwards in the analysis, but since the examples used so far illustrate the most typical use of the chord, I have decided to break the order in this way.

The diminished seventh appears at the time of Otello's first utterance, in the C sharp major prelude to the storm scene; at that time only for a moment, obscuring the triumphant tone ("nostra e del ciel è gloria", Act I, Scene 1, L^{+5}–L^{+7}).[11] We come across a clearer meaning at the end of the act, in the love duet (Scene 3, WW^{+7}–WW^{+8}). In the lyric, for a few lines, Otello expresses his anxieties regarding the future:

> Tale è il gaudio dell'anima che temo,
> temo che più non mi sarà concesso…

Even before these lines a shadow of uncertainty is cast over the lovers, as the music descends by major seconds – that is at two-fifth intervals – but the sound of the diminished seventh still has the effect of a sudden darkening, expressing an anxious and oppressive feeling, which then unravels to nothing in the E major associated with love and tenderness, specifically in its four-six inversion with a B pedal.[12] After just under twenty bars, immediately before the *bacio* theme, one diminished chord follows other until the E major sounds – this time with an unmistakable message of love (ibid. bars preceding YY^{-4}–YY^{-1}). Ernő Lendvai draws a parallel between this device, the "sea of urges" with the sea from the storm scene. And he is certainly right that this $\frac{4}{4}$ E major of the *bacio* theme is preceded by the same A sharp–C sharp–E–G chord as the "È salvo!" greeting to Otello (Scene 1, J^{+7}–J^{+9}).

In the second act, at the time of the first relatively long conversation between Otello and Iago – which culminates in the first outbreak of rage discussed earlier – the harbingers of the "diminished seventh storm" are already appearing. At the time of Otello's question, for example, a diminished seventh coincides precisely with the mention of Cassio's name in a musical stream that was diatonic before, and continues to be afterwards ("Colui che s'allontana dalla mia sposa, è Cassio?", Scene 3, K^{-4}). The hint is more nuanced at the time of Iago's next question – "Cassio, nei primi dì del vostro amor, Desdemona non conosceva?" – Otello's affirmative reply is uttered over the dominant seventh inherited from Iago (H–D–E–G sharp), but in the next moment, along with Otello, we are pierced by doubt: although a diminished seventh is not played, the solitary E sharp is sufficient to distort the previous chord to a diminished one in our minds (H–D–E sharp–G sharp), and for us to experience the heart-rending moment that the

[11] More details of the symbol of the real and emotional sea, and the harmonic relationships thereof, can be found in the "Diminished Fourths" chapter of Ernő Lendvai's book: Lendvai, *Verdi és a 20. század,* 115–116.

[12] Regarding E major and the other important keys of Act I see: David Lawton "On the 'Bacio' Theme in *Otello*", *19th-Century Music* 1/3 (March 1978), 211–220.

first pang of suspicion causes for the Moor (ibid. L^{-4}). This use of diminished sevenths has a completely different effect to that observed in the scenes of the raging Otello.

We can conclude that through our examination of the diminished sevenths we have touched on an essential aspect of the title role's character. The diminished sevenths are sensitive indicators of his emotional state, add emphasis to his words, and sometimes even substitute for them.

The flattened submediant in the role of Otello

Apart from Desdemona, the flattened VI is only heard in connection with Otello. (We sometimes hear it from Iago, but even then it is always addressed to Otello.) Otello also begins the duet of the first act with a similar third-related progression to that of his wife later on (Scene 3, "Già nella notte densa", RR^{+23}). Desdemona's starting chords are the following: G flat major – E double flat major – G flat major (ibid. "Mio superbo guerrier!", SS). Otello also starts from G flat major, but the next chord is a sounded E double flat major sixth. Although, of the notes G flat–B double flat–E double flat in the chord, Verdi writes the B double flat as A, and the E double flat soon shifts to C, the effect is the same as that of the progressions that use the minor fifth, which feature several times later on.

Even during the duet, at the beginning of the listing of their experiences of battle, the chord change is repeated in C major, again after the first degree and again in the characteristic sixth transposition ("Pingea dell'armi", ibid. TT). Then not much later, during the discussion of his fate, we come across the minor sixth, this time elevated to the level of the key. The E major dominant is followed by the C major chord, as a false cadence, which subsequently proves to be tonic ("nell ignoto avvenir del mio destino", ibid. XX^{-1}–XX).[13] The next time we come across this chord in the opera is during Iago's dream story, twice. The first is while Iago is speaking, as he quotes Cassio ("ei disse poscia: il rio destino impreco", Act II, Scene 5, J^{+6}–J^{+8}). He uses this to try and invoke an amorous atmosphere, using a device that until now has been associated with intimate moments (V six-five – minor VI six-four – I six).[14] Later this device again represents Otello's intimate emotions, this time in sixths, when at Iago's request he relates how the handkerchief in question was the first token of their love. The D flat major sixth chord sounded in F major now triggers a modulation to A flat major.

Distantly related to the above is another progression already mentioned in relation to the early operas, the double authentic cadence, which is also associated with Otello's

[13] I refer again to David Lawton's essay. Two of the three keys discussed by him (the above-mentioned E major and C major) can also be interpreted as a I and minor VI relationship. See: Lawton, "On the 'Bacio' Theme in *Otello*".

[14] It is noteworthy that the dream story contains severel elements that invoke the *bacio* theme, most commonly the dominant sevenths drawn out with a 6–5 delay.

words. In this type of cadence the authentic V–I progression is usually preceded by its equivalent a semitone higher. A similar sequence of harmonies is heard in the first act, when Otello sends everyone home after the disturbance caused by Cassio. The F major dominant seventh and I six-four chords are preceded by a lowered VI secondary dominant seventh – Neapolitan six-four chord pair (Scene 2, "Io da qui non mi parto", RR^{-5}–RR^{-6}). This VI seventh is different from the sixths that took their effect form the minor key, but nevertheless I consider them – owing to the similarity of their form – to be worthy of a mention here. It is with the same progression that, in the second act, he shouts out to the world the glory that he feels has been lost. The *pezzo* in A major beginning "Ora e per sempre addio" reaches its climax in a brief E flat major passage. In this case the chords of the double authentic cadence develop as follows: C flat seventh – F flat – B flat seventh – E flat (Scene 5, "Della gloria d'Otello è questo il fin", E^{-4}–E^{-6}).

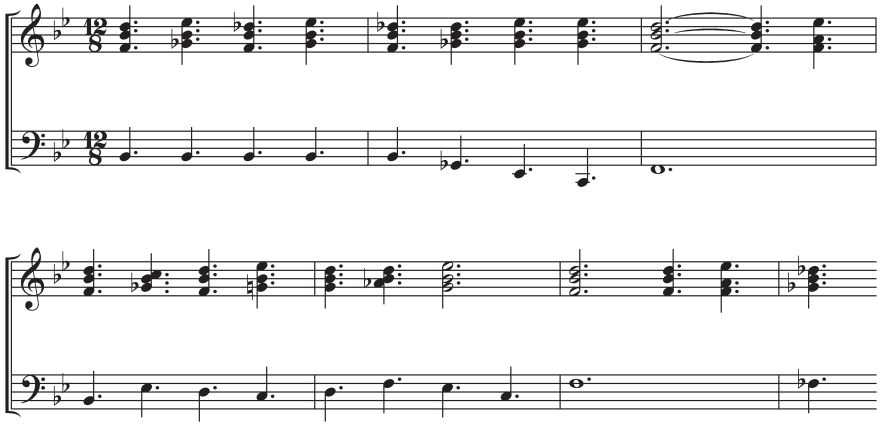
In the fourth act, at key level we come across the I – flattened VI relationship, when after Desdemona's prayer in A flat major Otello – accompanied by a spine-chilling off-beat E note – opens the door to their bedroom in E major (Scene 3, U). After eight bars Verdi reverts to the flat notation, and only writes E major in place of eight flat-prefixed F flat majors. The chord relationship receives a meaning that is fundamentally different from that in the cases discussed so far. The special importance of the chord is proven by the fact that the most striking moment of the *bacio* theme is also a transposition of this: a C major six-four in E major (Act I, Scene, 3, YY^{+5}–YY^{+6}).[15]

Other chords borrowed from the minor mode in the role of Otello

It is striking that the roles of Otello and Desdemona – but only these two – are often accented by chords borrowed from the minor mode on an identical basis, even outside the sixth degree.

We come across examples of this during their very first duet and in the passage immediately preceding it. One of the most tangible examples of the deliberate standardisation of the opera, the elimination of the breakpoints, is when after Cassio and Montano's brawl Otello orders Iago to ensure that everything goes home, and to restore order to the streets. The music played during Otello's instructions presages the music of the introduction to the love duet in several respects: the tonic pedal and the rhythm help to blur the boundary between the two scenes. In the musical fabric, fleetingly at

[15] I can only repeat what Ernő Lendvai has to say: Verdi's six-four chords deserve a study all of their own. A short essay on this has been published in the journal of the first Verdi Congress, but the topic would be worth studying separately. See: Massimo Bruni, "Funzionalità drammatica dell'accordo di quarta e sesta nello stile di Verdi", in *Atti del primo congresso internazionale di studi Verdiani 1966,* a cura di Marcello Pavarani e Pierluigi Petrobelli (Parma: Istituto di Studi Verdiani, 1969), 36–39. All I would add to Lendvai's words is that the six-fours are very similar in their effect to the third-fourth chords, which also have their fifth in the bass. The use of third-fourths is at least is typical of Verdi as the use of fourth sixths.



Example 2: Act 2, harmonic notation of Scene 4. Y^{+3}–Y^{+7}

this time, in the presence of several characters a minor chord is sounded, which subsequently in the duet – in its introduction and later on – crops up several times in connection with both Otello and Desdemona.

In the quartet of the second act the minor chords do not invoke the peaceful, amorous mood of the aforementioned duet. Here a three-bar section is heard twice in succession, first with minor chords, then a second time almost completely diatonically. The first time it is heard a sense of the minor environment is given not only by the subdominant chords, but also by the firsts. In the second a minor II fifth-sixth does appear, but the minor area with the same base note is nothing like as extensive as it in the first (Example 2).

In the revenge duet (Act II, Scene 5) the minor II expresses even greater tension than in the quartet. A particularly expressive gesture of Otello's fury is when in the A major duet, following the recitation E^2, the melody ascends to F, and remains unresolved in this minor tone ("Per le attorte folgori", M^{+8}).

At the end of the opera, after Desdemona's death, Otello invokes the ghost of his wife with a modulation. The F sharp minor section modulates to the parallel major, with the turning point being the minor II fifth-sixth of the new key (Act IV, Scene 4, "e in cielo assorta", OO^{-5}). We already know this progression from Desdemona in their very first duet, where it went from minor to C major in this way (Act I, scene 3, "coll'anima rapita in quei spaventi", TT^{-2}).

Mediant and submediant relationships in Otello's role

As is the case with Desdemona later on, we also find a *pezzo* associated with Otello where the modulations take place through the tonic – third degree (mediant) – fifth-degree pattern familiar since the *Nabucco.* In the second act, the farewell to Otello's glori-

ous past beginning "Ora e per sempre addio" starts in A flat major, then briefly passing through C minor (mediant) arrives at E flat major (Scene 5, from rehearsal letter C).[16]

In the third act, when Desdemona petitions Otello on Cassio's behalf for the second time, the mediant modulation appears again (Scene 2, "Datemi ancor l'eburnea mano", L^{+5}–M^{-1}). The scene begins in E major ("Dio ti giocondi", C), but when Desdemona is unable to produce the handkerchief, long and tempestuous passage ensue. Otello, in one of his calmer (or suppressed?) moments, however, returns to a part of the E major music, but not without alteration. It is precisely in its modulation to G sharp minor that it differs from the original, highlighting his aside in brackets:

> Vi credea (perdonate se il mio pensiero è fello)
> Quella vil cortigiana ch'è la sposa d'Otello.
>
> I took you (forgive me if my thought displeases you),
> for that common courtesan that married with Othello.

The two *piano* bars are like the calm before the storm of terrible emotions that breaks out afterwards.

At the end of the opera, after Desdemona's death but before the closing kiss music, all of this becomes clear to Otello. These tragic moments are also permeated by the mediant key relationship. The hesitant B minor melody starts without the orchestra, but the cadence, supported with harmonies, eventually leads to D major. From here it turns, with a very bitter connotation, to the third-degree F sharp minor. The orchestra also participates for a while in the continuation, right up to the A major cadence, from where Otello again turns towards the mediant C sharp minor. Lean, yet assertive, as after the A major environment a naked E–D sharp–C sharp trichord creates the C sharp minor (Act IV, Scene 4, "Desdemona, Desdemona", N^{-3}).

Mediant modulation is employed with even less harmonic interplay in the spine-chilling orchestral transition that follows Desdemona's prayer. The E major melody starting from an E^2 imperceptibly *changes* (rather than abroptly with) to A flat minor – enharmonically to G sharp minor – although it is perhaps warranted to refer to E flat Phrygian, especially as it is soon followed by E flat minor (Act IV, Scene 3, U–V).

Ernő Lendvai is right when he points out how different an effect the chord relationship has in the other direction. An example of this (although not one of those cited by Lendvai) is Otello's reaction, at the beginning of the third act, to the words of Iago, who as he leaves – seemingly just as an aside – reminds him of the handkerchief, in B minor: "il fazzoletto…" (Act III, Scene 1, C^{-5}). In response to the words of Iago, who

[16] The similarity between the above-mentioned instrumentation and one of Renato's melodies is notable (*Un ballo in maschera,* Act III, Scene 2, No. 21 Terzetto "Dunque l'onta di tutti sol una"). The similarity is reinforced by the tonal match.

has been singing without accompaniment until now, Otello bellows back with a brazen G major chord (submediant): "Go!" (ibid. C^{-6}). Although the G major does not rise to key level, the effect – despite the instrumentation – is the same percussiveness as at beginning of Iago's dream story, as mentioned earlier (cf. Act II, Scene 5, I^{-4}–I).

Half-diminished seventh chords in the role of Otello

The half-diminished seventh chord is also a characteristic nuance of Otello's music. The most powerful, most distinctive occurrences of this chord type are associated with the title character. We hear one example of this after the closing duet of the second act, when he speaks of Desdemona as "too poor a prey for my revenge" ("Una è povera preda al furor mio!"). It is heard in a precarious key environment (perhaps after an unstable A major antecedent) as the climax of the passage, with a D sharp base note in the bass (Act II, Scene 5, L^{+5}–L^{+6}). The similarity of the base note, the chord held for the entire bar and the high A^2 note of the vocal part tie it in with the part of the fourth act in which the hero cries out to Desdemona: "Pensa che sei sul tuo letto di morte!"[17] (Act IV, Scene 3, DD). This is when the women becomes Otello's victim in the real sense. Here too, the chord is preceded by an uncertain key environment, but is followed by an assertive C sharp minor cadence (ibid. DD^{+1}–DD^{+2}).

The chord is emphasised in another way when, in the second act, Otello attacks Iago in his rage after the quartet. The schemer shrewdly makes as if to leave, at which Otello finally returns to his senses after the long raging, and with a few unaccompanied notes asked Iago to stay ("No… rimani", Act II, Scene 5, G^{+1}–G^{+2}). The sudden change in his mood – along with the thinning out of the instrumentation and the long values that take over from the sextuplets – is expressed by a half-diminished seventh. The base note this time is G sharp, and the chord is heard after D major, then it authentically resolves and leads to F sharp minor – another example of mediant modulation. This *piano* chord has the opposite effect to the previous two examples. It is not a climax, it does not express the intermingling of emotions, but describes the gaping emptiness that follows the loss of temper. Another factor in its effect is that the third of the chord is missing, and the two edge notes are the diminished fifth.

In the third act Otello twice accuses his wife of being nothing more than a common courtesan. The tension of the second such statement is provided not only by the high vocal part, but also by a half-diminished third-fourth chord, serving as another

[17] This sentence is one of Verdi's renowned *parola scenica* devices. The origin of the phrase is a letter writting to Ghislanzoni, dated August 17, 1870: "Mi pare che manchi la *parola scenica.* Non so s'io mi spiego dicendo *parola scenica;* ma io intendo dire la parola che scolpisce e rende netta ed evidente la situazione." *Giuseppe Verdi: Autobiografia dalle lettere,* a cura di Aldo Oberdorfer; nuova edizione interamente riveduta con annotazioni e aggiunte a cura di Marcello Conati (Milano: Rizzoli, 2001), 335.

example that Verdi uses the half-diminished seventh at the thickest point of a chord area, as a climax ("quella vil cortigiana", Act III, Scene 2, M^{-5}). At the end of this same act, Otello says another terrible thing to his wife: he puts a curse on her ("Anima mia ti maledico", 8. jel., Q^{+11}–Q^{+14}). The half-diminished seventh appears in a new role, as here it prepares the ground for the climax. The fifth-sixth transposition of an F sharp-based half-diminished seventh is played in an E minor-like moment clouded by diminished sevenths, but this is followed directly by a vibrant F sharp major as the climax. The two types of chord structure, built on F sharp and heard in succession, have an unusual effect.

It appears to be true, then, that we cannot attribute an identical emotional charge to a particular chord type purely on the strength of its identical form.

Mixtures in the role of Otello

The mixtures fulfil a different role in Otello's musical characterisation than they do in Iago's. There the device is used to depict one of the character's basic characteristics, his scheming, duplicitous cunning. Where Otello is concerned, mixtures tend to describe the character's emotional state. In his case, it makes sense to discuss the ascending and descending examples separately.

In the second act we have already described the situation after the Credo, when Iago first draws Otello's attention to the relationship between his wife and Cassio. Otello's rage and impatience breaks out over a chromatically escalating bass, which ultimately crystallises into a mixture of ascending diminished sevenths. In Otello's case the chromaticism has special significance without the mixture, as both are common features of his part. If Verdi represents him with a mixture, however, it is always chromatic. The effects of chromaticism and the mixture are similar in the third act, before the handkerchief trio. Here too, the bass ascends chromatically for long than the mixture itself. The dominant chord structure is the diminished seventh here too. And the effect is also similar to the case mentioned above: rising emotions, growing tension.

The descending chromaticism that appears in the monologue following the quartet of the second act has a different effect. Although in harmonic terms we can identify similarities with what has come before – for example, the chromaticism is not accompanied by a consistent mixture, but by the end of the passage a sequences still emerges, consisting of the descending diminished sevenths used so far – the effect is different. Here it is rather Cassio's imagined wantonness and the decline in his own power that we sense from the seemingly flagging gesture that spans four sextuplets almost chromatically throughout.

In the next act towards the end of the starting dialogue between Otello and Desdemona, we set to know yet another side to the descending mixture. This time the exhausted panting of Otello, as he pushes himself to the limit, is accompanied by chromatically descending dominant sevenths ("Indietro! indietro", Act III, J^{+13}). The waning of his

strength is also indicated at the end of the opera by an unusual mixture and a progression that is almost a sequence ("Sciagurato!", IV. felv., 4. jel., OO^{+5}–OO^{+10}). This is after the stroke of the dagger that causes his own death. The approach of death, the sudden annihilation of Otello's composure, is painted by the stormy crash of major chords. Since the chords alternate between basic positions and six-four transpositions, in the bass the chromaticism is replaced with a chain of tritones and major thirds. A twice-augmented rhythmic harmony also contributes to the effect of dwindling strength.

The examples above show what a different meaning the mixture has in Otello's harmonic vocabulary, compared to that of Iago. In Otello's case it is closely related to chromaticism, and depending on its direction it is capable of expressing at least two emotional states.

Significant plagal progressions in the role of Otello

In Otello's case the plagal movement features sometimes as a sequence, sometimes as a cadence. The number and significance of these does not even approach what we have seen in Iago's case, but a few examples should be highlighted.

He first uses this device in anger against his wife in the Otello-Desdemona duet of the third act. The sequence does not match the most common plagal type of the classic style, where the segments descending in fourths are linked together by one authentic interval each (I–V, VI–III, IV–I, of which V–VI and III–IV are authentic). With Verdi a form of modal extratonality is created through the plagal linking of the descending fourth segments ("Giura e ti danna!", Act III, Scene, 3, I^{-6}–I^{-1}). In the fourth act several descending fourth cadences in Otello's part, and the opera's final cadence, the F major – E major above the E pedal, is also a plagal progression (see the last nine bars of the work).

(English translation by Miklós Bodóczky)

Nóra Keresztes

New Types of Chord and Key Relations in the 19th Century

This study is based on part of the author's DLA doctoral thesis, defended in 2008:
A funkciós tonalitás felbomlásának folyamata [The dissolution process in functional tonality] (Research director: Iván Erőd.)

I set out in my DLA dissertation to chart the harmonic and tonal changes that took place in the 19th century and at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, using mainly harmonic analysis of Baroque, Viennese Classical, Romantic and early 20th-century works. This study examines new types of chord progressions and tonal relations. After the typically Romantic functional progressions – plagal progressions and VII 4/3−I cadences and variations of these – I look at the outcome of the exhaustion of functional relations: the minor/major relation, Neapolitan-related keys, diatonic third pendulums, functional cases of chord substitution, third relations, and polar relations; then at types that can be called a suspension of functional relations: chord substitutions that do not fit the functional frames: non-functional third relations, polar relations, relations with a common third, tonal regions a major second apart, diatonic or chromatic rises and falls between chord progressions and tonal regions, and finally mixtures.

1. Functional progressions that are typically Romantic

First let me present characteristically Romantic chord connections and harmonic progressions that do not in most cases transcend the harmonic language of Viennese Classicism, yet are alien to it. A sizable proportion of these relate to cadences.

Plagal pendulums, cadences, and progressions

One strong feature of the Romantic period is a predilection for the subdominant, particularly emphasis on the "plagal domain".[1] This represents a radical breach with the

[1] I borrow the term "plagal domain" from Deborah Stein: "The Expansion of the Subdominant in the Late 19th Century", *Journal of Music Theory* 27/2 (Autumn 1983), 153–180.

tonal language of Viennese Classicism.[2] A similarly important stylistic feature is that minor chords, having previously occurred mainly among chords equally in the major and the minor, so creating a kind of "minor halo" around them, were able to appear in the 19th century in an environment of major chords, so enhancing the effect known as *chiaroscuro.* The preference of the Viennese masters for dominant–tonic gave way in the 19th century to a preference for false and full plagal cadences.[3] I make a distinction between two types of plagal cadences, one an inversion of the functional order of compound authentic cadences (a "compound plagal cadence"),[4] the other comprises two consecutive plagal steps (a "double plagal cadence"), a lowered VII chord in root position IV–I in the major.[5] In the minor, it is a natural (sub-tonal) or a minorized VII–IV–I. Double plagal progressions occur not only in cadences but in other musical processes, usually with a negative connotation.[6]

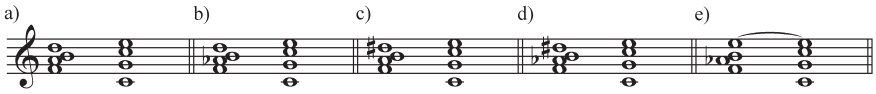
[2] Such a plagal domain can be found at the end of Act 2 of Verdi's *Otello,* in the bars before the *codetta*-like parallel chord progression (Otello and Iago swearing revenge). The main feature of these frequent plagal cadences and pendulums is dense use of altered, darkened chords, most often Neapolitans or minor subdominants. Examples: in the second part of Act 3 of Verdi's *Falstaff,* when the "spirits" force Falstaff to his knees and he regrets his sins (bars between rehearsal figures 42−43 of the Ricordi vocal score). Schumann, op. 48. *Dichterliebe,* no. 2 "Aus meinen Tränen", bar 14; Weber, *Der Freischütz,* end of trio, no. 9; Chopin, Nocturne in A flat major op. 32, no. 2, introduction and coda; Nocturne in E flat major op. 9, no. 2, bar 25; Brahms, Symphony no. 4, 2nd movement, bars 5–6, 13–14, 22–23, etc; Rachmaninov, *Vespers,* 12. "Slavosloviye velikoye", bar 24; Scene 2 of Act 3 of Verdi's *Otello,* harmonization of the second utterance of Otello's words "Giura e ti danna!"

[3] Besides the false cadence of a IV diminished seventh, which occurs also in Viennese Classicism (for example in Mozart, *Requiem,* end of Kyrie; K. 581 Clarinet Quintet, 2nd movement, bar 17), other modally tinged variations appear, in which the distance between the root notes of the two chords is not a minor but a major second. With a major subdominant, a two-fifth darkening occurs, and with the minor it is five-fifths. In the third scene of Act 2 of Verdi's *Otello,* at the start of Iago's scheming, Otello becomes angry for the first time when Iago responds to the question with a question ("Che ascondo in cor, signore?"), the explosion of feeling occurs with a *forte* III secondary dominant seventh, then after a pause with fermata, II follows: this is where the Moor's self-control is still working. In the second scene of Act 3, the inevitable V seventh–IV diminished seventh version is heard when horror ("Aiuti!") strikes Desdemona, after Otello tells her what he is thinking. In Act 4, after the second strophe of the Willow Song, Desdemona expresses regret ("Povera Barbara!") with a dominant seventh–minor IV sixth false cadence. A two-fifth darkening occurs in Act 4 during Desdemona's final words: a D minor chord (A minor: IV) follows the E minor plagal cadence.

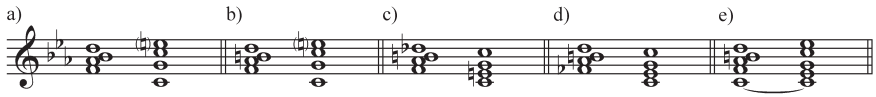
[4] E.g. Mendelssohn's dream motif in the overture of *Midsummer Night's Dream:* I–V–minor IV–I.

[5] E.g. at the end of the Gloria movement of Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis* (from bar 555 onward): the long-lasting lowered VII chord that aims to underline the plagal direction moves to IV, then resolves to I, and we hear the plagal primary motion three times (there being no sign of an authentic cadence).

[6] In Act 2 of *Otello,* Scene 5, a double plagal cadence gives a sense of inner conflict; then comes an inversion of it: Iago's poison begins to work; Otello is tortured to feel his days are over, even as a military commander ("Addio vessillo trionfale e pio!") A double plagal progression (G major–G minor–D minor–A minor) recurs at the start of Otello's final, lethargic monologue ("Niun mi tema se ancor armato mi vede") at the end of Act 4.



Example 1: Variations of VII 4–3 and their resolutions in major



Example 2: Forms of VII 4–3 with resolutions in the minor

The VII 4–3–I cadence and its variants

One characteristic cadence of Romanticism does not involve any form of V. Instead the second inversion of a VII-degree seventh chord is used as a cadential dominant. This cadence type, through its a perfect fourth downward or a perfect fifth upward in the bass line, has an effect intermediate between the authentic and plagal cadences. It will be seen that some altered versions of the second inversion of VII almost sound, when so placed, like a subdominant (a "pseudo-plagal cadence"; cf. Bach's cadences of V 4–2–I); perhaps this is why Romantic composers favored it. Variations in the major (Example 1) can be *(a)* diatonic VII 4–3, *(b)* diminished VII 4–3, *(c)* VII 4–3 with an augmented sixth (French sixth borrowed from the related key), and *(d)* a French sixth borrowed from the related key with a minor third. With the last, each part except the plagal underlying step in the bass reaches the tonic by a semitone step. Any of these variants may occur above a tonic pedal and in a vicarious (substitute) fourth version *(e),* in which one semitone step is exchanged for a retained common note.[7]

In the minor (Example 2), the most familiar, after the natural minor *(a)* and harmonic minor *(b)* variants, is a 4–3 inversion of the Neapolitan dominant 6–5 *(c),*[8] but there sometimes occurs another type of augmented sixth form *(d)* that is enharmonic

[7] E.g. in *Boris Godunov,* end of Act 2, as Shuysky begs for mercy, when Boris, after his forced laughter, questions why he did not laugh at dead children being resurrected to impeach the Tsar; Reger, op. 39, *3 Sechsstimmige Gesänge,* no. 2, "Abendlied", bar 22; Grieg, end of op. 59, no. 3, *Du bist der junge Lenz;* end of op. 25, no. 4, *Mit einer Wasserlilie;* op. 66, *19 Norwegian Folksongs,* end of no. 18 (bar 59); Liszt, *Five Piano Pieces,* end of 2nd; Kodály, *Missa Brevis,* Sanctus, bar 27 and Benedictus, bars 66–67.

[8] In the major, the 4–3 inversion of a Neapolitan dominant 6–5 tends to resolve into I 6–3, for example in the second part of Act I of Verdi's *Falstaff,* when the ladies laugh together at the text of their suitor's letter (bars before no. 23 in the Ricordi vocal score): a chromatically descending bass in E major, on the A first a VII diminished 4–3, then a 4–3 inversion of the Neapolitan dominant 6–5–I 6–3.

with the 6–5 of the Neapolitan dominant of the relative major, and resolves to I 6–3 with three semitone steps. The progression can occur above a tonic pedal, and also in the minor *(e)*.[9]

2. Chord and key relations that strain the functional conditions

The relation of minor and major

There are only two ways in which major and minor chords in the same key can be ordered. The preference in Viennese Classicism is for a minor chord to precede and then become major (the turning of any chord into a secondary dominant, so brightening it or bringing it closer to the target of resolution). In Romanticism the reverse is also found: a downward darkening, expressive of resignation, sadness, and tiredness.[10]

Several stages can be seen in the development of the major/minor tonal relation: free passage between relative tonalities was natural in Baroque music, due to inherited modal practice, but parallel tonalities of three key signatures' difference are rarely juxtaposed. Despite sporadic examples in Corelli and in Bach's early instrumental works,[11] a major/minor digression (outside the range of the "six Bachian keys") is not general in Baroque, but it is a hallmark of Bach's late style. This type of modulation is strikingly commoner in the second than in the first of the two volumes of *Das wohltemperierte Klavier,* written 20 years apart.

This duality had crystallized by about 1700, one result being that the hitherto natural course between relative keys became far more restricted. In Viennese Classicism, they clearly count as separate keys: in sonata-form movements in a minor key the appearance of a second group of themes in the relative creates much the same tension as the second group exposed in the dominant in major-key movements. Transition between relative keys occurs only in simple, folk-style pieces such as Beethoven's song,

[9] Grieg, op. 26, no. 5, *Herbststimmung,* end: I–VI–natural minor VII 4–3–I. The natural minor VII 4–3–I with a Picardy third was a favorite progression with Kodály (e.g. in the chords imitating bell-ringing in *Székely keserves,* the final cadence of *Szép könyörgés*); Schumann, op. 42, *Frauenliebe und Leben,* end of "Ich kann's nicht fassen, nicht glauben": IV secondary dominant – (diminished) VII 4–3–Picardy third I progression; Weber: *Oberon,* end of Oberon's second aria, 4–3 inversion of Neapolitan dominant 6–5–Picardy third–I; Liszt, *Via Crucis,* 12th Station, at the end of the harmonization of the chorale "O Traurigkeit", where there is an enharmonically notated augmented-sixth VII 4–3 chord. Although the bass is written enharmonically with a B, it clearly cannot be interpreted in that form. Furthermore it resolves downwards; in Grieg, op. 25, no. 3, end of *Glücksbote mein* above a tonic pedal, a VII 4–3 chord resolves on I.

[10] E.g. Schubert's op. 26, *Romanze aus dem Schauspiel "Rosamunde",* bar 10; Schumann, op. 25, *Myrthen,* final song: "Zum Schluss", bar 4.

[11] E.g. Corelli, op. 6, no. 2, Concerto grosso in F major, 3rd movement; J. S. Bach, Gamba Sonata in D major (BWV 1028), 2nd movement.

Marmotte, or the second movement of his Sonata in G minor, op. 79.[12] Concurrent convergence began between parallel major and minor,[13] enabled by identical dominant harmonies. So in instrumental music, this can be generally found where slow introductions lead to fast, usually sonata-form movements, and at the end of bridging passages in recapitulation forms, over the usual dominant pedal, or in pendulum regions between tonic and dominant. In vocal music minor darkening is notably used for word-painting.[14]

In Romanticism, convergence of parallel keys continued: one hallmark of Schubert, though reputedly part Viennese Classical, is a kind of "refraction", by coloring major/minor shifts. This amounts only to a sometimes arbitrary fudging of the major/minor system.[15] The use of minor/major alternations in diverse situations[16] led to a point where separate major and minor on the same root ceased to exist, though the function within the key persisted. (This Schenker called *Mischung.*)[17] Combining parallel major and minor is not only possible by using twelve (ten) chromatic notes at a time, but by gathering the typical intervals of major and minor into seven-note scales, e.g. applying major/minor (d−r−m−f−s−la−ta−d; Rimsky-Korsakov: "melodic major") or harmonic major (d−r−m−f−s−la−t−d). Whichever way this is done, it is remarkable to find a

[12] These works show the marks of a simple, folk-like style that coexisted with art music in German-speaking areas, its main features being a four-line form and free transition between the relative major and minor.

[13] They were still seen as separate keys at that time, as the contrasting character of the central section of trio forms based on major/minor opposition shows.

[14] E.g. in appropriate bars ("pain", "sad regrets") of Haydn's *Pleasing Pains* (Hob. XXVIa:29), or *The Creation,* no. 2, Uriel's aria and chorus, bars 23–34 ("des schwarzen Dunkels gräuliche Schatten").

[15] Of course, it is often applied for word painting, e.g. in Schubert's song cycle *Die schöne Müllerin,* Song 19, "Der Müller und der Bach": a dialogue between the miller lad (G minor) and the brook (G major).

[16] E.g. in Weber's *Oberon,* the attribute of fairyland is minor/major iridescence, seen in the slow introduction to the overture, Reiza's vision (no. 3) and the no. 14 Finale. Further examples: the coda of Chopin's Mazurka op. 24, no. 4 in B flat minor, and the end of Mazurka op. 56, no. 3 in C minor. In the theme of Mazurka op. 30, no. 3 in D flat major, the *pp* minor echoes the louder major motifs. It is also possible to class here the minor-key sonata forms where the second theme group of the reprise does not change, but remains major, although it ends in the tonic, i.e. becomes major (e.g. in the overture to Weber's *Der Freischütz*), and the feature whereby modified strophic songs have sections heard in the other mode of the same tonic, e.g. Schubert's *Die schöne Müllerin,* no. 1: "Tränenregen", no. 18: "Trockne Blumen", no. 19: "Der Müller und der Bach", and in *Winterreise,* no. 1: "Gute Nacht", and no. 20: "Der Wegweiser".

[17] Schenker, a leading exponent of scale-degree theory *(Stufentheorie),* explained chromaticism as *Mischung* ("mixture"), an allusion to its passing into an identically rooted major or minor, or borrowing harmonies from there. Schenker explained further in *Harmonielehre* (1906) how the major and minor were fusing in late Romanticism: he placed the notes of all major and minor scales into a chromatic continuum, then put the major and minor chords on each degree of the scale.

close relation between major/minor mixture and plagal pendulums and cadences, and within that, frequent use of minor subdominants.[18]

In Romanticism, through various borrowed chords and neo-modality, reconvergence also occurred between relative major and minor, one result being greater importance for mediant harmonies. In relative keys in Viennese Classicism, the function does not survive, but in Chopin, III can be dominant, and Schubert's VI chords can be subdominant.[19]

The Neapolitan circle of tonalities

The most didactic description of the quite wide range of tonalities related to the Neapolitan chord was given by Sir Donald Francis Tovey in an article on Schubert's tonal relations.[20] He stated that each major key has three direct relations (the counter-Neapolitan, or inverse Neapolitan key,[21] i.e. the VII major and minor – the keys of the

[18] Schubert, Mass in E flat major, end of Gloria; Weber, *Der Freischütz,* no. 5, Kaspar's aria – postlude; Chopin, Mazurka, op. 41, no. 1 in C sharp minor, first return of rondo theme (major third, but all else minor). Examples of total mixing: *Der Freischütz,* no. 10, Finale (Wolf's Glen scene), bars 81–86 ("Die siebente sei dein, aus seinem Rohr lenk' sie nach seiner Braut"): D flat major, but only the tonic, all other chords being minor, or harmonies identical in major and minor (second inversion minor IV, VII diminished seventh); Weber, *Oberon,* no. 20, bars 112–120: Huon resists the odalisques, then talks of the diabolic side of women: sudden fall from A to F, indeed a pendulum between F major and F minor (actually F major/minor: minor subdominants and V and VII chords identical in both, though I, the tonic, is always major), hence a darkening of seven-fifths is felt; Chopin's *Mazurkas* with chords from the major/minor scale: op. 17, no. 1 in B flat major, from bar 17; op. 33, no. 4 in B minor, from bar 49; Grieg, op. 33, no. 5, *Am Strome;* Wagner, *Parsifal,* Vorspiel, bars 28–32: in C minor I–II seventh–VII 6–5–a passing chord–in C major: III–in C minor I 6–3–I with suspension in the bass–I 2–VI 2 –II 6–5 with 7–6 suspension. (C major III: E minor in place of C minor III, i.e. the substitute chord from the parallel major. The III–I 6–3 suspension would be customary (I 6–3 with an upward 5–6 suspension) if it did not pass between major and minor, here creating a minor third-related turn between E minor and C minor 6–3); the woodwind theme in Mahler's Symphony no. 5, first movement (bars 120–132: A flat major/A flat minor; bars 294–306: in D flat major/D flat minor; bars 265–276 of 2nd movement: in B major/B minor). The final stage is when only the tonic note matters, not the mode: this applies in *Prince Bluebeard's Castle* where C major (light) and its counter-pole F sharp minor (in fact F sharp la-pentatonic, night, darkness) are at polar distance (though not keys six signatures apart), both belonging to the tonic axis.

[19] There is oscillation between relative keys backed by chords borrowed from the relative in Schumann, op. 42, *Frauenliebe und Leben,* Song 3 ("Ich kann's nicht fassen, nicht glauben"): C minor–E flat major (once briefly in G minor): bar 18 in C minor IV augmented 4–3 = E flat major (II) French sixth, on its return bars 49–51 in E flat major IV seventh–II augmented 6–5 = C minor (IV) German sixth – I 6–3 – V; op. 48. *Dichterliebe,* Song 5 ("Ich will meine Seele tauchen", B minor–D major); Wolf, *6 Geistliche Lieder,* no. 3, "Resignation", bars 20–24 (G flat major–E flat minor); Liszt, *Il penseroso* (E major–C sharp minor). Another possible origin is that switching between relative keys never died out in some nations' folk music. Traces are heard, for example, in the first, second and fourth strophes of Grieg's op. 33, no. 6, *Was ich sah*.

[20] Donald Francis Tovey, "Tonality", *Music & Letters* 9/4 (October 1928), 341–363.

[21] The former may be Bárdos's term (there is no precise data on this), and the latter is Szelényi's. See István Szelényi: *A romantikus zene harmóniavilága* [The harmonic realm of Romantic music] (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1965), 55–56.

leading note compared to which the first degree of the tonic key is a Neapolitan chord) and one indirect (the minor Neapolitan tonality – Tovey draws attention to the fact that it only creates a feeling of tonal relation when directly contrasted with the tonic). The minor key can only have one direct relation (the Neapolitan key) and three indirect relations (minor Neapolitan, VII of major and minor – there is no direct relation "backwards" as the Neapolitan chord is originally major in character).

The initial step in developing Neapolitan key relations was to extend the Neapolitan chord – at first by prolonging its rhythmic value. The next step in "multiplying" the harmony was to expand it into a key area: it is not yet a modulation, still only digression, i.e. absorption into the Neapolitan function or "tonicization" of the chord. Of course the final step is to reach the Neapolitan key by modulation. As to how a line can be drawn between digression and modulation, our response based on analyzed examples is that the simplest way to expand the chord into a tonal area is to "support" it with other harmonies (mainly the relative dominant – in the case of Neapolitan, the VI secondary dominant chord).[22] The more "supporting chords" appear around the Neapolitan harmony, the more the tonal domain expands. Two basic factors affect how our ears perceive events: 1) Does the Neapolitan domain remain formally within a closed unit? If it is separated as a block, we sense it not as modulation but as a "multiplied" chord. 2) How is the return to basic key achieved? For example, where the Neapolitan chord reappears in the same form as at the start of the digression but this time as a cadential subdominant of the tonic, it is clear that what preceded was its own expansion and the ear interprets it as deepening the Neapolitan function.[23]

[22] In most cases where composers use the relative dominant of the Neapolitan for support, they also exploit the scope for a sudden return to the initial key via the VI secondary dominant seventh, since it is enharmonic with the German sixth of the basic key. (See the majority of examples.)

[23] Examples: Schumann, op. 48, *Dichterliebe* no. 8, "Und wüßten's die Blumen, die kleinen", bars 3–4, 11–12 and 19–20: within I a pendulum of tonic–dominant is followed sequentially by a similar pendulum within the Neapolitan degree. Since the VI triad fits the basic tonality, it creates only a "faint" area. (Anyway, Neapolitan chords have a major role in the closing section, in accordance with the text "zerrissen mir das Herz".) In Schubert's Mass in E flat major, Gloria, bars 131–144 and 246–259, the end of a I–VI–minor IV–Neapolitan progression has the Neapolitan becomes the tonic, as it oscillates with its own dominants (6–5 and root), and then takes a different direction, back to the basic key, when it recurs (the *a cappella* choral entry). (This confirms that what is described here was only intended as a functional expansion.) Similar expansion is found in two places in *Erlkönig:* bars 117–119 (in relation to the current key, which is the dominant) and just before the end of the song (bars 143–146), where the Neapolitan chord becomes key because it frames the tonal area. (In both cases it first continues as the tonic of the Neapolitan key, and on its second appearance as the subdominant of the current home key). In the second scene of Act 3 of Verdi's *Otello,* the modulation into the Neapolitan is not followed by non-return to the main key. The various keys match emotional states: Otello talks to Desdemona of the results of losing the handkerchief (C sharp minor→E major); sudden modulation to the Neapolitan (= I) indicates Desdemona's horror ("Mi fai paura!"); then through G minor comes G major, when Desdemona thinks Otello is joking with her.

A novel appearance of Neapolitan key relations comes where it is not the Neapolitan chord that expands to a key – it is attained in another way (generally through enharmonic modulation) – and where there is a sudden change of key without prior emphasis on the Neapolitan chord.[24] The most obvious means of enharmonic modulation is to interpret the German sixth of the original key as the dominant seventh of the Neapolitan key.[25]

The minor Neapolitan digression and modulation only creates a sense of key relation if the new key is an extension of the minor Neapolitan chord directly next to the tonic chord. In addition to this juxtaposition, it is desirable to clarify the integral connection with the original Neapolitan chord, before the minor form only after that reason. Where this "explanatory chain" is omitted, we are less likely to sense it as a Neapolitan function of the tonic, rather as territory of a new key, even if it is only a brief digression. With re-transition composers usually choose the enharmonic modulation mentioned: dominant seventh = German sixth.[26]

Slipping into a key a minor second higher or lower is seen as typical of Schubert. One prime example is in the second movement of his C minor piano sonata (D 958), whose key scheme appears in Figure 1. (Key relations in the Neapolitan circle are italicized.)

[24] For example, Haydn's Piano Sonata in E flat major (Hob. XVI:52) has a slow movement in E, essentially F flat major.

[25] This occurs, for instance, in the finale of Weber's *Der Freischütz,* no. 16: after Agathe's recovery (C major) Kaspar spies Samiel, who is invisible to the others. (Samiel appears to an A–C–E flat–G flat diminished seventh; though written as E flat minor IV diminished seventh, it is enharmonic with C major or C minor IV diminished 6–5.) Then as he begins to curse, the bass descends a semitone; the 6–5 becomes an augmented 6–5, transforms into the dominant seventh of D flat major, and continues in the Neapolitan key. To give enhancement, this build-up recurs: after the D flat major tonic pedal IV comes a diminished 6–5–German sixth = D major (E double flat) dominant seventh, then without modulation the music suddenly lands on E minor (a major second rise), before returning via a false cadence to C major. (Kaspar has died; attention returns to the villagers.)

[26] This happens in Schubert's String Quartet in D minor (D. 810) at the end of the first movement: in D minor: I–VI-minor Neapolitan 6–3 = in E flat minor: I 6–3 – V seventh = in D minor: German sixth – I 6–4 – V seventh – I. The Neapolitan minor appears for only two chords (bars), but is hard to hear it as such due to the absence of a major Neapolitan chord. Many make a mistake in analyzing the structure of the second movement of Schubert's String Quintet in C major D. 956: the F minor middle section of the E major movement is not a common third, but has a Neapolitan-minor relation to the basic key. First, Schubert does not notate it as E sharp minor; secondly, the explanation for the sudden change in the middle section (a unison E leads to an F minor chord after an E major cadence) is supplied in a brief coda after the recapitulation. There note by note is the same progression as in the string quartet quoted. This miniaturized model proves the tonal scheme of the movement is based on a minor Neapolitan. Retrospective confirmation appears at the end of the *Winterreise* song "Einsamkeit" (bars 41–48): Schubert reaches the Neapolitan minor without an intermediate major Neapolitan key, via a minor Neapolitan chord. He then colors it into the major and the dominant seventh of the (major) Neapolitan can be understood as a German sixth (in all, three-and-a-half bars). So the Neapolitan quality of the minor is confirmed retrospectively: B minor V seventh – VI – minor Neapolitan 6–4 = C minor I 6–4 – IV diminished seventh above the dominant – V – V seventh – C major I 6–4 – V seventh – I 6–4 – V seventh = B minor German sixth – I 6–4 – V seventh – I).

Formal section	Key
A	A flat major→E flat major→A flat major
B	D flat minor = C sharp minor→E major→E minor→*F sharp minor→G minor→A flat minor→*
A'	A flat major→E flat major→*A flat major→A major*
B'	*D minor→E flat minor*→F minor→*G minor→A flat minor→A minor→A flat minor→*
A''	A flat major→E flat major→A flat major→A flat minor(→*F minor→F sharp minor*)→*A major→A flat major*
Coda	A flat major

Figure 1: Schubert, Piano Sonata in C minor D. 958, 2nd movement, tonality scheme

The progression heard in bars 9 and 22 in the song *Treue* (op. 3 no. 5) by Cornelius is a textbook example of digression toward the VII degree.[27] In most cases, the modulation is not attained by involving the Neapolitan chord, which makes it difficult to perceive the relation to the Neapolitan key circle.[28] When the key changes by a sudden enharmonic modulation, the distance measured on the circle of fifths is even harder to follow; sometimes even the exact direction (darkening or brightening?) cannot be determined.[29]

[27] The minor VII is supported by its secondary dominant seventh, then there appears momentarily the Neapolitan sixth of the new key, which is nothing other than the I 6–3 of the tonic key. After this minuscule digression, the music resumes as if nothing had happened.

[28] Wolf *6 Geistliche Lieder,* "Ergebung", bars 6–12 modulate from E minor to D sharp minor (V = VI), but despite the notation it is heard as a darkening, supported by the text: "Dein Wille, Herr, geschehe! Verdunkelt schweigt das Land. Im Zug der Wetter seh' ich schauernd deine Hand."

[29] This happens in the second section of Schubert's op. 87, no. 1, "Der Unglückliche". The depths of sorrow in the poem are paralleled by tonal depth: from bar 52 the music descends seven-fifths from the B minor tonic to the dark B flat minor. In bar 64, to depict "grausam süsser Lust", it goes into the counter-Neapolitan A major by enharmonic modulation (dominant seventh = German sixth), of which it cannot be said whether it is an A natural or a B double-flat (eight-fifths lightening or five-fifths darkening). In the storm scene of *Oberon* (no. 11), Puck instructs the spirits to cause a shipwreck, but they find the task too easy and burst out laughing: in bars 125–140 the transition from minor to VII minor is by enharmonic modulation; in G minor: VII 2 = F sharp minor IV diminished 6–5, which largely obscures the key relations. In the Credo of Schubert's Mass in A flat major discussed earlier, the VII key of the "Et incarnatus" section behaves not as a leading-note key compared to C major but as a dark C flat major. Similarly, enharmonic modulation between diminished sevenths appears in the second strophe of Schumann's op. 127, Song 2, "Dein Angesicht", again as a darkening: to the lyrics "Und nur die Lippen, die sind rot; bald aber küsst sie bleich der Tod" the music sinks from G major to G flat major (G major III diminished 4–3 = G flat major V diminished 6–5).

Diatonic third pendulums

The pendulum motions of Viennese Classicism use root and inverted forms of V degree triads and seventh chords, as well as IV degree triads as counter-poles to the tonic triad.[30] One principal innovation in Romanticism is an increase in mediant harmonies in a functional role. To sum up, the degree a third distant from the tonic is designated the mediant (i.e. half-way between tonic and its fifth). To differentiate their functional directions, the harmony and key built on the upper third is called the mediant, and the one built on the third below the tonic the submediant. In Viennese Classicism, the diatonic VI in major and minor plays the function of the tonic, while III is functionally neutral (wavering between tonic and dominant depending on context – represented very faintly and for this reason very rare), so that the function of these harmonies necessarily changes in this style when moving between the relative major and minor. In Romanticism, though, III chords tend to be dominant, while VI degrees become increasingly subdominant. This can be seen in its diatonic form mainly in third pendulums. Although I here reckon these among cases of over-straining of functional relations, it is notable that third pendulums tend in the direction of total dissolution of functional conditions, so preparing the way for axis-like functional relations.[31]

However, as Szelényi established,[32] mediant and submediant only qualify as dominant and subdominant in relation to their tonic if they can supply the same rate of difference in tension. This is possible only if their interval structures are identical to that of the substituted chord: the sterling mediant is major, and the sterling submediant major in major, minor in minor. However, the consequent chords belong to the discussion of major and minor third-relations, which appears below.

[30] Of course repetition or substitution of functions was common: the dominant's is VII – mainly in a 6–3 inversion – and the subdominant's is the II degree in its triad and seventh-chord forms. This is covered in detail in the next subsection, on third substitutions.

[31] E.g. in the cadence of Liszt's *Vor der Schlacht* for male choir: I–III–I–VI–I is clearly an oscillation of tonic–dominant–tonic–subdominant–tonic, but with mediant dominant and mediant subdominant (= submediant) harmonies halving the functional fifth leaps. The III in the closing bars of *Les Préludes* (I–III–I–III–I–III–VI–V–I–IV 6–4–I) and in the coda of the Chopin Mazurka, op. 24, no. 4 in B flat minor (I 6–4–V–III–I) has a similar function. In the Mazurka op. 41, no. 2 in E minor, bars 21–31 and 41–55, the I–III–I tonic–dominant pendulum is widely manifest. The I–VI 6–4–I alternations in the opening bars of the funeral march of Chopin's Piano Sonata in B flat minor, op. 35, are perceived as tonic–subdominant pendulums.

[32] Szelényi, *A romantikus zene,* 103.

Functional cases of chord substitution

Substitution itself is possible on several levels: the chord can contain a substitute (vicarious) note, so that the exchange of a whole chord for a new harmony works on one level higher in the musical process. While substitution on the chord level in most of the cases cannot do greater damage in tonality itself (mostly, it only makes the chord itself dissonant), a harmony that "does not fit" (or more precisely, is not expected) there, if only for a moment, can tip over the listener's sense of tonality.[33]

The simplest type of third substitution of a chord, i.e. function substitution, existed even in Viennese Classicism.[34] Since the substitute harmony fits perfectly into the tonality and represents only a difference of interval structure, and as the distance between the two chords, measured in the circle of fifths, is zero in major (I–VI and IV–II are relative chords) while in minor it is one fifth at most (between I–VI), this kind of substitution does not create any marked tension. The choice between IV and II 6–3 has only slight importance in shading.[35] (Even the choice between a dominant seventh of a given degree or its diminished seventh synonym has more dramatic meaning – as early as in Bach's chorales.) The false cadence created by exchanging I for VI (beyond the existing discoloring and shading) usually has a formal function (internal extension before the final cadence).

By contrast, the major chord in the "gentler" version of Romantic third substitutions replaces a minor a major third above the minor with a major a major third below; a more drastic solution is to exchange chords with an identical interval structure that lie a minor third or major third away (called a real third relation). Of these, certain types fit the functional tonal system, but others do not. With the first version of applying the exchange to the tonic harmony, the submediant harmony in the minor features in place of the chord again, but in major it is the mediant. In other words, an E minor chord can replace a C major and vice versa; the "method" can be used for any degrees of the scale taking into account the interval structure of the chords. What is common in

[33] To quote Lendvai on the operation of substitution chords: "The process in our consciousness can be sketched as follows: with each successive chord, we involuntarily seek to know which chord should come next according to natural musical logic, and compare this with what we actually find. The difference and tension between the two determines the impact of the chord." Ernő Lendvai, "Bevezetés a modális gondolkodásba" [Introduction to modal thinking], in *Verdi és a 20. század. A Falstaff hangzás-dramaturgiája* [Verdi and the 20th century:The tonal dramaturgy of Falstaff] (Budapest: Akkord, 1998), 8.

[34] Chords a third apart fulfill the functions of the main vehicles: VI of I, II of IV and VII of V, respectively.

[35] In the preference for II 6–3, there may be a decisive role for the typical passages with horn fifths, which can be called the "emblems" of the Classics; such horn fifth progressions fit perfectly the passage of I in fifth position: II 6–3–I 6–4 V seventh–I, but are not possible with IV.

these instances is that when a major chord is used instead of a minor, it feels emotionally negative, while the use of a minor instead of a major lends a positive feel. Lendvai derives this behavior of triads contradictory to their customary roles (the sense of elation or dejection) from their belonging to the dominant and subdominant spheres,[36] and regards it as specifically Romantic.[37]

There are four possibilities for substitutions with real third-related chords: chords three or four-fifths brighter or darker can appear instead of the expected one. One of the earliest instances which does not break away from the functional frameworks is the Neapolitan sixth in major (it has the same intervallic structure as the IV but is four-fifth lower than that). This sound effect was applied willingly by Viennese Classicists on other degrees as well (this is the way Neapolitan-based secondary subdominants came into existence), and it survived also in the Romantic era.[38]

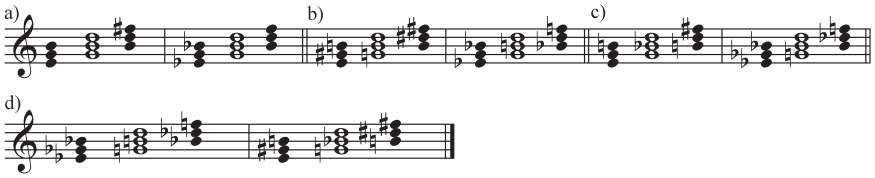
Third relations

A third relation here means a connection between two triads whose roots fall a third apart; in as broader sense the expression is used also for modulations and changes of tonalities that distance apart, and for key relations between larger formal sections.

[36] Lendvai, *Verdi és a 20. század,* 99–112. A few examples: in the second part of Act 3 of *Falstaff,* Nannetta in the forest scene changes into the fairy queen, to F sharp minor instead of D major. The kiss motif of *Otello* also has to be mentioned: the cadential III 6–3 (instead of I 6–4) indicates Desdemona's virtue. Negative examples are the frightening VI 6–3 chord ending of *Madama Butterfly* and countless VI 6–3 false cadences in *Tristan and Isolde*.

[37] To tell the truth, there had existed earlier a pair of chords of which the major member clearly represented the darker, more dramatic effect: in the minor, substitution of IV with the Neapolitan VI had shown the same "Romantic behavior", ever since from the early Baroque period.

[38] In Scene 5, Act 2 of Verdi's *Otello,* where Otello is gripped by jealousy, what follows after the dominant seventh in E major above a dominant pedal instead of I is a minor VI 6–4, which modulates into a four-fifths darker, third-related key ("Lungi da me le pietose larve", in the Ricordi vocal score between L and M). An example of a substitution chord three-fifths darker is Wolfram's song to the Morning Star in Act 3 of *Tannhäuser:* instead of II–I 6–4–dominant seventh comes II–secondary Neapolitan III 6–3–dominant seventh. (The use of B flat instead of G to darken the tone first occurs in the word "Abend".) This explains why minor VI degrees can be interpreted as subdominants in Romanticism. In the cadence of the kiss motif in *Otello,* the minor VI represents the subdominant (minor VI 6–4–III 6–3–dominant seventh–I). In the forest scene in the second scene of Act 3 of *Falstaff,* Falstaff is frightened by masked figures and promises to mend his ways. They ask him three times, the tonality rising each time by a minor second (D, E flat, E). With Falstaff's conciliatory replies, the closing cadence subdominants are always minor VIs (minor VI–minor VI 6–4–dominant seventh–I). Not much earlier, when Nanetta dressed as the fairy queen is singing the second strophe of her song, her ethereal nature is communicated when the II of E major, instead of a dominant seventh, resolves to a III secondary dominant 4–3 (substitution brighter of three-fifths; in the Ricordi vocal score, no. 38). In Scene 8, Act 3 of *Otello* there is a third substitution four-fifths brighter to increase the expressiveness: when Lodovico begs Otello to console Desdemona instead of breaking her heart, the I secondary dominant seventh with an augmented fifth resolves to a VI secondary dominant 6–3, in place of a IV.



Example 3: Types of third relation

The description "placed a third apart" allows for a very broad circle (see Example 3), including relative and mediant relations *(a),* genuine third relations between major and minor chords *(b)* and *(c),* and linking of chords a third apart with different interval structures, known as ultra-third relations *(d)*.

As with chord substitutions with a third-related harmony, third relations themselves have their own variants, which stretch the functional order to its limits, but never quite leave it. Almost all the examples that could exist also in Viennese Classicism belong to the circle of major third relations, and within this, mostly represent the positive direction (evoking a brightening of three or four-fifths), while with negative-direction progressions, the four-fifth darkening can meet functional expectations in the shape of I–minor VI, or IV–Neapolitan sixth. While the former usually stand for reaching a third chord (normally of a different function, or at least a relative of the first chord), the latter appear in order to deepen the function of the first chord. It is the same with the only minor third relation belonging to this circle: the four-fifth darkening version. This can be an expansion of the subdominant function in progressions such as I–VI–minor IV (in the major) or I–minor subdominant VI borrowed from the relative major (in minor keys).

However, it should be noted that the functioning of mediants and submediants changed into major in Romanticism is only a temporary stage in a progression toward mediant third relations, as Szelényi emphasizes,[39]

> […] III and VI degrees altered to major as mediants and submediants act a different part than secondary dominants of the same degrees, which are identical in structure and sounding. While for example, the III secondary dominant is drawn to VI, and orbits around it like a satellite, the same chord in the role of an upper major-third mediant is much brighter, much more sparkling and more dominant than a V, and gains its functional inducement directly from the tonic triad.[40]

The appearance of a third-related key relation in clearly functional frameworks can occur partly with the aid of an intermediary key, partly through direct juxtaposition of

[39] Szelényi, *A romantikus zene,* 104.
[40] Weber, *Der Freischütz,* no. 12, Cavatina, bars 23 and 55; Mozart, Clarinet Quintet in A major (K. 581), 4th movement, bars 119–120; Wolf, *6 Geistliche Lieder,* no. 3, "Resignation", bars 35–36.

third-related keys. There are several methods available for the former, the common factor between them being that they require help in some way in passing between parallel keys. One frequent way is a combination of parallel and relative changes: from major tonic → relative minor → parallel of the relative minor (the result is a third-related major key three-fifths brighter),[41] or tonic → parallel minor → relative minor (a third-related key three-fifths darker);[42] from minor tonic → relative major → parallel of the relative major (a minor key linked by a third relation, three-fifths darker); or from minor tonic → parallel major → relative of parallel major (third-related minor key brighter of three-fifths). When another type is used, the major/minor relation is combined with a mediant relation: from major tonic → mediant → mediant major (third-related four-fifth-brighter major key); from tonic → minor → minor submediant (major third relation darker by four-fifths);[43] from minor tonic → submediant → submediant minor (minor third relation darker by four-fifths); or minor tonic → major → major mediant (minor third relation brighter by four-fifths). There are plentiful examples of these types in the literature of Viennese Classicism as well, and they survive, of course, in Romanticism,[44] but directly achieved third-relation types tend to come to the fore.

Of these, there are two further possibilities to be discussed: a third-related key reached through a modulation, and one with a sudden change, without modulation. The former can be found also in Viennese Classicism,[45] but there are countless variations

[41] E.g. Beethoven's Sonata in B flat major, op. 106, "Hammerklavier", 1st movement, bar 44; Sonata op. 31, no. 1 in G major, 1st movement, bars 49–73.

[42] E.g. Haydn, *The Seasons,* no. 2, Spring Chorus, bars 54–69; no. 25, Duet, bars 144–155; *The Creation,* no. 9, Gabriel's Aria, bars 37–41.

[43] E.g. Beethoven's Sonata op. 13 in C minor, "Pathétique", 2nd movement.

[44] E.g. Schubert, *Schwanengesang,* no. 7 "Abschied", interlude before the fourth strophe: E flat major–E flat minor–C flat major, where the strophe begins in C flat major (basic tonality: E flat), returning: C flat major III secondary dominant seventh–VI = E flat major minor IV–dominant seventh–minor I–major I; Weber, *Der Freischütz,* no. 9, Trio, bars 76–87: E flat major→E flat minor→C flat major ("Noch birgt sich nicht die Mondenscheibe/noch strahlt ihr Schimmer klar und hell"); no. 12, middle of Agathe's Cavatina in C flat major (basic tonality: A flat major, straight before it: E flat major–E flat minor), when she plays with the thought that she is now ready to die, even as a bride; in *Oberon,* no. 12, Puck instructs the other spirits to wreck the ship; at bar 71 the spirits appear, then from bar 108: D-major–D minor–B flat major–D minor–D major ("Was soll gescheh'n?"); Grieg, op. 25, no. 1, "Spielmannslied": D major–D minor–B flat major–B flat minor–C sharp minor–E minor–G minor–D major–D minor.

[45] Mostly with minor chords (moving almost exclusively into the three-fifths darker, third-related key): Haydn, *The Seasons,* orchestral introduction, bars 74–77: B flat major →D flat major (minor I 6–3 = VI 6–3); no. 11, Simon's aria, bars 23–43: F major–A flat major–F major forward (minor IV 6–3 = II 6–3) and backward: via F minor; *The Creation,* no. 23, Rafael's aria, bars 37–45: D major minor IV 6–3 = F major II 6–3, backward via D minor. Beethoven, *Missa Solemnis,* Gloria, bar 127 (G major minor IV = B flat major II). Examples of modulation into a three-fifth darker, third-related key: Beethoven, Piano Sonata op. 110 in A flat major, 1st movement, bars 63–70: D flat major→E major (actually F flat major; D flat major minor I 6–3 = F flat major IV 6–3). See also Beethoven's favored modulations to four-fifth darker, third-related keys with minor VI = I, e.g. at bar 28 of the 1st movement of the Violin Concerto op. 61.

in Romanticism.[46] The simplest form of third-related key change without modulation is a juxtaposition of third-related movements.[47] A third-related key change within a movement is often no more than an expanded ("multiplied") third-related chord raised to the level of tonality.[48] In other cases the link between two third-related key areas is provided by a retained common note.[49]

Polar relations

The term "polar" originally denoted the relation of two chords that are directly opposite on the circle of fifths (at a distance of six key signatures), and have an identical interval structure and base notes a tritone apart. Its meaning later broadened, through *Mischung,* which I referred to in the subsection on minor/major, and through the stage of axis tonality[50] that followed. This wider meaning extends to all kinds of chord progressions with root notes a tritone apart. In chord progressions containing chords with different interval structures (to use Bárdos's term: ultra-polar), the difference in fifths is not six plus or minus, but three or nine. Those that make sense within functional frameworks are, as in the case of third-related chord progressions, among those between two major chords.

The *a priori* existing polar progressions of functional music *per se* are the Neapolitan−V, the II secondary dominant (exchange dominant)−VI (in the major: flattened

[46] Of these I would mention the Agnus Dei movement of Schubert's Mass in A flat major.

[47] Like many Romantic features it appears in Beethoven's œuvre, e.g. in the violin sonatas: op. 30 in G major: G major–E flat major–G major; op. 47, "Kreutzer": *A* major/A minor–F major–A major; op. 96 in G major: G major–E flat major–G minor–G major. It also occurs in the Piano Concerto in C major, op. 15, 1st movement (C major–A flat major–C major), and in Symphony no. 7 (A major–A minor–F major–A minor).

[48] In Beethoven's Sonata for violin and piano in G major, op. 96, 4th movement, bars 17–24. (and 25–32), for example, a III secondary dominant emerges as a tonal area four-fifths brighter. Expansion ("multiplying") of the minor VI into a key area can be found in *Oberon,* no. 20 (the three odalisques try to seduce Huon). In the development section of the Sonata rondo (from bar 112), the F major chord reached by a false cadence of the A major basic key becomes the tonic, and the music continues four (seven) fifths darker in F major (and occasionally minor). The sudden fall can be explained by the lyrics (despite repeated wooing, Huon resists for the second time, and depicts the evil side of women in his answer). Schumann's *Dichterliebe,* no. 12 ("Am leuchtenden Sommermorgen"): from bar 17 in B flat major VI secondary dominant = G major I; the VI secondary dominant becomes a key area (returning via G minor).

[49] In Haydn's *Abschiedslied* (F major→C major→A flat major→F minor→F major), for example, the vocal part hangs by the note C when changing from C major to A flat major. Weber's *Oberon,* no. 13, Reiza's Ocean aria, bars 142–146 has G major–E flat major, with the help of a retained G. Schumann's *Dichterliebe,* no. 15, "Aus alten Märchen", has a sudden change from bar 24 that darkens three-fifths (E major→G major, with a linking B note).

[50] Ernő Lendvai's term.

VI, possibly as a secondary subdominant progression in the major), and the flattened III–VI secondary dominant. Though these can be found in Viennese Classicism, the sharpness of the "polarity" there is mellowed because it is not a juxtaposition of two root-position harmonies, for at least one of them is an inversion, for example Neapolitan sixth−V 4–2, minor VI−II secondary dominant 6–3, flattened III sixth−VI secondary dominant 4–2. In Romanticism, the same chord progressions were used at first, but the next stage in breaking up the functional frames is for the tritone leap in the bass to gain prominence, by juxtaposing root-position chords.[51]

Polar key relations can occur as a polar chord raised to a tonal dimension ("multiplied") but these instances generally go beyond the confines of functional tonality. Within the overstrained but not collapsing frameworks of functional tonality, the polar key can be approached by the reinterpretation of the Neapolitan chord as the dominant.[52] Weber, in the finale of *Der Freischütz,* no. 10 (Wolf Glen scene, bars 143−53) happens to reach the polar key in another way, without breaching functional confines.

[51] Such a progression appears in Chopin's prelude in C minor, op. 28, no. 20, in bars 8 and 12 (minor: root-position Neapolitan–dominant seventh, with a suspension of 6–5), and even in Haydn's oratorio *The Seasons,* at the end of the Chorus, no. 40, in the laughing refrain, as the polar relation of the unison Neapolitan note and the dominant seventh (this time in the major). The principal theme of Liszt's Piano Concerto in A major begins with a harmonic progression of I–minor VI seventh–exchange dominant seventh–dominant seventh, with a suspension of 9–8. Schumann *Dichterliebe,* no. 9 ("Das ist ein Flöten und Geigen"): in the postludes a dominant seventh−I in B flat major and then a II secondary dominant seventh−V progression in D minor follow each other in sequence, with a transposition of a minor second. The juxtaposition of B flat and E major chords sounds like IV–VII secondary dominant in F major. In the closing song of the same cycle ("Die alten, bösen Lieder", in bars 49–50), VI and II secondary dominant seventh (in the new key: Neapolitan−dominant seventh) are juxtaposed at "Wisst ihr warum der Sarg wohl/so gross und schwer mag sein? Ich senkt' auch meine Liebe und meinen Schmerz hinein!" The polar progression illustrates the contrast of the two emotions. In the second theme of the second group in Liszt's Piano Sonata in B minor (bars 159–162) appear polar relations between different interval-structure harmonies: E minor and B flat major chords oscillate with a bass tritone, which in the current key of D major, can be interpreted as a II–flattened VI progression. The flattened VI (pointing toward axis tonality) here represents clearly the subdominant function. It resolves to a III 6–3 (dominant) at the end of the pendulum, which strains the functional confines but does not break them. Szelényi quotes a polar relation between two minor chords in Liszt's symphonic poem *Héroïde funèbre*. He explains the creation of the progression as expansion of the Neapolitan key supported by minor IV and V. The tonic itself (the Neapolitan chord of the original F minor key) is omitted (a technique known as elision), so that F minor and C flat minor (spelled B–D–G flat) chords are juxtaposed. Szelényi, A *romantikus zene,* 41.

[52] E.g. Beethoven, Violin Concerto op. 61, 3rd movement, bars 73–77, 77–81, 247–251 and 251–255.

3. Chord and key relations with suspension of functional relations

Chord substitutions that defy the functional frameworks

There exist types of chord substitution that go beyond the functional tonality of the Mozartian sixteen-note system. These include certain third-related third-substitution types, and some substitutions with polar and common-third chords.[53]

Third-related progressions

Most third relations consisting of harmonies with a uniform interval structure, if they break the Classical functional confines, derive from minor third-related progressions. Such third relations may occur also with major chords and key territories, but these are far rarer.

The Romantic composers showed an increasing predilection in harmonic practice for replacing the tonic-dominant opposition of Classical harmony in third relations. Often the subdominant and dominant functions are represented most strongly not by IV and V, but by the subdominant giving way, by its upper minor third relation and the dominant, to its lower minor third relation, so enhancing the tension between dominant/subdominant and tonic. This means the root notes of the three functions form an augmented triad, as both subdominant and dominant lie at a distance of a four-fifths third relation from the tonic.[54] In many cases, major third-related chord progressions that defy the functional order serve to express mystery, fear or horror.

Instances were mentioned in the previous discussion of third substitutions with third-related chords where a short trip is made into a third-related key, as it were a coloration without influencing fundamentally the tonal structure of the piece or movement, by repeating and transposing certain motifs (generally in a sequence). The purely coloristic juxtapositions a third apart, which dispense with the functional basis of the

[53] An example for each type: Wolf's *Spanish Song Book* II, no. 11 ("Herz verzage nicht geschwind"), bars 5–8; Verdi, *Requiem,* Sequentia, recapitulation of the first strophe ("Dies irae") after strophe 17 ("Gere curam mei finis"); Bruckner, Symphony no. 6, 2nd movement, bars 7 and 9 (and equivalent bars of the recapitulation); Debussy, *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune,* bars 100–104.

[54] Such functional relations can be found essentially to evoke the axis system at the end of Act 3 of *Otello:* the music oscillates between the tonic C minor (sometimes major), the subdominant A flat major, and an enharmonically spelled dominant E major chord.

Mozartian system and were illustrated with an example from Grieg,[55] can be found as early as Beethoven.[56]

It is also possible to organize the movements of cyclical works according to third-related keys, as in three of Brahms's symphonies: No 1 in C minor, op. 68 (C minor–E major–A flat major–C major being its tonal scheme), no. 2 in D major, op. 73 (D major–B major–G major–D major), and no. 4 in E minor, op. 98 (E minor–E major–C major–E major).

Third relations between minor chords/keys are far rarer, and so all the more effective when applied. Their frequencies are as follows: four-fifths darkening to fit the functional frameworks is commonest, and three-fifths darkening is also quite common (it probably it has to do with the mood of Romanticism that progressions depicting darkness are most frequent); then comes four-fifths brightening, and most rarely of all, three-fifths brightening.

Minor third-related progressions nearly always suggest a mood of resignation or lethargy. The four-fifths darkening type can occur also outside the functional relations, for example in the bars before the recapitulation of Schubert's song "Der Wegweiser".[57] It is far more obvious with minor-third key relations that the most powerful effect on the listener is obtained when key areas a third apart are juxtaposed. This can be done by

[55] Grieg, op. 25, no. 2, *En svane* [Swan], bars 26–27.

[56] For example, the third of the *7 Bagatelles,* op. 33, where the contrast between the antecedent and the consequent of the first period is built on the material's manifestation on different tonal levels (the F major material being transposed into D major, so creating a brightening of three-fifths). In Song 5 of Schumann's *Frauenliebe und Leben* cycle, Opus 42 ("Helft mir, ihr Schwestern") there is a sudden fall from B flat in bar 41 into G flat major as the pain of breaking up with her friends strikes the girl who is preparing herself for the wedding (four-fifths darkening). When the joy of marriage occurs to her again, the music settles back into B flat major (bars 43–44). In the overture of *Tannhäuser,* there appear within a brief section third-related pendulums in both directions: at the beginning of the section, referring to the cave of Venus, between bars 98 and 110, C sharp major and C major alternate with the basic E major key (generally with sequential transposition of the motifs). There is no functional order to be sensed at all, as with stage-like lightening or darkening.

[57] In the twentieth piece of Schubert's *Winterreise* (bars 36–37): the B minor–G minor modulation is realized quite simply with a B minor−G minor third-related chord-progression darkening of four-fifths. This is one of the most tragic of Schubert's "Wanderer" songs. The signpost shows the traveller a path from which there is no return, and the mood is one of utter hopelessness. In Liszt's *Saatengrün* for male choir, there appear among plagal steps two minor third-related darkenings of three-fifths in the first eight bars: A major–C sharp minor–E minor–B minor–D minor–F major–C-major. The lethargic mood, which seems quite unjustified by the lyrics, creates a tremendous contrast with the second half of the work. One finds a less frequent brightening minor third relation in bars 22–23 of Haydn's trio *Betrachtung des Todes*. It is interesting that in the case of minor third-related progressions, even the "mathematically" brightening ones do not carry any positive emotional content. Nor does Haydn's work on the philosophical poems by Gellert: it may not be directly depressing, but the A minor−C sharp minor harmonic progression, which also signifies an unexpected modulation from C major to C sharp minor that anticipates Schubert, suggests meditative, pensive behavior.

enharmonic modulation,[58] but comes over best when the modulation occurs by a direct third-related progression, as in Schubert's op. 23 song no. 1, "Die Liebe hat gelogen", where the climax of pain brings a return to the original key via a four-fifths darkening, third-related progression that serves as a three-fifths darkening modulation. The most dramatic impression of all comes when a key change is made without modulation, leaning merely on a third-related chord progression.[59]

The least common of all functional types of third relations is the "ultra-third" relation, in which remote chords (plus or minus six or seven-fifths apart) with different interval structures are linked, or more precisely, juxtaposed, even without sharing a single common note (i.e. quite different in every respect). In vocal works composers almost always use this device to depict a distant thing (person, object, event), or to illustrate an intangible notion or sense of alienation.[60] Something of this kind is found in the Sanctus movement of Schubert's Mass in E flat major, D 950: an illustration of divine quality that far transcends the human ability to comprehend it.[61] Liszt also enjoyed using this device in his instrumental works. For example, *Il penseroso* again has an ultra-

[58] E.g. in the fifth of Wolf's *6 Geistliche Lieder* ("Ergebung", bars 22–28): a third-related modulation with D sharp minor IV diminished seventh = B minor III diminished 4–3 produces a darkening of four-fifths; the brightening of three-fifths in the Credo of Schubert's Mass in A flat has the text "vivos et mortuos, cujus regni non erit finis" undergo four enharmonic modulations. Two link minor third-related keys: first dominant seventh in D flat major = German sixth in C minor, then seventh chord inversion of German sixth in C minor = VI secondary dominant 4–2, then in C minor IV secondary dominant seventh = German sixth in A minor. A minor becomes D minor with a chromatic modulation (Neapolitan dominant 6–5 = German sixth), then again IV secondary dominant seventh = German sixth (D minor→B minor), and finally from B minor, with a chromatic modulation of a diminished seventh to arrive at C major (V diminished seventh = IV diminished seventh).

[59] An example is the fourth of Wolf's *6 Geistliche Lieder* ("Letzte Bitte"): the darkening in bars 4–5 of three-fifths (E flat minor→F sharp minor, in fact G flat minor), then the F sharp minor–A minor harmonic progression in bars 6–7, also a change of key. The double descent is again justified by the lyrics: "Wie ein todeswunder Streiter, / der den Weg verloren hat/schwank' ich nun und kann nicht weiter/von dem Leben sterbensmatt."

[60] In the triadic atonality of the 16th century (particularly the madrigals of Gesualdo) it appears nearly always in relation to death. See, for example, *Moro lasso* (Vol. VI, no. 15): motto motif (first C sharp major–A minor 3–6–B major–G-major 6–3, then F sharp major–D minor 6–3–E major–C major 3–6), or the end of the piece: B flat major–C minor 6–3 or A major. This can also be found in Wagner's œuvre as a symbol of death: e.g. in the A major−F minor relation in the death motif of *Tristan und Isolde*.

[61] The construction of the movement is: "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth" (bars 1–8); "Pleni sunt…" (repetition of lyrics, bars 9–12); again "Sanctus, etc." (bars 13–17); again "Pleni sunt…" (with repetition of the lyrics, bars 18–24); "Osanna…" (with repetitions of the lyrics, bars 25–86). Here (for comparison see the Sanctus of Mass in A flat D. 678), the triple acclamations are juxtaposed, and there are no orchestral interludes, so that the circle of major thirds is closed within seven bars rather than 20: E flat major–B minor (C flat minor)–G minor–E flat minor; the first progression with its seven-fifths darkening (five-fifths brightening) ultra third relation is followed by a minor third-relation darkening of four-fifths. The acclamation is heard twice with these series of chords, but the following "Pleni sunt…" sections are different: the first time has a major/minor change, the second a modulation between E flat major–B flat minor–E flat major. The "Osanna" is a fugue in E flat major which is naturally more extensive and digresses into more keys.

third related progression (bars 31–32, F–C sharp minor 6–3), with which he returns to the basic key; in bars 175−191 of *Aux Cyprès de la Villa d'Este I,* ultra-third relations are piled up, and the G major 6–3–B flat minor–F major 6–3–A flat minor–E flat major 6–3–F sharp minor sequence progression is heard twice (with an octave difference).

The type of ultra-third related key connections in which a major meets a minor key a minor third higher actually has the same distance as a polar key relation (a difference of six key signatures). The root notes, however, fall a third apart (rather than a tritone), because a relative key features in place of one of the polar keys in the same mode. This explains why the relation seems at least as distant as the polar relation. In the other type (major and its minor key a major third lower), the distance is minus seven (or plus five) fifths. It can be said of both that if they are reached through an intermediate auxiliary key, then no strange, alien feeling is induced, despite the distance.[62] Should directly juxtaposed key areas enjoy an ultra-third relation, the effect is dramatic.[63]

In Schubert's song *Heliopolis II* (D. 754), following the parallel dominant 6–5 harmonies of bars 39–47, a chord progression follows descending third by third, then third-related, relative and ultra-third related progressions descend from the C major tonic to its dominant. It can happen that the composer uses a multiplied succession of

[62] E.g. Haydn, *The Creation,* no. 3, bars 47–53: darkening of seven-fifths but in two steps (E major→A flat minor→C flat minor); or Trio no. 27 in E flat major, the central section of which meets C flat minor in relation to the lyrics, but does not directly reach it (E flat major–B flat major–E flat minor: "Du wendest ab dein Angesicht"; G flat major: "da bebet alles und erstarrt"; C flat minor: "du nimmst den Odem weg"; G flat major–E flat minor: "den Odem hauchst du wieder aus"; E flat major, recapitulation: "und neues Leben sprosst hervor".

[63] This device too can often be found in *The Creation:* Aria no. 24, bars 33–51: after the tonic of a repeated 6–5 root sequence in E minor, first a German sixth appears and leads to G major having raised its bass, and the second time it is interpreted enharmonically into a III secondary dominant seventh of A flat major. This astonishing effect can only be explained by the lyrics, and is enhanced further by the resolution of the false cadence of the secondary dominant (to IV). The lyrics describe the crown of creation, man – the modulation and the false cadence occur at the mention of what, according to Christian belief, is the most important feature distinguishing men from animals: "und aus dem hellen Blicke strahlt der Geist, des Schöpfers Hauch und Ebenbild". A 19th-century example of an ultra-third relation is in a Schubert's song, op. 13, no. 3, *Der Alpenjäger,* where there is a sudden F minor→D major enharmonic modulation in the third strophe (when an unexpected "fine image" strikes the hunter's eyes) : VII 4–3 in F minor = diminished VII 4–2 in D major.

third-related keys.[64] These kinds of sequences[65] are important milestones on the path towards creating the phenomenon called axis system, since in these only one more third was necessary so that the translocations of the motif could close the enharmonic circle of fifths.

Polar relations

Progressions with harmonies a tritone apart not mentioned among the types in subsection *2f) Polar relations* represent a trend that is diametrically opposed to the principles of Mozartean tonality: instead of asymmetric division of the octave, the division is made into equidistant parts. The appearance of these phenomena brought with itself the abandonment of functional tonality and led straight to the state of axis tonality.[66]

Two scenes in *Boris Godunov* are also built on polarity. The first is the "Clock" Scene at the end of Act 2 in which the Tsar is tortured by his conscience. The musical expression of the increasingly painful inner tension evolving gradually from the strikings of the clock begins with an A−D sharp tritone oscillation, considering its final state, however, has the basis of the counterposition of B−F poles.

[64] See Schubert's op. 24, no. 1, *Gruppe aus dem Tartarus,* relevant section (bars 11–20). In *Der Wegweiser* (op. 89, no. 20) a key chain of minor third relations is used to depict the atmosphere. This is one of the songs in the cycle where an utter lack of hope prevails. In bars 57–68 total despair is represented by a twice-recurring key change: a minor third relation that darkens by three-fifths (with chromatic and enharmonic interpretations of diminished sevenths), and then after the second, without any third bridging, comes a polar modulation of VI secondary dominant seventh = II secondary dominant seventh, which returns us to the initial key: G minor→B flat minor→D flat minor = C sharp minor→G minor. Finally, there is an example in Grieg, his op. 25, no. 1 *Spielmannslied,* bars 9–25, where successive B flat minor, C sharp minor, E minor, and G minor keys are linked, each with a five-fifths brightening/seven-fifths darkening ultra-third related progression. A B minor I 6–4 is placed after the G minor I with a four-fifths brightening third relation, which leads back to the D major/D minor tonic key. In line with the mood of the lyrics, the darkening direction dominates: D major→B flat major→B flat minor→C sharp-minor→E minor→G minor→D major/D minor.

[65] The Hungarian term equivalent to "distance principle (distance sequences, etc.)" was coined by Ernő Lendvai, who used it to refer to the phenomenon of dividing the octave into equal parts, which (in contrast to the asymmetric octave division in functional conditions) undermines functional tonality by its very nature.

[66] Chord progressions such as in Wolf's part-song *Erhebung* from *Sechs Geistliche Lieder* in bar 7 featuring an A flat major–D major connection, create astonishment of anyone with a "functional ear", for the D major chord cannot be defined in A flat major, it takes us straight to G, so it pulls the original tonal rug from under our feet. It is the astonishment itself which is expressed by means of the polar chord relation in the second part of Act 1 of *Falstaff* when the women realize that the knight has written the very same letter to both of them, with a difference only in the addressing ("Qua Meg, là Alice"). Schubert's song *Frühlingssehnsucht* (*Schwanengesang,* no. 3) provides an example of polar relations between minor keys. The poet is surrounded by the beauty of nature but he is depressed because only his beloved is capable of "liberating the spring in his breast". Of the five strophes of Rellstab's poem, at the end of the first four melancholic questions are heard, these bars stand out in key from the surrounding musical material: the basic tonality of the song is B flat major but, by the end of each strophes, it tends towards D minor. From this D minor it ends up in the polar A flat minor each time (Neapolitan 6–5 = dominant 6–5), then before the start of the next strophe, after a brief postlude, it returns to B flat.

The other section based on polarity is the second scene of the Prologue, the coronation. It has the basis of the opposition of two dominant seventh inversions (D four-two and A flat six-five) above a C-pedal representing the bells of Kremlin. The polar relation definitely functions as a device to communicate the perverse situation (Boris, who probably had the Tsarevich killed, acts as if not wanting to accept the crown). In the chorus praising Boris, because of the sequence built on these polar relations, the notes of the originally modal melody are distorted into a whole-tone scale. There is no trace of major-minor functional tonality here.

A result of the approach to axis tonality is that, by this time, also keys in different modes a tritone apart can create the sense of polar relation.[67]

Common-third relations

Two chords with different interval structures (at least with regard to their thirds) can stand in a common-third relation. The theoretical number of possibilities with combinations of two minor-third and two major-third triads is not more than two (in other cases, it is not only the third but a further note that is common). However, this has spread almost exclusively it is solely this version that spread, because in key relations there exist only the two perfect-fifth versions. So a major chord or key and a minor chord or key a minor second, or more precisely, an augmented unison higher can have a common-third relation. In many cases there is an augmented triad as a link between them, having two common notes with both of them.

It is worth differentiating between the true and the "false" common-third relations: in the latter case there is a Neapolitan minor enharmonic exchange. The minor Neapolitan chord and key were discussed earlier in relation to the second movement of Schubert's String Quintet in C major (D. 956), where clearly a minor Neapolitan can be found, rather than a distant common-third key. The same darkening is heard at the end of the first movement of Schubert's String Quartet in D minor (D. 810).[68] Bars 33−45

[67] In the first movement of Beethoven's piano sonata op. 90 in E minor, bars 88−93, we arrive from A minor first to E flat major, then this is changed to the real polar tonality: in A minor VII seventh = in E flat major diminished VII 4–3 – V 2 – I six-three, then minore. In the third strophe of Cornelius's song op. 3 no. 5 *Treue* there is a modulation leading from the Neapolitan key to its polar minor (A flat major→D minor), when the discrepancy between reality and desire expressed in dreams manifests: "Dein Gedenken lebt in Träumen fort; / Träume, die dein Bild verklärt mir zeigen, / Sagen: daß du ewig bist mein eigen". The best example of polar keys in different modes is Bartók's opera *Prince Bluebeard's Castle* in which the polar relation between C major and F sharp minor (la-pentatonic) flexibly depicts the contrast of light and darkness (while both have a tonic function in the system of axis-tonality which had been fully evolved by then).

[68] With the difference that here there is no place for a common-third relation, as the initial key is also minor: D minor I–VI–minor Neapolitan sixth–German sixth–I 6–4–dominant seventh–I.

in the Gloria of his E flat major Mass is almost a textbook example of a real common-third chord relation, although the two chords do not appear directly next to each other.[69]

The least functional chord relation is where the two harmonies link directly or almost directly (e.g. with help from an augmented triad). Since the link between a major chord and a minor one a semitone above it has no place in any tonal scheme (even as altered chords), it is one of the most astounding harmonic progressions, which dissolves functional conditions entirely. It sounds quite strange, "floating", or "otherworldly". This may be just why Schubert chose it for the acclamations in the Sanctus of his Mass in A flat major, D. 678.

The common-third relation creates an impression of distance also as a key relation, see for example the third part of Schubert's song op. 19, no. 1 "An Schwager Kronos", or bars 167−83 of the Wolf's Glen scene (10) of *Der Freischütz*.[70] The remarkable effect this key change can have on a listener is apparent in cases in which the modulation is evoked by the common-third chord progression itself, for example in "Der Doppelgänger" from Schubert's song cycle *Schwanengesang*.[71]

Key relations a major second apart

Keys a major second apart (at a distance of one, two, or five-fifths) can follow each other in two ways: rising or falling. Rising between two same-mode keys (i.e. two-fifths brightening on the circle of fifths) is "mathematically" a modulation into the II

[69] The "Adoramus te" and "Benedicimus te" phrases are nearly precisely the minor/major equivalents of each other, both starting on VI, so that the first harmonies of them have a common-third relation, launched by the unison common third (F) itself and creating a close link between them (so that it is basically a tonicization of the VI degrees of parallel major and minor).

[70] In the third part of Schubert's song *An Schwager Kronos* (bars 41–56), the poet welcomes the splendid prospects revealed by the passing years, at which point Schubert applies a key change to create a most remarkable effect: E flat major at a stroke becomes a common-third E minor (the minor VI of E flat major is interpreted as the V of E minor). The modulation creates an image of infinite, immense distances: a coach reaches the top of a mountain on a stormy journey and a stunning view stretches out before. In *Der Freischütz,* no. 10, the Wolf's Glen scene, bars 167–183: Max's change of mood is shown by modulation into a common-third key. E flat major→E minor→E flat major with an enharmonic diminished seventh (bar 172 in E flat major: diminished I 4–3 = in E minor: diminished IV seventh) forward, while backward with a four-fifth darkening, third-related progression (bars 179–180, C–A flat). Max's tonality is E flat major, but the horror of the midnight forest unsettles him for a minute before he regains his strength and endurance.

[71] The poem is a nocturnal vision or nightmare bordering on schizophrenia: the unhappy man roams the city of his amorous sufferings and reaches the house where his beloved once lived. He then glimpses a pale human figure squirming in pain in front of the building. His memories evoke a former image of himself with such power that he identifies himself with the phantom figure and re-experiences his former sufferings. In accordance with its atmosphere, the entire song is built around an *ostinato* bass of a "cross motif" and its variants, and oscillates between D major and B minor. Only in one place does it leave the two-sharp signature keys: when he addresses and reproaches the phantom there is a sudden D major–D sharp minor change in bars 46–47, as mentioning his pain suddenly flies him back to the past (for a few bars we are in D sharp minor); and at the moment of coming to his senses, which is signified by an enharmonic modulation returning to B minor (bars 51–52).

secondary dominant key. Despite of this fact, we rarely hear it as a double dominant brightening: what is prevailing in the sense is rather the enhancement derived from the rise in pitch.[72]

The rise in pitch works as a gradation even if motifs in different modes ensue (if in more than two steps, the order is usually major−minor−minor in accordance with the first degrees of the major scale, so there is a one-fifth darkening between the first two motifs), as often happens in Mozart. Descent by whole tones in keys in different modes is frequent in Mozart (e.g. in the first movement of the Piano Sonata in D major, K 311, at the beginning of the development section). This also appears as an important dramatic device in Romanticism.[73]

As for descending into a same-mode key by a major second, the double plagal direction of this makes it fundamentally opposed to the usual order of Viennese Classical modulations. Yet there are examples in Mozart. Since Szabolcsi's work,[74] there have been many books and studies published[75] on the connection between European music and the *style hongrois* tradition, demonstrating its influence on European art music, in rhythm and in melodic features (dotted rhythms, augmented seconds, etc). Based mainly on examination of melodies Szabolcsi termed Turkish,[76] there is good reason to presume that this sort of sudden descent of musical material by a major second – found for example in no. 18 of Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (Pedrillo's romance), at the very beginnings of the first movements of Beethoven's Piano Sonata op. 53 in C major, "Waldstein" and G major op. 31, no. 1 – entered Western art music from Eastern Europe, not only from stylized dances in *style hongrois,* but from authentic folk-music practice. Such a sudden descent can be found in the fast melody of *Kálló*

[72] Haydn's oratorios bring extreme solutions to express the lyrics. In the *Creation* no. 30 (Duet and chorus, bars 212–220), he modulates twice successively into a key a major third higher using an ultra-third related progression: in E flat minor: I–sharpened VI secondary dominant seventh = dominant seventh in F minor–I–sharpened VI secondary dominant seventh = dominant seventh in G minor–I), in reaching the climax: all living things are commanded to praise the Lord.

[73] The strophe beginnings in Schubert's *Gretchen am Spinnrade* – the first line in D minor continues in C major in the second phrase in each strophe – superbly fitting the mood of Gretchen: the descent of a major second expresses immeasurable sadness, despite the fact that it is a one-fifth brightening on the circle of fifths.

[74] Bence Szabolcsi, "Egzotikus elemek Mozart zenéjében" [Exotic elements in Mozart's music], in *A válaszút és egyéb tanulmányok* [At the crossroads and other studies] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1963), 179–190.

[75] E.g. Ferenc Bónis, *Mozarttól Bartókig. Írások a magyar zenéről* [From Mozart to Bartók: Writings on Hungarian music] (Budapest: Püski, 2000); Miklós Rakos, "Böhm-iskola – A magyar verbunkos táncmuzsikának az európai zenére gyakorolt hatásáról" [Böhm School: the influence of s*tyle hongrois* dance music on European music], *Zenekar* 10/5 (2003), 39–47; Rakos, "Brahms magyar táncainak forrásai. 3. rész: Táncos 'egzotikum' Mozart hegedűmuzsikájában" [Sources for Brahms's *Hungarian Dances*. Part 3: Dance "exoticism" in Mozart's violin music], *Zenekar* 12/1 (2005), 34–41.

[76] Szabolcsi himself noted that Hungarian and Turkish elements in Mozart's music have a common origin.

Double Dance by Kodály, but examples also appear among the transcriptions of the instrumental pieces in Lajtha's Szék Collection (e.g. the start of *Czardas,* no. 21).[77] So it is credible to assume that this mannerism reached Vienna through traveling Hungarian violinists. Alternatively, the descent by a major second may be an expansion of a later descendant of the Renaissance VII degree *subtonium* into a tonal area. Whatever the case, this type of plagal change spread widely with the 19th-century expansion of key relations, especially in the negative direction and even between minor key areas, after the example of the initial major/major version.[78]

Diatonic or chromatic rise–fall in chord progressions and between key areas

There are several ways to link chords a second apart, the most self-evident of which (with parallel harmonic progressions) are discussed in the final subsection. Here a few unique instances are given, for instance bars 17−19 of Liszt's *Il penseroso,* which have successive chromatically descending major triads, but every second chord appears in the first inversion, so that this is not a parallel progression, but an atonal sequence: G flat−F 6–3–E−E flat 6–3–D. In key relations, this is far more common: see Schubert's songs "Die Liebe hat gelogen" (op. 21, no. 1, bars 8–11), "An Schwager Kronos" (op. 19, no. 1), or "Prometheus" (D. 674, bars 66–87). Furthermore, one of Schubert's Schiller songs, op. 24, no. 1 "Gruppe aus dem Tartarus", begins with chromatically rising territory that evokes tonal uncertainty, in which the sufferings of the damned souls are represented by harsh music.

Parallel harmonic progressions

There is a special method for linking chords or better say juxtaposing them: parallel harmonic progressions called *mixtúra* in Hungarian. A *mixtúra* is merely a parallel motion of same-inversion (or root-position) chords, but it will be seen that it does not necessarily involve chords with the same interval structure. They may move up or down the scale or be attached to a melodic line. As the name (originating in Latin) implies, in *mixtúra* associate notes are admixed to a principal note. With the disappearance of parallel fifths and octaves in the 13th and 14th centuries, it was effectively forbidden for hundreds of years to have parts containing the two most powerful overtones leading in parallel

[77] *Széki gyűjtés* [Szék Collection], ed. by László Lajtha (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1954), 117.

[78] Of the harmonic devices to express a tragic mood in "Der Wegweiser", the common-third progressions and key relations have been mentioned, but an equally strong expressive device for resignation is a descent of two-fifths in the minor: in the second phrase of the first and the third strophes, Schubert makes a G minor→F minor→G minor digression with a two-fifths darkening.

motion,[79] so that this parallel progression occurred only in six–three chords. In effect the faburdens of the 15th century are already cases of six–three *mixtúra,* but the pattern became particularly favored in the Baroque period. (Handel, for example, recommended this solution most of all for harmonizing scale passages.)[80] It also crops up from time to time in Viennese Classicism.[81] One of the first examples of chords featuring parallel fifths occurs in Chopin's op. 30, no. 4 Mazurka in C sharp minor, where parallel dominant seventh chords descend chromatically from F sharp to B (bars 129−132).

The ability of parallel chord progressions to destroy functional tonality lies in the impetus of voice-leading. Structural similarity creates the cohesive power, rather than functional attraction. This applies even with the chronologically earlier *mixtúra* called "tonal", where only the inversion structure of chords is constant but their subtler interval structure is adjusted to the actual tonality. To this belong the Viennese Classical examples already listed, but there is no shortage of examples in Romanticism and Impressionism either.[82] However, it was the *mixtúra* known as "real" that brought genuine innovation, in which the subtler interval structure was unchanged, irrespective of key. (Chords are actually acoustic manifestations of the first harmony.) This type of *mixtúra* gave a unified complexion to a passage, making it suitable for capturing certain moods or impressions without them getting lost in the details. So it became a favored harmonic device in Expressionism, and particularly in Impressionism. The three parallel progressions of root-position major chords heard as the fifth door is opened in *Prince Bluebeard's Castle* are musical manifestations of all-encompassing light.[83]

[79] Except in some 15th- and 16th-century secular genres: the *frottola, villanella, canto carnascialesco,* and *balletto*.

[80] *Continuo Playing according to Handel: His Figured Bass Exercises,* ed. by David Ledbetter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 10–12.

[81] E.g., Haydn, *Auch die Sprödeste der Schönen,* bars 12–13; Mozart, *Gesellenreise* (K. 468), bars 21–22; Beethoven, Piano sonata in C major op. 2 no. 3, principal theme of 4th movement. Example above a dominant pedal: Haydn, *Seasons,* no. 2 Spring Chorus bars 9 and 11.

[82] For example Liszt, *Les Jeux d'eaux à la Villa d'Este,* has in bars 6–8 parallel seventh chords (in F sharp major: II seventh–III seventh–IV seventh–V seventh–VI seventh–VII seventh); in the Debussy prelude (I, 10) *La Cathédrale engloutie,* there are tonal parallel triads above a pedal, from bar 28. Of Verdi's several types of *mixtúra,* examine the tonal parallel motion in Scene 7, Act 3 of *Otello,* where a tonal 6–4 *mixtúra* is heard in the minor as Desdemona talks to Emilia about clouds over their future. This otherwise unusual inversion emerges also in Debussy's piano prelude *La Fille aux cheveux de lin* (I, 8) in bars 14 and 33–34, accompanying the melody. Modulating tonal parallel root-position triads accompany little Yniold's motif in Scene 4, Act 3 of *Pelléas et Mélisande:* in F sharp major I–V–IV–V, then in E flat major I–V–III–I.

[83] The countless examples in Debussy include different inversion structures: the coda of *Children's Corner,* "Dr. Gradus ad Parnassum", has parallel root-position major triads in broken form; the first scene of Act 3 of *Pelléas et Mélisande* features a *mixtúra* of dominant 4–3 chords as Mélisande's hair covers Pelléas; in the second scene of Act 3, the minor-triad *mixtúra* in the lower strings sets the mood of the castle cellar; from bar 15 in "Voiles", the second piece in Book I of *Préludes,* a *mixtúra* of augmented triads begins to accompany the parallel thirds; in "La puerta del vino" (*Préludes,* II, 3) a *mixtúra* of dominant ninth chords is heard from bar 25.

"Real" parallel chords appear in Romanticism too. Another early example besides the Chopin Mazurka mentioned is an 1822 Schubert song, "Heliopolis II" (D. 754), where the climax is reached via parallel 6–5 inversions of dominant sevenths. The Romantic composers often used build-ups of parallel harmonies to depict supernatural or irresistible power, or strong emotions, for example in Scene 2, Act 3 of *Otello*.[84] Although "real" parallel harmonies certainly have more power to atomize tonality than "tonal" ones, what is heard at the end of Act 2 of *Otello* is a "real" parallel motion that does not destroy the key, and if anything reinforces it. The music moves in major triads from tonic to dominant, then jumps back, so underlining the principal fifth of the actual key (A major).

In another type of *mixtúra* called "changing real", the interval structure of the parallel harmonies changes once or several times.[85] The parallel motion called "free, mixed or atonal" *mixtúra* is neither "tonal" nor "real", nor fits any key. Nor are the interval structures of its chords constant.[86] The parallel motions known as "false" follow the melody, but comprise constantly changing chord structures.[87] In Debussy's oeuvre, one strange phenomenon is that two parallel harmonic progressions lead polyphonically against each other in the section starting in bar 21 of "La Terrasse des audiences du clair de lune" (*Préludes* II, 7), where the top two of the three layers are parallel harmonic progressions, both with independent rhythms and melodies: the upper is a parallel motion of major chords, each comprising two thirds and one root, the lower another chain of parallel dominant seventh chords.

(English translation by Miklós Bodóczky
revised by Nóra Keresztes and Brian McLean)

[84] Here, for example, the depiction of elemental rage is achieved with parallel harmonies (Otello bundles Desdemona off in rage): first parallel dominant seventh chords, then parallel diminished six-three chords ensue; parallel major 6–3 chords (first above a pedal, then alone) enhance the effect as Otello becomes more and more furious in Scene 9, Act 3 ("Il fazzoletto! Il fazzoletto!")

[85] E.g., in "La puerta del vino" (Debussy, *Préludes* II, 3) there are first half-diminished seventh chords from bar 59, then dominant 6–5 chords in parallel motion.

[86] An example is the parallel motion of "'General Lavine' – eccentric" (Debussy: *Préludes,* II, 6) in which major and minor triads alternate within the *frottola* fifths through ultra-third relations: E flat minor–G major–B flat minor–G-major–E flat minor; or the parallel triads from bar 11 in "Danseuses de Delphes" (*Préludes,* I, 1), where first an "altered" note (E) stands out of the key (B flat), but the second time they do not fit into any tonality, and yet the interval structure of the triads is not uniform throughout: A flat major–B flat major–C minor–D flat major–E flat minor–F major–G-major–B flat minor. Perhaps the fog is being depicted in Scene 3, Act 1 of *Pelléas et Mélisande* by an atonal *mixtúra:* the alternating major and minor triads fit into no key. In Scene 6, Act 3 of Verdi's *Otello,* there are parallel 6–3 chords with different interval structures but not tonal, when Iago pretends to want the best for Otello and keeps advising him: to avoid misunderstandings, he should permit Desdemona to be present with him at the reception of the Venetian ambassadors.

[87] In bars 24–27 of "La fille aux cheveux de lin" (Debussy, *Préludes* I, 8), the pentatonic melody is accompanied by parallel pentatonic chords: these are "tonal" parallel harmonies are created within the *slendro* pitch set, but as the five notes of the scale do not divide the octave equally, the structures of the parallel harmonies differ. "False" parallel motion created another way is heard from bar 107 of *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune:* initially a parallel-sounding progression of ultra-third related major 6–4 chords and root-position minor chords are heard over an E pedal, then major 6–4 chords predominate.

Ferenc János Szabó

Karel Burian and Hungary

This article is an extract of the author's 2012 DLA dissertation entitled *Karel Burian és Magyarország* [Karel Burian and Hungary] (hereafter DLA dissertation), for which Anna Dalos was the research director.

Biographies of Karel Burian,[1] one of the greatest tenors of the 20th century's first two decades, underline his Wagner interpretations (notably Tristan), his years in Dresden and New York, and above all his hugely successful creation of the role of Herod in the Dresden world première of Richard Strauss's *Salome*.[2] The Czech tenor's popularity vied with that of Enrico Caruso. Insofar as his personality could be assessed during the research, he comes over as a Bohemian in both senses, and also a sensitive, even touchy singer, who did not hesitate to write an ironic text about Caruso to a couplet and record it, yet was deeply offended if he felt any remark had been made about his own short stature. That touchiness and whimsicality could lead also to many unexpected breaches of contract.[3]

The career of Karel Burian falls into three parts. The first ended in the summer of 1902, when he broke his contract in Budapest. It had been marked by frequent switches from theater to theater and steadily increasing success. The second lasted from 1902 to 1913. He became world famous soon after he arrived in Dresden, and the short decade that followed his appearance in the *Salome* première can be taken as the height of his career. His guest appearances in New York, London, Paris and Bayreuth placed him among the greatest of his age. The third period began in 1913, after his final visit to America. Thereafter his performances received increasing numbers of bad notices in the press. The musical life of Budapest was a component of all three of those periods, and his career as a singer can be traced clearly in the Hungarian press of the time.

[1] For an accurate account of Burian's life, see K. J. Kutsch und Leo Riemens, *Großes Sängerlexikon,* 3rd expanded edition, vol. I (Bern and Munich: Saur, 1997), 509–510. See also DLA dissertation, 24–42.

[2] On the *Salome* première and Burian's part in it see William Mann, *Richard Strauss. Das Opernwerk* (Munich: Beck, 1967), 43.

[3] Burian was notorious for his frequent cancellations. See Einhard Luther, *Helden an geweihtem Ort. Biographie eines Stimmfaches,* 2: *Wagnertenöre in Bayreuth (1884–1914)* (Trossingen/Berlin: Omega Wolfgang Layer, 2002), 353.

In 1913, Burian took Hungarian citizenship, having the Opera House tenor Béni Dalnoki adopt him to that end.[4] Budapest stage and other publications reported that he was still to be billed at the Royal Hungarian Opera as Károly Burián, as it was not compulsory to assume the adoptive parent's name – that depended on the adoption contract.[5]

The Budapest probate papers record him as dying as a Czech citizen,[6] but he stated in his will, written in German and sworn on 17 June 1920, that he was a Hungarian citizen.[7] Furthermore, Burian was styled in two bundles of inheritance papers as Károly Dalnoki or Károly Burian-Dalnoki, and signed himself and kept his Budapest bank account as such.[8]

Although the Hungarian press mentioned Burian's Hungarian divorce case at the time of his death,[9] there is a later reference only in one source to his having become involved in litigation with his wife in 1913–14.[10] Thereafter the case was largely forgotten.

1. Burian in Hungary

Karel Burian made his Budapest début at the Royal Hungarian Opera on 3 June 1900 in the title role of *Tannhäuser,* as a young tenor from the Stadttheater in Hamburg. He was an immediate success. A few days later the *Budapesti Hírlap* wrote,

[4] *Magyar szinművészeti lexikon. A magyar színjátszás története* [Hungarian Theatre Lexicon. History of Hungarian stage performance], ed. by Aladár Schöpflin, vol. I ([Budapest]: Országos Színészegyesület és Nyugdíjintézete, [1929]), 250. Naturalization was easier if the applicant had himself adopted by an older Hungarian citizen. See the supplement to Act L/1879, § 8, then in force.

[5] Dr. Csorna Kálmán, "Rokonság. 22. §. Rokonsági kapcsolatok. 5. Az örökbefogadás" [Kinship. § 22: Ties of kinship. 5. Adoption], in Károly Szladits, *A magyar magánjog,* 2: *Családi jog* [Hungarian civil law, vol. 2: Family law] (Budapest: Grill Károly, 1940), 308.

[6] Budapest Főváros Levéltára [Budapest Capital City Archives, hereafter BFL], VII. 12. b. 416515/1929, 6.

[7] "Ich schicke voraus, dass ich zufolge Bescheid 212673/1913 des Ministeriums des Innen in Ungarn, die Staatsbürgerheit zu Händen des Bürgermeisters in Budapest geleistet habe, somit ungarischer Staatsbürger bin." BFL, VII. 269. 557/1920, 3.

[8] [Anonymous], "A tenorista válópöre. Burián Károly a felesége ellen" [The tenor's divorce case. Károly Burián v. his wife], *Világ* V/4 (4 January 1914), 13. "Hungarian divorce" was a well-known legal institution by the early 20th century, when not all lands in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy allowed divorce. Hungary did so if the parties were Hungarian citizens. It became common for divorcees to take citizenship purely for that purpose. On this see Sándor Nagy, "Osztrák válások Erdélyben, 1868–1895. Otto Wagner 'erdélyi házassága'" [Austrian divorces in Transylvania 1868–1895. Otto Wagner's 'Transylvanian marriage'], *Fons* 14/3 (2007), 359–428.

[9] See [Izor Béldi], "Burrian-adomák" [Burrian anecdotes], *Pesti Hirlap* 46/202 (27 September 1924), 10.

[10] Josef Bartoš, *Karel Burian* (Rakovník: [n. a.], 1934), 38.

> Mr Burrián is a Wagner singer of excellent taste, brought up in the stage traditions of Hanover and Hamburg. He is a true tenor. […] an intelligent, serious performer, who carefully shapes the role he depicts and is also conversant musically with all the demands of the Wagner style.[11]

The *Budapesti Napló* review reveals something of his acting and concept of the role:

> Everything he does has its reason – and everything he does is justified. He acts and sings every note; every little change of tempo also serves as characterization.[12]

On 10 August 1900 Burian signed a five-year contract with the Royal Hungarian Opera that would come into force in the fall of 1901.[13] His first appearance of the 1901–1902 season was on 17 September in the title role of Wagner's *Lohengrin*. He appeared at the Opera altogether 52 times in the season, in operas by Wagner *(Lohengrin, Tannhäuser, Die Walküre, Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg, Tristan und Isolde),* Leoncavallo *(I Pagliacci),* Bizet *(Carmen),* Tchaikovsky *(Onegin),* and Giordano *(Fedora).*[14] The season seems to have been rearranged around him. There had been press notices of the world première of Jenő Hubay's opera *Moharózsa* [The Moss Rose] with Burian as Flamen,[15] of *Samson and Delilah, Werther, Dalibor,* and the Hungarian première of *Tosca,* as well as revivals of *Götterdämmerung* and of an opera by Ödön Mihalovich,[16] but these did not materialize.

The biggest event in the 1901–1902 season was the Hungarian première of *Tristan und Isolde,*[17] which had deep effects on musical life in Budapest, including the young composers Bartók and Kodály.[18] In line with a curious performance practice in Hungary, the Czech Burian sang Tristan in Italian, while Italia Vasquez, though of Italian origin,

[11] [Anonymous], "Operaház" [Opera House], *Budapesti Hirlap* 20/152 (5 June 1900), 7.
[12] -ly, "Operaház", *Budapesti Napló* 5/152 (5 June 1900), 7.
[13] Burian was contracted to the Prague National Theatre until the fall of 1901. The Hungarian State Opera have a certified copy of his Budapest contract. The text is in Appendix 4 of DLA dissertation.
[14] A list of Burian's Budapest appearances appears in Appendix 1 of DLA dissertation.
[15] Hubay was insisting on Burian, but the singer turned down the lead in the end: Anonymous, "A *Moharózsa* ügye" [The Moss Rose affair], *Magyarország* 9/41 (16 February 1902), 10. The première eventually took place in the 1903/04 season. Hubay had come to know Burian in the latter's period in Hanover, where he had sung in the local première of *Le Luthier de Crémone.*
[16] [Anonymous], "Az opera szezonja", *Budapesti Hírlap* 21/244 (1901. szeptember 5.), 8. and [Anonymous], "Burrián Károly szerződése az Operánál", *Egyetértés* 35/193 (1901. július 16.), 4.
[17] With the following cast: Karel Burian (Tristan), Italia Vasquez (Isolde), Dávid Ney (Marke), Mihály Takáts (Kurwenal), Mimi Berts (Brangäne), Bernát Ney (The Steersman), Jenő Déri (A Young Sailor), József Gábor (A Shepherd). The conductor of the première was István Kerner.
[18] See e.g. Bartók's letter to his mother, the widowed Mrs. Béla Bartók (Budapest, 19 May 1902) in *Bartók Béla családi levelei* [Family letters of Béla Bartók], ed. by Béla Bartók Jr., co-ed. Adrienne Konkoly Gombocz (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1981), 65. On Kodály see Béla Balázs, *Napló* [Diary] *1903–1914,* vol. I (Budapest: Magvető Könyvkiadó, 1982), 142, dated 26 November 1905.

joined the rest of the cast in singing Isolde in Hungarian.[19] The critics vied to demonstrate their familiarity with Wagner style. They compared the singers and orchestra, and even the production and sets to Bayreuth and backed their claims to authority with frequent references to other foreign performances.[20] Burian was almost universally praised. Aurél Kern evaluated his production in relation to the role:

> […] of the two main performers, the lyrical hero is really Tristan, the man. In the piece he is passive throughout, almost a sorrowful figure. This was not felt for a moment with Burrián. He is a hero through and through, with an ancestral Teutonic greatness.[21]

There was cause for criticism, apart from the use of Italian, only in Burian's physique, which was not exactly suited to a heroic tenor. According to János Csiky,

> His expressive singing and staggering portrayal quite disguised the shortcomings of his physique, which was no mean feat beside Mme. Vasquez. He excelled especially in the third act. His fevered vision sent shudders through the audience.[22]

The critics of the *Neues Politisches Volksblatt* and *Pester Lloyd* picked out the same scene,[23] in relation to which the opinion of Márkus Miksa is interesting:

> [Burian] was initially sparing with his voice, but from the second act we were able to hear it in its full beauty.[24]

It appears from the reviews that the second act pleased the audience less than first and the third.[25] One reason could have been the love duet, which lasted more than three-

[19] Dating right back to the separation of the Royal Hungarian Opera from the National Theater was the unwritten rule that the German language could not be heard on the Hungarian stage. See Edit Mályuszné Császár, "A rendi Nemzeti Színháztól a polgári nemzet színháza felé. (1849–1873)" [From the National Theater of the estates toward a theater of the bourgeois nation], in Miklós Hofer, Ferenc Kerényi, Bálint Magyar, et al., *A Nemzeti Színház 150 éve* [150 years of the National Theater] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1987), 54. It was on 8 April 1915, at the beginning of the short season of the Great War that the minister of culture allowed German-language singing at the Opera House, as the guest replacement in the title role of *Lohengrin,* Alexander Kirchner, only knew it in German. (–ldi.) [Béldi Izor], "Németül énekeltek a m. kir. operaházban" [It was sung in German at the Royal Hungarian Opera House], *Pesti Hirlap* 37/98 (9 April 1915), 9.

[20] Miksa Márkus mentioned unspecified foreign experiences: "Tristan és Izolde", *Magyar Hirlap* XI/329 [30 November 1901], 2. The *Neues Politisches Volksblatt* critic cited performances in Dresden, Munich and Vienna: Mj., "Königl. Ung. Oper", *Neues Politisches Volksblatt* 25/330 [29 November 1901], 6.

[21] K[ern] A[urél], "Trisztan és Izolde", *Budapesti Hirlap* 21/329 (29 November 1901), 3.

[22] Csiky János, "Tristan és Izolde", *Magyar Szó* II/283 (29 November 1901), 2.

[23] "Großartig war er im 3. Akt, wo er seinen Schmerz, seine Sehnsucht, seinen Todeskampf mit den größten Steigerungen dargestellt hat…" Mj., "Königl. Ung. Oper." *Neues Politisches Volksblatt* 25/330 (1901. november 29.), 6–7. "Sein Meisterstück war die große Szene am Krankenlager." August Beer, "Tristan und Isolde", *Pester Lloyd* 48/287 (1901. november 29.), 3.

[24] Márkus Miksa, "Tristan és Izolde", *Magyar Hirlap* 11/329 (29 November 1901), 1–2.

[25] Ibid.

quarters of an hour, according to the critic of *Budapest.*[26] August Beer noted also that the orchestra drowned out the singers several times in the scene,[27] while Márkus found that Mimi Berts' "Slightly sharp-toned voice devoid of feelingful magic interfered with the poetic tone".[28] Apart from that, there were the language problems mentioned, which may have lost the performance some verve in the second act, whereas Burian's performance in the third held the audience's attention to the full, the critics noted.

Between his Wagner appearances in December 1901, Burian had also to appear in several concerts. He was a guest at the Lipótváros Casino on the 14th, and at a recital of teaching staff at the Academy of Music on the 20th. The student Béla Bartók also appeared at these, as a soloist at the first and accompanying Jenő Hubay at the second.[29]

In the 1901–02 opera season, the two other Hungarian premières – of *Onegin* (the first Russian work to join the Opera House repertoire) and of *Fedora* – received less press attention than *Tristan und Isolde*. Burian as Lensky, according to the *Politisches Volksblatt* critic, played the fiery youth quite in the spirit of the original Pushkin poem.[30] Armand Erdős commented on his clear pronunciation of the Hungarian text.[31] In the Hungarian première of Giordano's *Fedora,* which followed on 27 May 1902, Burian sang Loris Ipanov with perfect pronunciation, and "positively enchanted the audience".[32] Four further performances of it followed in the short remainder of the season. He also appeared once more in *Lohengrin,* before commencing on 12 June 1902 a holiday that was to be "extended over almost three months".[33]

As the season drew to a close, it appeared from the opera-season summaries in the daily papers that Burian filled to general satisfaction the post of heroic tenor in Wagner's operas. Planned for the following season were new roles in *Götterdämmerung* and *Fra Diavolo,* and Hungarian premières of *Dalibor* and *Tosca*. Furthermore, *Pesti Hírlap* said, Burian would like to sing the roles of Assad and Florestan in that season as well.[34]

Burian was a guest singer on three occasions at the Dresden Hoftheater in June 1902.[35] Then exactly a month after the news that he was taking three months' holiday

[26] (–rfi), "Tristán és Izolde", *Budapest* 25/329 (29 November 1901), supplement 1–2.
[27] Beer, "Tristan und Isolde".
[28] Márkus, "Tristan és Izolde".
[29] Béla Bartók Jr., *Bartók Béla műhelyében* [In Béla Bartók's workshop] (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1982), 102–103; Géza Moravcsik, *Az Országos M. Kir. Zene-Akadémia Évkönyve az 1901/1902-iki tanévről* [Royal National Hungarian Music Academy Yearbook for 1901–02] (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1902), 8.
[30] "Er sang und spielte diesen jungen Feuerkopf ganz im Geiste der Originaldichtung und fand noch das meiste Interesse." –dó, "Eugen Onegin", *Politisches Volksblatt* 28/30 (31 January 1902), 6.
[31] Erdős Armand, "Onegin", *Egyetértés* 36/30 (31 January 1902), 4–5.
[32] Gergely István, "Fedora", *Budapesti Napló* 7/144 (28 May 1902), 11.
[33] [Anonymous], "(Burrián Károly)", *Magyarország* 9/140 (13 June 1902), 10.
[34] (–ldi) [Béldi Izor], "Az operaház jövő szezonja. II." [The coming season at the Opera, II], *Pesti Hirlap* 24/166 (19 June 1902), 6.
[35] The dates and productions: 16 June 1902: *Carmen;* 17 June 1902: *Pagliacci,* 19 June 1902: *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg.* (Based on data in the Dresden Opera's Historical Archives.)

came word that he was breaking his contract with the Royal Hungarian Opera and contracting himself with his wife to Dresden instead. The reason seemed to be simple: Budapest had not made a contract with his wife, while Dresden was offering one to them both.[36] The newspaper gave as a second factor that Dresden's terms were far more favorable.[37]

Burian's breach of contract put the Royal Hungarian Opera in a difficult position. Only in the 1903–04 season could his place really be filled, when Rezső Máder signed up the internationally famous Wagner tenor Georg Anthes. He was a well-tried, good-looking singer of German origin, with great acting qualities and several years' experience. He won over the critics on his first appearance.[38]

The press seized the opportunity of Anthes' arrival to flash their swords at Burian, the contract-breaker, as Anthes had left Dresden just as Burian signed on there. Journalists returned regularly to the question of whether Anthes had left Dresden because of Burian.[39] Indeed it was said in *Alkotmány* that "Burrián fled from us to Dresden and pushed out Anthes, who in turn fled to us".[40] This construction can still be found in most modern literature on the matter, but it emerges from the Dresden archives' 1902 opera house file that Anthes first signed a contract for America, while Burian was acquired to fill the place of Ejnar Forchhammer, who left Dresden for Frankfurt in the summer of 1902, and his wife to fill that of Teréz Krammer, who had left for Budapest in January 1902.[41]

The Budapest papers regularly compared Anthes' singing with that of Burian, but neither emerged from the comparisons as an absolute winner. Anthes might be "more intelligent",[42] "nobler",[43] or even "more scholarly"[44] than Burian, but despite the general praise for his voice, almost all critics felt he was past his singing prime. Several

[36] [Anonymous], "Tenorista-krizis az Operában" [Tenor crisis at the Opera], *Magyarország* 9/166 (13 July 1902), 9.

[37] Burian's initial salary at Dresden was 24,000 marks a year (Sächsisches Staatsarchiv Dresden, 10711. Ministerium des Königlichen Hauses Loc. 44 Nr. 31. Acta, das königliche Hoftheater betreffend. 1902. 78).

[38] "In György Anthesz [sic], whose début today was eagerly expected, we made the acquaintance of highly intelligent singer of rare talent, with a splendid physique, who won over our audience at a stroke." [Anonymous], "Operaház", *Budapesti Hírlap* 23/258 (20 September 1903), 13.

[39] [Anonymous], "Mader Rezső Milánóban" [Raoul Mader in Milan], *Magyarország* 10/169 (17 July 1903), 13.

[40] [Anonymous], "Anthes bemutatkozása" [Anthes' début], *Alkotmány* 8/223 (20 September 1903), 7.

[41] Sächsisches Staatsarchiv Dresden, 10711. Ministerium des Königlichen Hauses Loc. 44 Nr. 31. Acta, das königliche Hoftheater betreffend. 1902. No. 859/02, 81st numbered page. Anthes performed several times more in Dresden (e. g. on 26 August and 1 September) and may have received his New York invitation then.

[42] [Anonymous], "Anthes bemutatkozása".

[43] [Anonymous], "Operaház", *Budapesti Napló* 8/257 (20 September 1903), 11.

[44] [Anonymous], "Anthes bemutatkozása".

noted that Burian's voice, compared with Anthes', was "of feelingful beauty"[45] and "warm".[46]

Burian, after his breach of contract, returned to Budapest only in 1907, as a world-famous singer,[47] but then came almost annually until his death, initially for shorter smaller guest appearances, as his life as a performer by then was already divided between several cities, notably Dresden and New York. However, he appeared from time to time in new roles,[48] and his presence ensured that Wagner remained in the repertoire, as *Tristan und Isolde* was usually on the program for his returns.

In January 1909 the press fomented rivalry between Anthes and Burian once more when Andreas Dippel, administrative manager of the Metropolitan Opera in New York, invited Anthes to appear in America again.[49] The papers added that Anthes was leaving Budapest because he felt sidelined by the frequent guest appearances of Burian.[50] Anthes may have had reason to be offended that the contract-breaching tenor was being held in higher esteem than he, who had been a reliable member of the company for years. The situation was heightened by an article in the *Pesti Napló* containing overall criticism of the singer then appearing as a guest in America. According to the article, the extremely high fees for American appearances led singers (Anthes and Burian were among those cited by name) to demand higher pay in Europe as well.[51] Could there have been somebody in the background for whom a journalist was prepared not to take sides in a conflict between the two tenor stars so often compared? If so, it would certainly be Béla Környei, who had made his Opera House début on 17 November 1908.[52] The Hungarian première of Eugen D'Albert's opera *Tiefland* brought him such

[45] [Anonymous], "Operaház", 11.; [Anonymous], "A Lohengrin", *Magyarország* 10/227 (22 September 1903), 13.

[46] a. k. [Károly Antalik?], "Magyar Kir. Opera" [Royal Hungarian Opera], *Hazánk* 10/223 (22 September 1903), 9; [Anonymous], "Az uj hőstenor" [The new heroic tenor], *Egyetértés* 37/257 (20 September 1903), 4.

[47] Curiously, his guest appearance in 1907 came right before Caruso's Budapest appearance and failure. On this see Iván Kertész, "Caruso bukása Budapesten a korabeli sajtó tükrében" [Caruso's failure in Budapest in the press at the time], in Stanley Jackson, *Caruso,* transl. by Mária Borbás (Budapest: Gondolat, 1976), 409–435; Andrew Farkas, "Caruso and Budapest", *The Record Collector* 28/11–12 (April 1984), 245–66.

[48] 1908: Puccini, *La Bohème* – Rodolfo; Wagner, *Siegfried* – title role; 1911: Gounod, *Faust* – title role; 1912: Kienzl, *Der Evangelimann* – Matthias Freudhofer. For a full list of his parts see DLA dissertation, 142.

[49] [Anonymous], "Anthes Amerikában" [Anthes in America], *Az Ujság* 7/7 (9 January 1909), 10.

[50] [Anonymous], "Anthes kivándorol. Tenor-háboru" [Anthes emigrates. Tenor war]. This is a falsely recorded cutting in the Memorial Archive at the Hungarian State Opera given as from the 14 January 1909 number of *Az Ujság.* There is no such article in the January issues of the paper.

[51] [Anonymous], "Conried és Hammerstein" [Conried and Hammerstein], *Pesti Napló* 60/11 (14 January 1909), 12.

[52] Környei had been in the Király Színház company since 1905. *Magyar Művészeti Almanach. V. évfolyam* [Hungarian Arts Almanac, 5th Year], ed. by Henrik Incze (Budapest: published by editor, 1905), 246.

success as Pedro that "he was celebrated as much as Burrián was after his performance of Tristan".[53] His voice made a very good impression as well:

> He has, along with a congenial personality and the strength of a heroic tenor, the high range of a lyric tenor.[54]

In Környei the Hungarian press thought it had found "the first Hungarian Wagner tenor".[55] Each new role he took was praised by critics and audiences alike. It meant that a new, successful tenor had joined Burian and Anthes on the Opera House stage, and for press and public alike, Környei had the big advantage that he was Hungarian and so sang faultlessly in Hungarian.

The waves made in the press subsided, and both Burian and Anthes departed in the spring of 1909 for America. Burian did not return to Budapest until September 1910, yet Béla Környei failed to become the first Hungarian Wagner tenor after all. His only Wagner role in his time at the Opera House was the title role of *Lohengrin,* which he sang four times, not with unqualified success.[56]

On 13 October 1911, Burian sang the title role in Gounod's *Faust* for the first time in Budapest, but the critics thought his performance was rigid and artificial in the lyrical parts, such as the *cavatina*.[57] These poor reviews heralded a two-year period of negative receptions. This rigidity may have been a disguise for fatigue or vocal problems.[58] From 1912 onward Burian received ever more press criticism, and comparisons with Anthes or Környei were regularly in his disfavor.

His fatigue derived on the one hand from overwork. He had been spending his life for years doing guest performances in Dresden, New York and other cities. In 1912–13, he was a contracted member of the Vienna and Boston companies and also a regular guest at the Metropolitan. Houses where he appeared as a guest took full advantage: in Vienna in November 1908, for instance, he sang in four different Wagner operas in a week.[59] At the turn of 1908 and 1909, he was appearing in a different city almost every

[53] Imre Kálmán, "A hegyek alján" *[Tiefland], Pesti Napló* 59/276 (18 November 1908), 10.
[54] "Er hat neben der sympathischen Persönlichkeit und der Kraft eines Heldentenors die hohe Stimmlage des lyrischen Tenors." D. b., "Tiefland", *Neues Politisches Volkblatt* 32/276 (18 November 1908), 3.
[55] Kálmán, "A hegyek alján".
[56] For more see Ferenc János Szabó, "(Gibt es eine) Heldentenor-Tradition in Ungarn(?). Von Carl Burrian bis Béla Környei". Online: http://www.gramophone-anno.eu/article.php?id=20 (8 May 2010).
[57] [Anonymous], "Operaház", *Pesti Napló* 42/244 (14 October 1911), 11; [Anonymous], "(M. kir. operaház)", *Pesti Hírlap* 33/244 (14 October 1911), 6.
[58] Vocal tiredness and overwork are apparent also in his July 1911 recording of part of *Meistersinger:* The Gramophone Co., Matrix No. 2257c.
[59] Luther, *Helden an geweihtem Ort,* 358.

other night.[60] Nor is it clear whether he had got over his 1911 break with Dresden, although the letter published by Reichelt shows no sign of any feelings of failure.[61]

That Burian had recovered by the 1913–14 season is clear, for example, from a *Walküre* review: "Burian, the eternal canceler, had not been for years in such splendid form as this. […] [His] success tonight recalled his great triumphs of old."[62] By then he was no longer visiting America or Vienna or his estate near Prague, but had settled in Budapest.

From 1913 Burian was under contract to the Opera House as a "regular guest".[63] The anonymous correspondent of *Független Magyarország* surmised that Burian had ended his Vienna contract due to "the notable Czech demonstrations",[64] which is possible as there had been protests in Vienna over the dissolution of the Czech provincial assembly.[65]

Afer 1913, his appearances in Budapest periodically fell victim to offence he had taken. In May 1914 it was excessive demands on his voice.[66] Later he threatened to resign over the casting of revivals of *Fedora* in May 1922[67] and *Salome* in the spring of 1923.[68] It is typical of his theatricality that a farewell concert was even announced in 1922.[69] Ultimately the Opera could not do without a performer of Burian's quality, and Burian could not by then return to other houses where he had broken his contracts.

[60] Budapest, 29 December 1908: *Carmen;* Vienna, 4 January 1909: *Siegfried;* Dresden. 7 January: *Aida;* Vienna, 9 January, *Götterdämmerung;* Dresden, 11 January: *Tristan und Isolde;* Vienna, 12 January: *Pagliacci;* Dresden, 13 January: *Der Evangelimann;* Vienna, 15 January: *Meistersinger;* Budapest, 17 January: *Siegfried.* His next performance was then *Tannhäuser* in New York on 5 February 1909.

[61] Johannes Reichelt, "Karl Burrian. Um die Tragik verwöhnter Heldentenöre", in *Erlebte Kostbarkeiten* (Dresden: Wodni & Lindecke, 1941), 346–348.

[62] k. j., "Operaház", *Pesti Napló* 65/10 (11 January 1914), 16.

[63] [Anonymous], "Burrián Károly szerződése" [Károly Burrián's contract], *Budapest* 37/151 (27 June 1913), 12. The contracting principle of a "constant guest" was poorly defined. It was probably taken to mean that a theater agreed with a celebrated singer under more favorable conditions for regular guest appearances over several months. See DLA dissertation, 78–81.

[64] [Anonymous], "Burrián Budapesten" [Burrián in Budapest], *Független Magyarország* 13/203 (28 August 1913), 10.

[65] Domestic conflicts since 1908 prompted the Austrian government on 26 July 1913 to dissolve the Czech assembly as unworkable. See the Bohemia entry in *Magyar Nagylexikon* [Great Hungarian Encyclopedia] 5, ed. by László Élesztős (Budapest: Magyar Nagylexikon, 1997), 805; *Csehország a Habsburg-Monarchiában. 1618–1918. Esszék a cseh történelemről* [Bohemia under the Habsburg Monarchy 1618–1918. Essays on Czech history], ed. by László Szarka (Budapest: Gondolat, 1989), 209.

[66] According to a statement by Dezső Vidor, secretary of the Opera House: [Anonymous], "Burián távozik az Operától. Fölbontották a szerződését" [Burián leaves the Opera. Contract ended], *Budapest* 38/117 (19 May 1914), 13. Burian's reply appeared in [Anonymous], "Burián és az Opera" [Burián and the Opera]. *Budapesti Hirlap* 34/117 (19 May 1914. május 19), 14.

[67] [Anonymous], "Burián az idén már nem lép fel az Operában" [Burián not appearing again at the Opera this year], *Pesti Napló* 73/106 (11 May 1922), 8.

[68] [Anonymous], "Burián énekli Heródest a Salomében" [Burián sings Herod in *Salome*], *Új nemzedék* 4/279 (7 December 1922), 7.

[69] On 19 May 1922 in the main hall of the Academy of Music.

He canceled advertised appearances so often that the press began to poke fun at this in reviews. When he first sang Siegfried in *Götterdämmerung,* the *Pesti Hirlap* critic wrote,

> Miracles can still happen.... Burrián announced his appearance in *Götterdämmerung* on Saturday, and lo, what came to pass? Burrián actually appeared. Despite the fact that it was announced, he sang after all. Furthermore, he played Siegfried very stylishly and artistically....[70]

On May 24 1917 – less than two weeks after the first performance of Bartók's pantomime ballet *A fából faragott királyfi* [The Wooden Prince] –, the Opera was offering another world première of a Hungarian work and a second Opera première for Jenő Sztojanovics: his opera *Othello mesél* [Othello Recounts], which was by no means a success. There was general praise, however, for Burian, singing in Hungarian again:

> Of the lead roles, Károly Burián took on the relatively passive part of Otello. He sang with clear Hungarian pronunciation and a disposition of rare brilliance.[71]

Othello mesél ran for only three nights at the Opera House, with Burian in the title role each time.[72] It was not the first time he had given evidence of sympathy for Hungarian composers, for he had also agreed to appear in Budapest for the centenaries of Franz Liszt and Róbert Volkmann, for the first singing the Liszt setting of Psalm 13, conducted by Siegfried Wagner (Royal Hungarian Opera, 24 October 1911), and for the second (People's Opera,[73] 16 April 1915) a first Budapest performance of the Mahler song "Revelge", of which he made soon after the first ever Mahler sound recording.[74]

As the years went by, Burian gave increasing numbers of Budapest concert performances. Although several sources state that he had been a well-known concert singer earlier,[75] it is worth noting that 18 of his hitherto-known 23 concert appearances in

[70] [Anonymous], "(M. kir. Operaház)", *Pesti Hirlap* 38/308 (5 November 1916), 11.
[71] [Anonymous], "Otello mesél", *Alkotmány* 22/133 (1917. május 25.), 7.
[72] For more on the Sztojanovits opera see Amadé Németh, *A magyar opera története (1785–2000)* [History of Hungarian Opera 1785–2000] (Budapest: Anno, 2000), 189–190.
[73] The People's Opera, (later the Municipal Theater, now the Erkel) opened in 1911. See Klára Molnár, *A Népopera – Városi Színház. 1911–1951* [The People's Opera – Municipal Theater 1911–51] (Budapest: Országos Színháztörténeti Múzeum és Intézet, 1998).
[74] Gramophone Company, Matrix Nos 15560b and 15561b, with piano accompaniment. The recordings were made on 7 July 1911 in Prague. There is no information on their release. See DLA dissertation, 179–180.
[75] E. g. Klára Kolofiková, "Burian, Karel", in *Český hudební slovník osob a institucí*. [Praha, 2010] http://www.ceskyhudebnislovnik.cz/slovnik/index.php?option=com_mdictionary&action=record_detail&id=7049 (Retrieved 6 December 2010.)

Budapest took place in the years after 1913.[76] At one such concert he appeared with his younger brother, Emil Burian.[77]

Looking through the programs, it emerges that – beside the lieder – these recitals included excerpts from not only those operas in which he was appearing in Budapest. Concert audiences could hear him sing Rienzi's Prayer, Tamino's aria from *Die Zauberflöte,* the Romance from Goldmark's *Merlin,* the grand aria from Mascagni's *L'amico Fritz,* an *Aïda* duet with Erzsi Radnai, and the finale ("Farewell and final scene") of *Otello*. In one Italian opera evening, he took part in two ensembles: the love duet in *Otello* with Anna Medek, and the sextet in *Lucia di Lammermoor* with Adelina Adler, Anna Medek, Kálmán Szügyi, Sándor Farkas, and Béla Venczell. He also sang arias, not otherwise identified, from *Der Freischütz, Tosca, Manon Lescaut, Werther, Dalibor,* and Smetana's *Hubička* [The Kiss]. Featured in his lieder repertory were Wagner's *Schmerzen,* Mahler's *Revelge,* Richard Strauss' *Morgen* and *Zueignung,* and pieces by the Czech composers Jindřich Jindřich[78] and František Neumann.

The bill on 2 April 1918 attracted a full house at the Opera, when Burian sang the leading male role in Saint-Saëns' *Samson et Dalila*. The reviews talk of a superb vocal and acting performance, despite the shortcomings of his physique.[79] Yet his brilliance did not remain unalloyed. Two weeks later he sang the title of *Lohengrin* at the Opera while drunk, making a mockery of himself and the performance.[80] He is reported to have behaved scandalously on stage, turning away from the other singers, forgetting his part, becoming too personal with Anna Medek (as Elsa), and apparently cracking jokes as well.[81] Medek berated him in the interval, whereupon Burian is said to have spoken to her in an unacceptable tone.[82] In the church procession in Act 2, Lohengrin had to

[76] For the programs of Burian's concerts see DLA dissertation Appendix 1, also the Budapest concert catalog of the Institute for Musicology of the Research Center for Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

[77] A Wagner evening on 5 March 1918 at the Vigadó.

[78] He gave Jindřich's two songs *Liebesträume* and *Verwelkte Blüte* their first Hungarian performances on 27 November 1921, accompanied by Miklós Gutmann.

[79] k. e., "Operaház", *Pesti Napló* 59/88 (13 April 1918), 7.

[80] James Dennis mentions the episode in his study of Burian. He failed to board the boat drawn by swans and tried to cover up with a remark that became famous: "What time does the next swan leave?" See James Dennis, "Karel Burian", *The Record Collector* 18/7 (July 1969), 162. I heard the same anecdote told of several tenors, including Burian, but failing to find it in the Hungarian press. It may actually have happened to Leo Slezak, whose son Walter included it in his memoirs as from his father and occurring in America. It became a classic when the book first came out in 1964. Walter Slezak, *Wann geht der nächste Schwan?* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1971), 211.

[81] "Károly Burián particularly insulted Anna Medek. He pushed her onto the stage or drew her on with him. For instance in the church scene. He was always turning his back on her and while Medek sang, Burián amused himself and made jokes." [Anonymous], "Burián tegnap részegen énekelte Lohengrint" [Burián sang Lohengrin while drunk last night], *Magyar Estilap* 25/87 (17 April 1918), 1.

[82] [Anonymous], "A becsipett Lohengrin. Burián Károly tegnap esti szereplése" [Tipsy Lohengrin. Károly Burián's performance last night], *Az Est* 9/92 (18 April 1918), 3.

be led by Telramund (Lajos S. Rózsa), as Burian was not prepared to take the arm of Medek, who he said had insulted him.[83] During the second interval, large amounts of black coffee were poured into the singer, with benign effects: he sang properly again and the performance ended in an orderly fashion.[84] Despite the scandal, intendant Bánffy invited Burian to appear next season, singing the title role in Hungarian of Ödön Mihalovich's *Toldi szerelme* (Toldi's Love),[85] but in fact Burian did not appear in Budapest at all in the 1918–19 season.

In 1919–20 Burian appeared at the Opera notably often, but due to the storms of the day he was caught up in one of the biggest Opera House scandals. On 5 April 1920, near the end of *Walküre,* a group of anti-Semitic youths burst into the auditorium yelling against Lajos S. Rózsa in the part of Wotan.[86] The show stopped, but Rózsa told the press:

> It felt good that my friend and colleague Károly Burrian showed full solidarity with me.[87]

All that is known for certain of Burian's behavior at the performance is his advice that the show be abandoned. His solidarity consisted in "announcing he would never appear at the Opera House again".[88] He did not abide by that, of course, for he appeared as soon as 16 May 1920 in a new role in Budapest, in a highly spectacular production of *Das Rheingold*.[89] The *Népszava* correspondent wrote, "he sang Loge, the fire-god of the Teutonic legend in a sonorous voice, with youthful verve and a perfect grasp of Wagner".[90]

[83] [Anonymous], "Nagy botrány az Operában. A berugott Lohengrin" [Big scandal at the Opera. The drunken Lohengrin], *Új Hirek* 17/91 (18 April 1918), 3.

[84] [Anonymous], "Részeg Grál lovag az Operában" [Drunken knight of the grail at the Opera], *Déli Hirlap* 2/181 (18 April 1918), 3.

[85] Valkó Arisztid (compiler), *Adatok az Operaház történetéhez I* [Notes toward the history of the Opera House] (Ms., Budapest, 1975), 71–72. Held by MTA BTK Zenetudományi Intézet, Budapest. In the event there was no revival of *Toldi szerelme* in that season.

[86] The incident is described in *A budapesti Operaház 100 éve* [100 years of the Budapest Opera House], ed. by Géza Staud (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1984), 185.

[87] [Anonymous], "Nagy botrány az Operaházban" [Great scandal at the Opera House], *Az Ujság* 18/83 (6 April 1920), 3. Rózsa would never appear again at the Royal Hungarian Opera. He soon left for America to make guest appearances, but died there suddenly of food poisoning after giving only six performances. See Kutsch and Riemens, *Großes Sängerlexikon,* 4, 2992.

[88] [Anonymous], "Nagy botrány az Operaházban" [Big scandal at the Opera House]. *Az Ujság* 18/83, no date; [Anonymous], "Rózsa Lajos az Operaház megzavart előadásáról" [Lajos Rózsa on the interrupted performance at the Opera House]. *Az Est* 11/84 (7 April 1920), 3.

[89] The stage trick devised by Jenő Kéméndy to make the Rhine Maidens as effective as possible was to have the three singers deliver their opening tercet suspended above the audience on almost invisible ropes, worked by stage hands behind the scenes. [Anonymous], "Kéméndy Jenő szinpadtechnikai találmánya" [Jenő Kéméndy's stage invention], *Az Ujság* 18/114 (13 May 1920), 3.

[90] B., "Operaház", *Népszava* 48/118 (18 May 1920), 3.

On 30 December 1921, the Opera marked Burian's thirty-year performing jubilee with him as Tristan in *Tristan und Isolde,* which had been in the repertory for twenty years.[91] Burian in his festive address pointed out that of all the performers in that première twenty years before, only he and the conductor István Kerner were still active.[92] Burian expressed thanks in Hungarian for the almost endless applause at the end of the first act.[93]

He had the opportunity to appear once again in Budapest in the same role as he had made a name for himself in musical history: as Herod in a *Salome* revival (17 March 1923). The correspondent of *Nemzeti Ujság* gave a sensitive description of Burian's rightly world-famous interpretation:

> Burián played the eager-eyed, weak, softened tetrarch, afraid of wind and blood, with splendid artistry. His movements, indecisive haste, and swings between fear and love portrayed with perfect fidelity the frailty of Herod caught between pain and desire.[94]

Not long after would come his final appearance at the Opera House, in the role of Siegmund.

News of Burian's death in Bohemia on 25 September 1924 was quick to reach Budapest. A lengthy obituary appeared next day in the daily *Világ,* with remarkably accurate biographical information for the time.[95] It even mentioned Burian's last letter written from Budapest, apparently to Béla Környei. The Opera House could not be represented at the funeral, but a requiem mass was said the next Friday at the nearby Terézváros Parish Church,[96] where the Opera orchestra under István Kerner played the funeral march from *Götterdämmerung* and the Opera chorus sang the Pilgrims' Chorus

[91] I have found no sign of any other city marking the jubilee. This is not anyway likely, as Burian no longer appeared in Dresden or America. The online archives of Prague National Theater makes no mention of it.

[92] [Anonymous], "Burian ünneplése. A mai Trisztán-előadás" [Celebrating Burian. Today's *Tristan* performance], *Az Ujság* 19/294 (31 December 1921), 8. Still, he had omitted József Gábor, the Shepherd in the *Tristan* première, who not long after the jubilee was singing the title role in *Parsifal* and alternating with Burian as Loris Ipanov in *Fedora.*

[93] (–ldi.) [Béldi Izor], "Burian jubileuma" [Burian's jubilee], *Pesti Hirlap* 43/294 (31 December 1921), 7.

[94] R. M., "Operaház", *Nemzeti Ujság* 5/63 (1923. március 18.), 8.

[95] [Anonymous], "Burián Károly meghalt" [Károly Burián died], *Világ* 15/201 (26 September 1924), 3.

[96] [Anonymous], "Burián Károly halála" [Death of Károly Burián], *Az Ujság* 22/202 (27 September 1924), 9.

from *Tannhäuser*.[97] Numerous other obituaries appeared, of which one has importance to opera history: a lengthy, sentimental remembrance that Italia Vasquez herself wrote for *Pester Lloyd*.[98]

2. Burian as a Wagner singer

A sizable number of recordings of Karel Burian's voice have survived, the earliest from 1906 and the latest from 1913,[99] but modern reissues of these are scarce compared with those of contemporaries such as Caruso, presumably because of language problems: on his discs he sang only in Czech and German. They include opera excerpts, art songs, Czech folk-song arrangements, and a special treat: a couplet by Gus Edwards (1879–1945) for which Burian himself wrote the lyrics, entitled *Můj kolega Caruso*. The refrain quotes the famous aria from *Pagliacci*.[100]

The literature has plenty of general descriptions of Burian's voice and artistry, but not all are sufficiently specific. One notable exception comes in reminiscences by Paul Wilhelm, who could have heard Burian personally in Dresden:

> […] as soon as Burrian opened his mouth and those glorious sounds of pure melting gold filled the air, the public was simply spellbound. In fact, his was the golden voice *par excellence* and not only in a few special top notes. His whole range was golden in sound, even his piano and pianissimo notes which penetrated to the last corner of the big Dresden opera house in consequence of their peculiar metallic golden quality.[101]

Later descriptions could rely only on the recordings. The problems with these are best put in the last sentence of the Grove entry for Burian:

> In Burian's numerous but somewhat primitive recordings, the penetrating clarity of his tone is more in evidence than the golden quality for which he was also praised.[102]

[97] [Anonymous], "Gyászmise Burián lelkiüdvéért" [Requiem mass for the soul of Burián], *Az Ujság* 22/204 (30 September 1924), 10.
[98] Italia Vasquez, "Karl Burrian", *Pester Lloyd* 71/203 (28 September 1924), 16.
[99] Several attempts to compile a discography of Karel Burian have been made. Appendix 2 of the DLA dissertation was compiled from earlier lists – James Dennis, "Karel Burian", 156–61; Paul Wilhelm, "Carl Burrian", *Record News* 4/7 (March 1960), 239–44, Alan Kelly's CD-ROM discography for the Gramophone Co., and unpublished discographies by Rainer Lotz és Christian Zwarg. Identification of the last Pathé recording with the help of Gabriel Gössel and Christian Zwarg came only after the defense of the DLA dissertation and could not be included.
[100] Gramophone Company 2-72184, Matrix 7769r, with piano accompaniment, made on 1 September 1910. See the website www.karelburian.cz.
[101] Wilhelm, "Carl Burrian", 241.
[102] Desmond Shawe-Taylor, "Burian, Karel", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 2nd e., ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), vol. 4, 624.

What can be known generally about Burian's voice and performing qualities? According to Jürgen Kesting, he had a bronze-hued heroic tenor voice that was slightly subdued in the middle range but strong in the upper.[103] Reference to his strong, darker tone is made also by Kolofiková, in describing him as a "baritone-tenor".[104] This is somewhat contradicted by Rodolfo Celletti, who calls his tone light and shining.[105] This brightness of tone can be heard in Burian's early recordings, especially of the *Gralserzählung* from *Lohengrin,* where the clearly audible shining tone manages to be strong as well.[106] Apart from his qualities as a singer, his stage acting was also convincing,[107] while both Kolofiková and Celletti note his excellent enunciation as a great virtue as well.

Burian arrived in Hungary as a Wagner tenor, appearing first in Wagner roles, and he was contracted in Budapest "mainly for Wagner works", although as a "heroic and lyric tenor".[108] But the picture of Burian that emerges from accounts of his Wagner interpretations and singing style in Budapest does not exactly match the spirit of Bayreuth, where a style based on principles devised by Cosima Wagner prevailed.

Cosima did all she could after her husband's death to make Bayreuth a viable and self-sufficient undertaking as the center of Wagner's art.[109] To bring into being a Bayreuth canon of Wagner's oeuvre, she presented a succession of hitherto unperformed Wagner operas in her own productions.[110] The musical guardian of this post-Wagner Bayreuth style was Julius Kniese (1848–1905), who had worked as Wagner's assistant at the time of the *Parsifal* première.[111] He devised after Wagner's death a comprehensive plan for future organization of the Bayreuth Festival.[112] Kniese put himself forward as the one true expert at Bayreuth, on the grounds that he had noted in his own score all the composer's instructions for the 1882 *Parsifal* performances.[113] In November

[103] Jürgen Kesting, *Die grossen Sänger* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 2008), vol. I, 192.
[104] Kolofiková, "Burian, Karel".
[105] J. Dostal, Roberto Celletti, and Th. Kaufmann, "Burian, Karel", in *Le grandi voci. Dizionario critico-biografico dei cantanti con discografia operistica,* compiled by Rodolfo Celletti (Roma: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1964), 103.
[106] Gramophone Company 042131, Matrix 169s.
[107] Kutsch–Riemens, "Burian, Karel", 510.
[108] Based on Burian's contract of 10 August 1900 (Magyar Állami Operaház Archívuma – Archives of the Hungarian State Opera).
[109] Hans Meyer, *Richard Wagner. Mitwelt und Nachwelt* (Stuttgart and Zurich: Belser, 1978), 289.
[110] Cosima Wagner, *Das zweite Leben. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen, 1883–1930,* ed. by Dietrich Mack (Munich: Piper, 1980), Vorwort, 11.
[111] Ibid., 786.
[112] Kesting, *Die grossen Sänger,* I, 156.
[113] Michael Karbaum, *Studien zur Geschichte der Bayreuther Festspiele (1876–1976).* I: *Textteil;* II: *Dokumente und Anmerkungen* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1976), I/34. Karbaum blames the Wagner style's misinterpretation after 1883 mainly on Kniese, not Cosima Wagner.

1892, he and Cosima jointly inaugurated the Bayreuther Stilbildungsschule,[114] which was intended to train up a new generation of singers conversant with the Bayreuth style. Kniese was no singing teacher, however, more of a mouthpiece for the principles of Cosima Wagner, teaching the Wagner style that he and Cosima thought authentic.[115]

According to the performance ideal of the Cosima period, priority went to a maximally dramatized, declaimed rendering, in as enhanced a voice as possible, to stop singers being drowned by the orchestra.[116] Under these criteria, score prescriptions were subordinate to enunciation of the text. Cosima Wagner underlined in her inaugural speech for the Stilbildungsschule that comprehensibility is a significant factor in dramatic works, especially those of Wagner, which in her view were primarily dramas.[117] Also essential were a thorough musical grounding and fidelity to the score, as the basis for the performing style.[118] Legato singing was only permitted in passages of an *arioso* nature; *portamenti* could be used only rarely and with good reason.[119]

But Cosima certainly went too far in not giving primacy to the music.[120] Richard Wagner's personal statements show clearly that he saw Italian *bel canto* as the starting point, on which he wished to base the singing style for his own works.[121] Kesting sums up the bases of Wagner's performance ideal as a fine voice, continual legato between the notes, *portamento* as the basis for linking intervals with a slight crescendo on up-

[114] David Mahlon Breckbill, *The Bayreuth Singing Style around 1900* (PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1991), 83–84.; Cosima Wagner, *Das zweite Leben,* 786. For Cosima Wagner's inaugural speech see op. cit., 311–13.

[115] He took on various conducting tasks from the age of 15, but never had regular singing instruction, having studied composition in Leipzig. See *Bayreuth 1896. Praktisches Handbuch für Festspielbesucher.* II: *Biographien und Porträts,* hrsg. von Friedrich Wild (Leipzig and Baden-Baden: Constantin Wilds Verlag, [1896]), 29. Yet he trained some excellent, world-renowned Wagner singers, such as Ernest van Dyck, Erik Schmedes, Anton van Rooy, Ellen Gulbranson, Alois Burgstaller, Hans Breuer, Otto Briesemeister, and Ernst Kraus.

[116] Michael Seil, "Der Bayreuther Vortragsstil auf Schallplatte, oder: Was können wir hören?" in *Ton-Spuren. 100 Jahre Bayreuther Festspiele auf Schallplatte,* hrsg. von Jasmin von Brünken (Bayreuth: Richard Wagner-Museum, 2004), 20–21.

[117] "Für die deutliche, sinngemäße Aussprache, diesen so wesentlichen Faktor bei der Ausführung aller dramatischen Werke, insbesondere aber der Werke des Meisters (welche vor allem Drama sind), wird das Erlernen und Ausführen von Schauspielen eintreten." Cosima Wagner, *Das zweite Leben,* 312.

[118] Ibid., 312.

[119] Seil, "Der Bayreuther Vortragsstil", 20–21.

[120] Meyer, *Richard Wagner,* 291.

[121] See, for instance, Cosima Wagner's diary entries for 3 August 1872 and 7 March 1878: Cosima Wagner, *Die Tagebücher,* vol. I: 1869-1877 (Munich: Piper, 1976), 556–557.; vol. II. 1878–1883 (Munich: Piper, Verlag, 1977), 54. Also Canto Spianato [Richard Wagner], "Pasticcio", in *Richard Wagners gesammelte Schriften,* vol. 7, hrsg. von Julius Kapp (Leipzig: Hesse und Becker, [n. d.]), 11–18. 12. First appearance: *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* I/63–64 (6 and 10 November 1834).

ward intervals and decrescendo on downward, *messa di voce,* and agility in performing trills, scales, ornaments and grace notes.[122]

It is worth reflecting on how the first Wagner singers to be heard on record, who had studied their parts under Wagner (Lilli Lehmann, Marianne Brandt, and Hermann Winkelmann), clearly did not match fully the style of performance expected by Cosima Wagner. After Wagner's death, they appeared in Wagner roles mainly in America and England, and more rarely in the Bayreuth of Cosima's day.[123] Similarly avoided was Julius Hey (1832–1909) who in 1875 had prepared several singers for appearances in the first Festival,[124] and in 1877 had been Wagner's choice for the post of singing teacher in a future Bayreuth school.[125] In 1884, one year after Wagner's death, he published the two-volume manual *Deutscher Gesangsunterricht,* in which he remarked in the introduction,

> In a number of better singers can be found another, equally worrying habit. They seek to meet the requirement of pronouncing the text intelligibly by giving each syllable excess emphasis, but this quite disturbs the musical phrasing, so that continuous, tied *cantilena* singing becomes impossible. This reprehensible manipulation often serves to disguise a singer's weakness and in many cases derives from a lack of basic voice training, i. e. it is an unforgivable expedient.[126]

This view being contrary to Cosima's text-centered principles, it is unsurprising there was no place for Hey in Bayreuth after Wagner's death. In effect he was replaced by Kniese.

The Cosima style of Wagner ruled in Bayreuth until the first decade of the 20th century. She and Kniese built up a staff of performers whom they trained, so that a singer might sing the same part for years. The autocracy in Bayreuth is exemplified by the fact that only one break in that casting continuity occurred: the famous American "theft" of *Parsifal* in 1903. None of those who took part in that production (probably with

[122] Kesting, *Die grossen Sänger,* I, 135.
[123] Seil, "Der Bayreuther Vortragsstil", 20.
[124] Kesting, *Die grossen Sänger,* I, 155.
[125] Cosima Wagner, *Die Tagebücher,* II, 1070.
[126] "Bei einer Anzahl besserer Sänger begegnet man einer andern, eben so bedenklichen Gepflogenheit. Diese suchen nemlich durch übertrieben scharfe Betonung jeder einzelnen Silbe den Anforderungen deutlicher Textaussprache gerecht zu werden, wodurch aber die musikalische Phrasirung völlig zerstört wird und eine gebundene, zusammenhängende Gesangscantilene niemals zu ermöglichen ist. Diese verwerfliche Manipulation dient häufig dazu, die vorhandenen Schwächen des Sangers zu verdecken und entspringt in vielen Fällen dem Mangel einer gründlichen Gesangsbildung, ist also ein nothdürftiger Behelf, der nicht zu entschuldigen ist." Julius Hey, *Deutscher Gesangsunterricht. Lehrbuch des sprachlichen und gesanglichen Vortrags,* vol. 1: *Sprachlicher Theil* (Mainz: B. Schott und Söhne, 1884), 4.

support from Munich, but against Cosima's protests),[127] were ever invited to Bayreuth again.[128] The following summer, in 1904, the first Bayreuth recordings were made, and those who appear on them represent the performing style deemed authentic by Cosima and Kniese.[129]

The death of Kniese and Cosima's heart complaints led to Siegfried Wagner taking over as head of the Bayreuth Festival in September 1906. He instituted the next era in the history of the Bayreuth Festival with a new production of *Lohengrin* on 22 July 1908.[130] Yet he remained under Cosima's shadow until the Great War, able to make only lesser, superficial changes, for instance by systematizing the program and timetable of the festival.[131] Even then the style of performance followed the line Cosima laid down.

Still, it is questionable what Hungarian critics of the time understood by Wagner style. It is almost impossible to discover which critics found their way to Wagner productions in Bayreuth or other notable foreign opera houses. Some mention their experiences in one or two reviews, but fail to specify quite what productions they saw or which singers featured in them. So their observations must be handled cautiously. It is obvious that Burian was a singer who did not perform in the exact spirit of Bayreuth at the time, and yet on hearing him the critics dubbed him a Wagnerian singer and made mention of Bayreuth in support. For Budapest reviewers, the concept of a "good Wagner performance" was entwined with the name Bayreuth, yet their reviews recall some marks of Burian's singing style.

His singing and his characterization are praised alike in early Budapest appearances.

> [His was] a Lohengrin of a kind not seen on our opera stage before. We have heard better singers – a lot better – but never a better Lohengrin. We can say only that he is a first-class Wagnerian singer, a true artist with a great style and great individuality of conception. […] We have never seen a role so worked as Burrian has done.[132]

[127] See Cosima Wagner's letter to Felix Mottl dated 28 September 1903: Cosima Wagner, *Das zweite Leben,* 642–643.

[128] The first American performance of *Parsifal* on 24 December 1903 was also the first performance outside Bayreuth. See *Annals of the Metropolitan Opera. The Complete Chronicle of Performances and Artists,* vol. 2. *Chronology 1883–1985,* ed. by Gerald Fitzgerald (New York: Metropolitan Opera Guild, Inc./Macmillan Press, 1989), 126. For more on the event see Spotts, Bayreuth, 141. Among the cast were Alois Burgstaller (Parsifal), Anton van Rooy (Amfortas), and conductor Alfred Hertz. They could never return to the Bayreuth Festival in Cosima's time, although Alois Burgstaller sang again there in 1909, under the directorship of Siegfried Wagner. See Cosima Wagner, *Das zweite Leben,* 828.

[129] For more on the 1904 Bayreuth recordings see David Mahlon Breckbill, *The Bayreuth Singing Style Around 1900* (PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1991).

[130] Meyer, *Richard Wagner,* 301.

[131] Geoffrey Skelton, "Bayreuth", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera,* ed. by Stanley Sadie, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan, 1997), 358.

[132] (e. á.), "Opera", *Egyetértés* 34/153 (6 June 1900), 4.

Some idea of his original, unaccustomed conception and thorough working of the part can be gained from comments in a review of a *Carmen* of the same time:

> Hitherto we saw him only in Wagner roles, in which we found his realistic interpretation interesting. He broke with tradition, out of the mold of Wagner's legendary heroes whose every movement was frozen into a cliché, and shaped figures of flesh and blood. This unusual verism was a surprise to audiences.[133]

But reviewers are often found not to describe Burian primarily as a Wagner singer. The following appeared in a *Pesti Hirlap* article when he made his Budapest début:

> He is a Wagner singer but not a Wagner hero. To those who personify Wagner's heroes, like those who portray Shakespeare's, we should apply the highest standard, which Burian meets only in part. His short, squat figure and still more his voice are to his disadvantage. He is more of a lyric tenor. […] His voice is sonorous, flexible, and very pleasant in the middle register, but too thin above G.[134]

This is not the only assertion that Burian in his time was no typical Wagner singer. It can be read in Izor Béldi's review of *Tristan* that "his style of voice and perhaps his personality point to the lyric sphere, but today he excelled in the hardest of Wagnerian heroic roles, arousing undivided, honest admiration for his stylish performance".[135]

Most of Burian's aria recordings offer German opera excerpts. Apart from the young Siegfried, Loge, and Parsifal, he recorded some excerpts from all the main Wagner roles. These discs allow Burian's Wagner style to be analyzed in detail, along with his performing techniques.

The best place to start the stylistic survey may be with a single remaining fragment of *Tristan,* as the title role is known to have been a favorite of his.[136] He first appeared in it in Munich on March 17, 1903,[137] then on May 3, 1904 in London,[138] and 2 November 1908 in Vienna.[139] London, Munich, and New York were the places where he sang the

[133] [Anonymous], "Operaház", *Budapesti Hirlap* 20/329 (30 November 1900), 9.
[134] [Anonymous], "(M. kir. operaház.)" [Royal Hungarian Opera] *Pesti Hirlap* 22/153 (1900. június 6.), 7. It has to be said that the article is problematic in other ways, not just for its rather ironic tone, but also because the paper published it again almost verbatim a year and a half later, after Burian's first appearance on becoming a contracted company member: [Anonymous], "M. kir. Operaház." *Pesti Hirlap* 23/258 (18 September 1901), 6.
[135] Dr. Izor Béldi, "Trisztan és Izolda. III", *Pesti Hirlap* 23/330 (29 November 1901), 7.
[136] [Anonymous], "Burian, Karel", in K. J. Kutsch und Leo Riemens, *Unvergängliche Stimmen. Sängerlexikon* (Bern und München: Francke Verlag, 1975), 103; also a note by Karl Böhm (*Musica,* 1973) quoting the sleeve notes of the Supraphon portrait disk (*Karel Burian. Operatic Recital*. Supraphon mono 0 12 1579. 1974); and Heinz Gerlach, "'Der beste Tristan'. Erinnerung an das Stimmwunder Karl Burrian", *Dresdner Neueste Nachrichten,* 27 September 1999. Press cutting in Dresden Opera House archives (no year, no., or page no.)
[137] Based on data on the German Theater data in the Theater Museum, Vienna.
[138] Based on a letter of 13 December 2010 from Erica Donaghy of the ROH Collections.
[139] Based on a letter of 27 September 2010 from Therese Gassnerof the Wiener Staatsopernmuseum.

part most often.[140] Gustav Mahler used to say the best American *Tristan und Isolde* performance he conducted was with Burian and Fremstad in the title roles.[141] Regrettably only a few minutes of Burian's interpretation survive: the Act II monologue beginning "Wohin nun Tristan scheidet".[142]

The tone of Burian's *Tristan* excerpt is statuesque – free of extreme expression of feeling. He can easily be imagined singing the monologue on stage in the same way. The last syllable of the opening question ("folgen") strangely extenuated, probably because German was not his native language. This appears also in a flatter pronunciation of "der Nacht" and "geht". The rhythm follows the score almost consistently, eschewing any declamation to assist the meaning of the text, and the use of decrescendo and crescendo to express feeling is restrained. One of the finest moments comes with the word "Liebesberge", where he slows down slightly and sings with a brighter hue.

Several *portamenti* can be found, most conspicuously at the beginning, connecting "Wohin" and "nun". Further slides occur at the words "meint", "wundernächt'ge", "folge" and "Isold". At one point Burian seems a little to be playing for effect in the way he presents the highest note in the monologue (F^2, "folge").

A similar device appears in both the Burian recordings of Siegmund's "Frühlingslied" known to me.[143] Burian's Czech accent can be heard twice in the same word on the 1911 recording, where he sings a flattened "e" in "dem" ("zwischen dem Wonnemond" and "lacht sie selig dem Licht") He uses several original ideas in the first passage of the excerpt before "mit zarter Waffen…", which shift the style toward *bel canto*. He softens the rhythm several times, singing a duplet instead of a quarter-note and eighth-note, and makes conspicuous use of *portamenti*. He ornaments the arch of the word "haucht" on both recordings with an appoggiatura, as he does a couple of bars later on "entblühen", though Wagner wrote out the ornament only at that point (Examples 1 and 2).

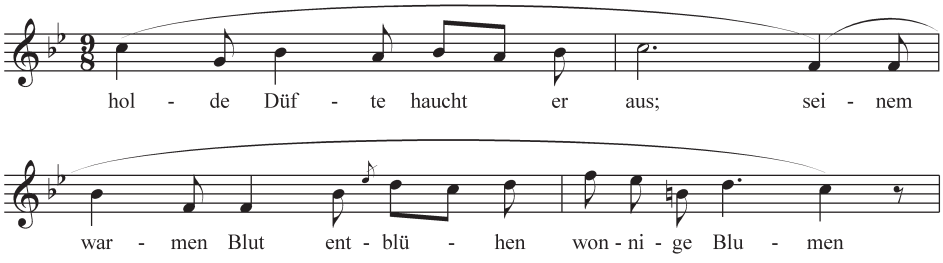
In the second passage, beginning "Mit zarter Waffen…", his performance inclines toward declamation and he sings shorter notes. On the other hand, he emphasizes the text "trennte von ihm" by doubling its length, drawing out the F^2 so far that the orchestral chord scored for the third beat sounds as the first beat of the next bar. Then the last of the three eighth-notes is spread over almost a complete bar. The rhythm is

[140] Based on a letter from Erica Donaghy, data from the Theatermuseum, Vienna, and Fitzgerald (ed.), *Annals of the Metropolitan Opera,* vol. 2.

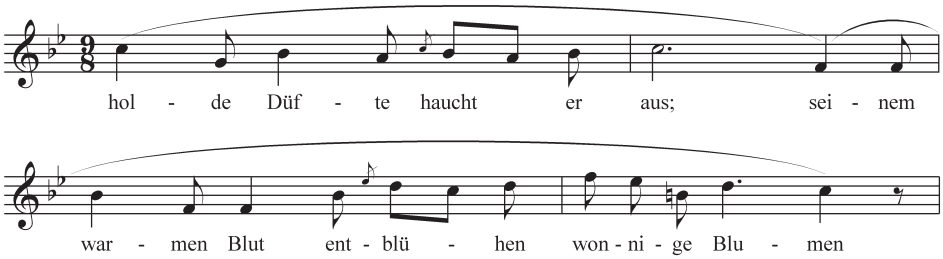
[141] Note by Alma Mahler. Irving Kolodin, *The Story of the Metropolitan Opera. 1883–1950. A Candid History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), 236.

[142] The whole recording can be heard on www.karelburian.cz. Unfortunately I had no chance to hear the *Tristan* excerpt sung by other performers of Burian's time.

[143] G. C. 4–42473, Matrix 15512b és Parlophon P 286, Matrix 2–7263. I could analyze in detail only the earlier of the two, made by the Gramophone Co. (heard on www.karelburian.cz). The speed of the Parlophon recording is less than 78 rpm.



Example 1: *Die Walküre,* Siegmund's Song of Spring, "holde Düfte…" – original



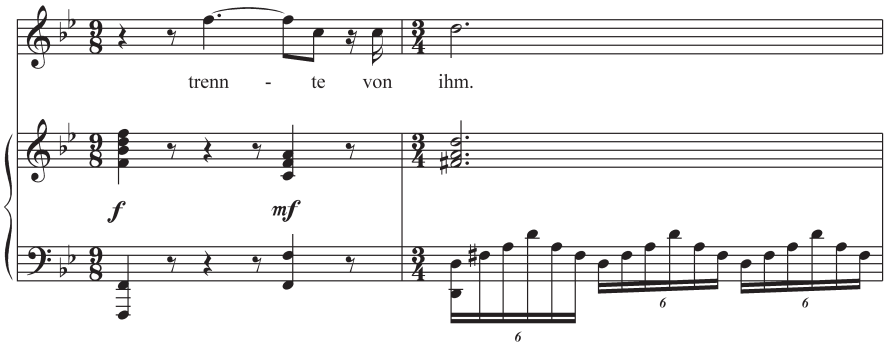
Example 2: *Die Walküre,* Siegmund's Song of Spring, "holde Düfte…" – Burian, GC 4–42473

rather more precise in the later, Parlophon recording, but the move off beat is felt more strongly (Examples 3–5).

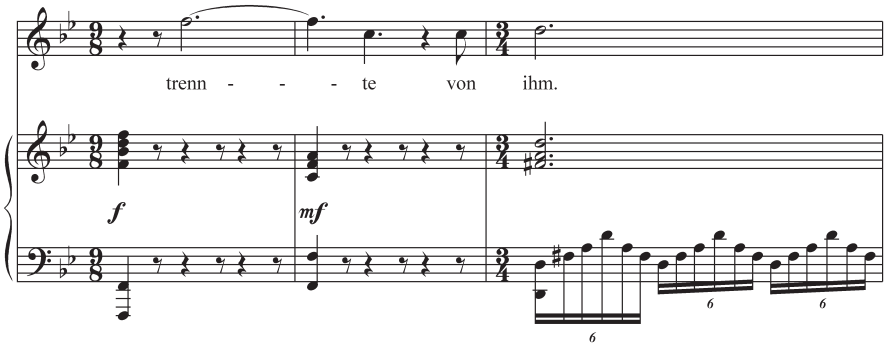
The following passage ("Zu seinen Schwester") uses several *portamenti,* for instance at the words "seinen", "Liebe", "Lenz", and "selig". He again sings shorter notes in the dotted section ("Die bräutliche Schwester…"), but in the closing section ("jauchzend grüsst sich…") he returns to broader singing, so that, for instance, the second, longer syllable of "vereint" arrives after the beat. Finally, the last note before the cadence (the "und" of "und Lenz") he starts sooner than he should and broadens it appreciably. Furthermore, on the Parlophon recording he arrives from "und" onto "Lenz" with a slide. This melodious gesture in both recordings is expressly Italianate, a seemingly *bel canto* element.

Comparing Burian's interpretation with recordings by other contemporary singers (Table 1), there are conspicuous differences of tempo. Burian is among the slower performers along with Alfred von Bary. Two famous German contemporaries, Ernst Kraus and Heinrich Knote, take Siegmund's song much faster.

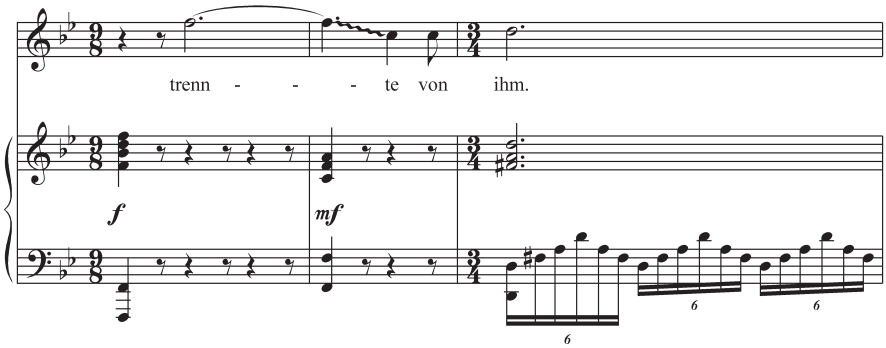
When compared the recordings may be seen as falling into two pairs. Kraus and Knote employ almost exactly the same performing techniques and tempi, while Burian and Bary sing "Winterstürme" in very similar ways. Kraus and Knote were considered



Example 3: *Die Walküre,* Siegmund's Song of Spring, "trennte von ihm" – original



Example 4: *Die Walküre,* Siegmund's Song of Spring, "trennte von ihm" – Burian GC 4-42473



Example 5: *Die Walküre,* Siegmund's Song of Spring, "trennte von ihm" – Burian Parl. P-286

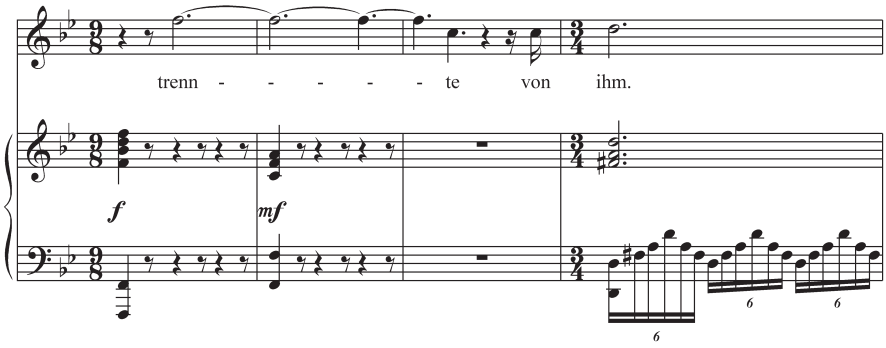
Table 1: *Die Walküre,* Siegmund's Song of Spring recordings compared

Singer	Date	Accompaniment	Catalogue No.	Matrix No.
Karel Burian	2 July 1911, Prague	Orchestra	G.C.2–42473	15512b
Alfred von Bary	1904, Bayreuth	Piano	G.C.2–42925	1136e
Ernst Kraus	27 April 1909, Berlin	Orchestra	G.C.4–42222	954ab
Heinrich Knote	[not known]	Orchestra	Edison Record	[n. a.]

the two most famous Wagner tenors singing in Germany at that time,[144] but while Kraus sang regularly in Bayreuth, Knote was a frequent guest at Covent Garden and the Metropolitan Opera, who never sang in Bayreuth.[145] The Burian/Bary pairing is remarkable because Ring Cycle performances during Burian's early years in Dresden regularly had Bary as Loge and Siegmund, while Burian sang the two Siegfried roles.[146] When Cosima Wagner visited Dresden in 1903, she found Bary the more worthy of the two to invite to Bayreuth, where he appeared regularly at the Festspiele between 1904 and 1914.

The "trennte von ihm" passage that Burian doubled in length Bary also sings over several bars, but he fits the end of the motif better to the original rhythm (Example 6). Kraus and Knote broaden the bar only a little and the rhythm in the score tends to remain.

Bary too employs *portamenti,* if not so often as Burian, while Kraus and Knote hardly use this technique at all. It is curious that Burian and Bary sing shorter notes in



Example 6: *Die Walküre,* Siegmund's Song of Spring, "trennte von ihm" – Bary GC 2-42925

144 Only Knote and Kraus received higher fees in Germany than Burian at that time. Letter from Graf Seebach, 23 May 1906, No. 740/06. Sächsisches Staatsarchiv Dresden, 10711 Ministerium des Königlichen Hauses Loc. 44 No. 35. Acta, das Königliche Hoftheater betreffend, 1906. 75v.

145 Desmond Shawe-Taylor, "Knote, Heinrich", in *The New Grove,* vol. 13, 699.

146 Based on playbills in the archives of the Dresden Opera.

the middle part ("mit starker Waffen…"), so making the performance more energetic, while Kraus and Knote seek to enhance it with longer, less truncated notes.

Burian has a unique solution for the closing motif. Bary uses a downward bend (on the word "Liebe"), but then sings the final notes in tempo. Kraus sings the cadence as written, while Knote broadens it, but far less than Burian. Kraus and Knote share the device of accelerating the passage, arriving by the end at an average tempo of M. M. 105–110.

To sum up, the performances of Burian and Bary, who had sung together in their Dresden years, resemble each other more closely, but Bary, Cosima's preference, interprets the score less freely. Indeed he is the only one of the four who audibly follows the performance instruction written by Wagner ("Zart") in singing the passage "lockte den Lenz" with a different timbre. Kraus and Knote stick closer to the score and their steadily continually increasing tempos lend their performances more verve than Burian's or Bary's. Of course we cannot judge from a recording why one had a chance to sing in Bayreuth and another not, but comparing the "Winterstürme" interpretations shows Kraus adhering most closely in the score, which he may have matched Cosima's expectations most closely.

In the Act III farewell scene of *Lohengrin,* Burian and Kraus also use typically different solutions for two cadence *fermatas*.[147] Burian appreciably broadens the first ("aus Schmach und Noth befreit") and even uses a *portamento* between the extended note and the following one. Kraus also stretches the crowning note, but goes on rhythmically, so intimating to the pianist the character and tempo of the next passage. At the second cadence ("Leb' wohl, leb' wohl!") Burian again puts a longer *portamento* before the cadence than Kraus does.

The passage of *Lohengrin* beginning "Höchstes Vertrau'n" provides a chance to compare Burian with one of Wagner's favorite singers, Hermann Winkelmann, who created Parsifal at the world première in 1882. Their two recordings are joined by those of Heinrich Knote again and of Fritz Vogelstrom (Table 2). Vogelstrom made his début in Bayreuth a year later than Burian, in 1909, as Parsifal, Lohengrin, and Froh,[148] and then succeeded Burian in Dresden.[149] The styles of Knote and Winkelmann are worth comparing as Winkelmann had still learned his from Wagner himself, while Knote was engaged mainly in Munich, and like Winkelmann in Cosima's time, appeared frequently in England and America.[150]

[147] Burian: Gramophone Company 2-72219, Matrix 12259L. The recording was made in April 1911. Burian sings in Czech. Kraus: Gramophone Company 3-42119, Code 3067L. The recording was made in 1905.

[148] Niehrenheim (hrsg.), *Wegweiser,* 222–223.

[149] Sächsisches Staatsarchiv Dresden, 10711 Ministerium des Königlichen Hauses Loc.44 Nr.44. Acta, das königliche Hoftheater betreffend. 1911. Registrered on 12 August 1911, 125.

[150] [Anonymous], "Winkelmann, Hermann", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians.* 2nd e., vol. 27, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 2001), 436.

Table 2: *Lohengrin,* "Höchstes Vertrau'n…" recordings compared

Singer	Accompaniment	Date	Catalogue No.	Matrix No.
Karel Burian	Orchestra	1906	G. C. 3-42585	1337r
Fritz Vogelstrom	Orchestra	1910	Parlophon P. 283.	2–373
Heinrich Knote	Orchestra	[not known]	Edison Record	[not known]
Hermann Winkelmann	Piano	1905	G. C. 042110	479c

On the Winkelmann and Vogelstrom recordings the passage marked "sehr ruhig" after the one beginning "Höchstes Vertrau'n" ("Dein Lieben muss ich hoch entgelten…") is also heard, but is absent from the Burian and Knote versions. Of the four singers, Vogelstrom and Knote employ denser vibrato, while Burian and Winkelmann sing more smoothly. The comparison shows that the singing styles of Burian and Winkelmann are not far apart. Both convey a slight sense of *bel canto*.

The four show big differences of *portamento* use. The slightest slide identifiable without computer analysis occurs on the one by Vogelstrom, who appeared more often in Bayreuth. There are two small instances, both within a range of a second (at "Glühen" and "bescheine"). Winkelmann and Knote bridge three broader and two narrower intervals with *portamenti,* while Burian has five broader and three narrower ones. All three use broader *portamenti* for "dünkst du mich werth" and "in dem dich".[151]

Burian does not land cleanly on the first note of the excerpt, but with a little slide. That also occurs several times in Winkelmann's recording. Burian adds further contrast between the first more rhythmic passage and the second more lyrical one by prolonging the dotted notes in the first. This device is also heard on the Winkelmann recording. The even second-part melody Burian softens further with short *portamenti* between the smaller intervals. There may be another sign of the Bayreuth concept in the way Vogelstrom refrains from any change of rhythm, eschews double pointing, and makes a bigger difference of tempo between "Langsamer" and the "Viel bewegter" passage.

That declamation may have been the prime attribute of the Wagner style for Hungarian critics is suggested by reviews of the time, which sometimes have surprisingly detailed reports on where one singer declaims and another not. In this case we cannot neglect the question what contemporary critics called "declamation". There is no entry for declamation in Schöpflin's drama dictionary, but the one edited by Bence Szabolcsi and Aladár Tóth identifies as the problem surrounding it the need to reconcile the laws of textual meaning and form with the intrinsic laws of musicality.[152] Further light on the period's declamation ideal is shed in the Wagner entry: "The Wagnerian

[151] Knote's third *portamento* falls on the word "Gebote" and Winkelmann's third on "glauben", while Burian's third occurs within the cadence formula "mög' glücklich".

[152] [Anonymous], "Deklamáció", in *Zenei lexikon. A zenetörténet és zenetudomány enciklopédiája* (Music dictionary. Encyclopedia of music history and musicology). 2nd expanded edition, ed. by Bence Szabolcsi and Aladár Tóth (Budapest: Győző Andor kiadása, 1935), vol. I, 213.

school of singing starts out from correct recitation […].”[153] Even after Burian’s death, declamation remained typical of the Wagner style as envisaged in Budapest. Presumably, if the key word for the style was declamation, it had to be compared to recitation, not melody. Critics repeatedly stated that Burian refrained from exaggerating the Wagnerian declamation in his performances, that his approach was more melodic and lyrical. Not should it be forgotten that he sang his Wagner roles in Italian, which may have affected the judgments of those hearing them. This was written in 1907 about his personation of Tristan:

> He places Wagner’s splendid love hero before us devoid of declamatory exaggeration, in a natural and thus striking way. […][154]

There is no knowing, of course, the yardstick by which the critic judged the performance to be “devoid of declamatory exaggeration” and “natural”. He may have been thinking of what the recordings show: a more melodic, *cantabile* approach to Wagner that pleased the journalist enough to make a special note of it. After Burian’s only *Meistersinger* appearance in the 1901–02 season, István Gergely writes similarly of “splendid recitation” that still “never loses its song character”.[155] But this did not always bring him undivided success. The following appeared after a *Walküre* performance in 1914:

> Declamation dominates in Siegmund’s singing part and Burrián’s enunciation lacks true pathos. He is more of a singer. His Siegmund was rich in singing finesse.[156]

If Burian can be said to have sung his Wagner roles more lyrically, sometimes in a more Italian style, it is conceivable for him to arrive at the Italian-based singing ideal presented earlier by Wagner, where the music, the singing, come first and the devices of *legato* and *portamento* gain more importance than the principles espoused by Cosima.[157] Of all Burian’s recordings, the monologue by Siegfried in Act 3 of *Götterdämmerung* offers the best chance to study his declamation.[158] He departs obviously from the score several times.[159] But still more important to the subject here is to see how he manages to sing more *portamenti* even in the basically speech-like section, without robbing his declamation of any *cantabile* character.[160]

153 Molnár Antal, “Wagner, Richard”, in Szabolcsi–Tóth, *Zenei lexikon,* II, 687.
154 [Anonymous], “Tristán és Isolde”, *Budapest* 31/228 (25 September 1907), 11.
155 G[ergely István], “Operaház” (Opera House), *Budapesti Napló* 7/135 (18 May 1902), 13.
156 [Anonymous], “Burrián: Siegmund”, *Független Magyarország* 14/10 (1914. január 11.), 12.
157 Burian’s recordings of Italian opera excerpts display perfect knowledge of Italian operatic style, even if they are not always so extreme as those of Caruso. For more see DLA dissertation, 109–112.
158 Gramophone Company 042305–042306, Code 2254c-2255c, with orchestral accompaniment. The recording, made in Prague on 27 June 1911, is accessible in the Vienna archives of GHT.
159 For instance right at the beginning of the excerpt, where the rhythm and the notes of the melody are sung differently from the score.
160 G[ergely István]., “Operaház.”, *Budapesti Napló* VII/135 (18 May 1902), 13.

Burian did not confine this *bel canto*-based style of declamation to Wagner's operas.[161] István Gergely, reviewing the Hungarian première of *Fedora,* had this to say of Burian's performing style in what counted as a modern Italian opera:

> He depicted Ipanov excellently in song and acting, and enraptured the audience not only in his unimpeachable Hungarian pronunciation of the text, but in his artistically delivered recitation, which remained as singing throughout.[162]

This singing-like recitation may have been the style of declamation that distinguished Burian's singing from the Wagner concept in Bayreuth at that time.

Cosima Wagner came to know Burian in Dresden in 1903.[163] But there must have been other reasons beside singing style for Karel Burian, one of the best Tristans of all time, to receive just one invitation to Bayreuth.[164] Writers have either ignored this or found it inexplicable and turned to guesswork.[165] One reason may have been his physique. When he was at last invited in 1908, he was not an unmitigated success and felt uncomfortable in the Bayreuth milieu.[166] A further reason may have been that Alois Hadwiger, with whom he alternated as Parsifal, was a protégé of Cosima.[167] Andor Somssich describes an awkward scene during Burian's stay in Bayreuth. After a dress rehearsal of *Rheingold,* the wife of Otto Briesemeister saw Burian with his back to her and managed to confuse him with Hans Breuer, the great interpreter of Mime. This so incensed Burian that he

> gave up his flat in Bayreuth. […] and never appeared among the audience again. The ruse did not work, however, as Burrian also seemed small on stage, especially beside the heftily built singers of Bayreuth.[168]

[161] This style of performance is conspicuous also in Burian's recordings of excerpts from Werther, especially in "Pourquois me réveiller" ("Was bin ich aufgewacht?", Gramophone 3–42586, Code 1335r, recorded in 1906). See DLA dissertation, 116.

[162] Gergely István, "Fedora", *Budapesti Napló* 7/144 (28 March 1902), 11.

[163] "Burrian erzählte in Dresden, wie er am Nachmittag um 3 Uhr in München angelangt sei und abends Tristan, ohne zu wissen, wo er zu stehen habe, gesungen." Letter from Cosima Wagner to Felix Mottl, Bayreuth, 28 September 1903. Cosima Wagner, *Das zweite Leben,* 643.

[164] Despite other claims in several sources, Burian sang in Bayreuth only in one year, 1908, when he and Alois Hadwiger shared the role of Parsifal. See "Dirigenten, Solorepetitioren und Vertreter Wagner'scher Hauptgestalten bei den Bühnenfestspielen in Bayreuth seit 1876", in *Wegweiser für Besucher der Bayreuther Festspiele 1911,* hrsg. von Georg Niehrenheim (Bayreuth: Georg Niehrenheim, [1911]), 222.

[165] While Bartoš, for example, sees it as a compliment that he was invited once, Einhard Luther discusses in detail the possible reasons why he was overlooked. Bartoš, *Karel Burian,* 29; Luther, *Helden an geweihtem Ort,* 355–357.

[166] Luther, *Helden,* 357.

[167] Kesting, *Die grossen Sänger,* vol. I, 178.

[168] Somssich Andor, *Harminc esztendő Bayreuthban* (Budapest: Rózsavölgyi és Társa, 1939), 143.

There is little need to detail how degrading it must have seemed to Burian, as a heroic tenor, to be mistaken for the tiny Breuer, playing a dwarf. Furthermore, the importance attached in Bayreuth to singer physique appears in a letter from Hans Richter to Cosima Wagner written in May 1904 after hearing Burian at Covent Garden:

> As Tristan and Tannhäuser Burrian was, vocally and musically, a model of security, but he is too short and his face has a comic look about it. A pity! Otherwise he is splendid and dear fellow who involves himself enthusiastically.[169]

Also to be learned from Hans Richter is that this special importance was attached to singer physique was confined to Bayreuth. He regularly recommended Bayreuth singers for Wagner productions in London, but after the 1906 Festspiele he also included the non-appearing Karel Burian, as suitable for Loge, Tristan and Tannhäuser, and "possibly the young Siegfried".[170] Thus he might well, in Richter's view, sing the character part Loge and the heroic tenor roles of Tristan, Tannhäuser, and Siegfried in London, if not in Bayreuth.

Burian, on the evidence of his recordings, did not fully meet Cosima's expectations for Wagner roles, and his physique made him a less than ideal heroic tenor. So how did he still become a world-famous Wagnerian tenor? Hungarian audiences would not have been alone in noting his characterizations, realistic for their time. He had the voice for the parts and his acting must have been convincing, for in Hungary especially, he was not in a venue that suffered any shortage of such tenors. After Wagner's death, Wagner singers touring America took there a style and a Wagner ideal that was different (perhaps somewhat more authentic) than Cosima Wagner's in Bayreuth. Burian at the Metropolitan, or even at the Royal Hungarian Opera, was free for many years to sing Loge, Walter von Stolzing, Siegfried, Tristan, Tannhäuser, and Lohengrin just as he thought fit.

(English translation by Brian McLean)

[169] Hans Richter's letter to Cosima Wagner dated 22 May 1904. Quoted in Christopher Fifield, *True Artist and True Friend. A Biography of Hans Richter* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 377.
[170] Letter from Hans Richter to Percy Pitt, dated 28 July 1906. Quoted in Fifield, *True Artist,* 388.

Veronika Kusz

Dohnányi's American Years
The Role of Commissions in the Development of His Late Style

This study is based on the author's PhD theses: *Dohnányi amerikai évei, 1949–1960* [Dohnányi's American Years, 1949–1960], defended in 2010 (research director: László Vikárius).

Ernő Dohnányi spent the last ten years of his life (October 1949–February 1960) in the United States, as professor of piano and composition at Florida State University (FSU) in Tallahassee. Teaching joined composing and concert performance as a decisive activity and source of income for him. The teaching was at a remote provincial university of a hardly middling academic standard, certainly not comparable to Berlin in the early years of the century or the Budapest Academy of Music in the 1920s and 1930s, where he had spent earlier periods as a professor. This plunge in status, isolation from international cultural life, defenselessness against the many political slanders made against him in the post-war period, and daily difficulties as an émigré all left marks on his creativity. I set out in my dissertation to offer a monograph treatment of the period based on original, hitherto unknown source materials to be found in Dohnányi's American papers. This study sums up its findings in one respect: the role played by the commissions he received as a composer.

1. Antecedents of the research: the sources

Interest in Dohnányi and his musical activity has grown considerably in the last decade. There had appeared a monograph by Bálint Vázsonyi[1] and some other, minor studies during the first forty years after his death, but scholarly discourse and an actual research process had not really begun. The renewed interest in the 1990s had some political motives behind it, but systematic research into Dohnányi was also prompted by a change of musicological approach.[2] The most significant event in international research came on 1 January, 2002, when the scholarly activity finally gained an institu-

[1] Bálint Vázsonyi, *Ernő Dohnányi* (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1971; [2]Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 2002).
[2] The two most significant publications of new Dohnányi scholarship in about 2000 were James A. Grymes, *Ernst von Dohnányi. A Bio-bibliography* (Westport, Connecticut/London: Greenwood Press, 2001) and Deborah Kiszely-Papp, *Ernst von Dohnányi Ernő* (Budapest: Mágus, 2001).

tional background: the Dohnányi Archives of Budapest (Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences).

Yet research into Dohnányi has not been equally fruitful in every field: publication of the data and source materials essential for it and research into the composer's draft versions have been upstaged by complex, critical examination of his life's work[3] and by musical analysis in general,[4] although the underlying work should have come first. Thorough knowledge of the composer's work and place in history has extra importance in Dohnányi's case, as consensus on his assessment has yet to be reached at home or abroad, and in part that is precisely because those interested are forced to rely on superficial knowledge, for want of the kind of the specialist literature needed to form a judgment. For that reason I undertook in my dissertation to study and form a critical assessment of the composer's American years (1949–1960), as a definable stage in his life and creativity.

The American years, like Dohnányi's earlier periods, have yet to be studied in depth. A history of the decade was presented by Marion Ursula Rueth,[5] but her subject was only a thin slice of the composer's activity (his FSU professorship), and she presented important data without scholarly interpretation or evaluation. This left the chapter in Vázsonyi's monograph, some twenty pages long, as the most comprehensive study of the period so far. He touched on many aspects, but primary sources have shown that his data were often unreliable and his interpretation assailable. In view of the limited literature on Dohnányi's American years, I took the primary source materials as my basis and starting point. I had the chance to do research in the most important US Dohnányi collections (the Dohnányi and Kilényi–Dohnányi collections at the Warren D. Allen Music Library of the FSU, Tallahassee), as a Fulbright grantee in 2005–2006, when I took part in cataloging work there as well. I also used sources in Ohio University (Athens), the George Bragg Estate (Fort Worth, Texas), the National Széchényi Library (Budapest), and elsewhere. So my thesis is based on 5000 original, mainly unpublished items of source material – Dohnányi's correspondence, his other official and personal documents, his notebooks and pocket calendars, scrapbooks with newspaper cuttings and concert programs, autograph musical sources, printed scores of Dohnányi works, the composer's collection of printed scores of other composers' works, and DAT recordings of his concerts.

[3] See for example the press reception of Dohnányi's work between 1887 and 1905, published by László Gombos (in the *Dohnányi Yearbook*s for 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, and 2006/7).

[4] See for example Ilona Kovács, "Dohnányi Ernő zeneszerzői műhelyében. Az I., A-dúr vonósnégyes (op. 7) I. tételének születése" [In Dohnányi's compositional workshop. Birth of the 1st movement of the String Quartet No. 1., A major], *Magyar Zene* 43/2 (May 2005), 155–178.

[5] Marion Ursula Rueth, *The Tallahassee Years of Ernst von Dohnányi,* MA thesis (Florida State University [FSU], Tallahassee, 1961.)

2. Dohnányi in Florida: living conditions, finances, and activities

Dohnányi left Hungary in November 1944 and spent most of his time in Austria up to 1948. He chose Argentina as his place of domicile, mainly for family reasons: there was no other country prepared to accept his partner in life, Ilona Zachár, and her teenage children. The conditions they found in Argentina, however, were worse than expected, and the family was soon thinking of another move. The United States was an obvious choice, as Dohnányi had enjoyed a high reputation with the public there some decades before.

At the music department of the FSU there was very rapid development at that time. A new, excellently equipped building was opened and new graduate programs commenced, followed in 1951 by an organized doctoral teaching program in music.[6] The dean of the music faculty was Karl Kuersteiner, who had studied for a short time in Budapest and knew Dohnányi's reputation well. So when Dohnányi's American impresario, Andrew Schulhof, got in touch with the FSU about a possible concert in Tallahassee, the dean took things a stage further by offering Dohnányi a chair in composition and piano.[7]

The newly appointed professor arrived in the capital of Florida on 17 October 1949. Tallahassee at that time was a small, remote city of 30,000 inhabitants of no cultural or touristic importance, although it would provide a quiet haven for the Dohnányi family. The place may well have seemed favorable after the troubled period of almost exactly five years since they had left Hungary. Whatever the case, this is how the composer recounted his first impressions:

> When I saw Tallahassee I immediately liked it. I always said it was like a village in an enormous, beautiful garden. The age-old oak trees that line the streets, from which Florida moss is hanging at present, the squirrels jumping here and there, the winter-flowering camel[l]ias and the spring azaleas, whose lush colors magically transform the city into a fairyland. Everything, everything was enchantingly lovely. […] I love Tallahassee.[8]

At the university, Dohnányi taught piano at several levels in several forms: he gave private and group tuition mainly to students at *graduate* level, while running one *under-*

[6] John Kilgore, "New Building Helps: FSU Music School Winning Top Rank", *Tallahassee Democrat* (without date) (FSU Dohnányi Collection).
[7] Kuersteiner's letter to Dohnányi, 8 April 1949 (FSU Dohnányi Collection).
[8] The passage quoted is missing from the English translations. Cf. Ernst von Dohnányi, *Message to Posterity,* Ilona von Dohnányi (transl.), Mary F. Parmenter (ed.), (Jacksonville, Florida: Drew, 1960). Second edition: Ernst von Dohnányi, Ilona von Dohnányi, "Message to Posterity", in *Perspectives on Ernst von Dohnányi,* James A. Grymes (ed.) (Lanham, Maryland–Toronto–Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, 2005), 193–215.

graduate and one *graduate* course in composition, to which were added in later years the tasks of conducting the orchestra and holding dissertation consultations. One permanent fixture on his timetable was an open *piano repertoire class* that was extremely popular with students and staff alike. It was a twist of fate that teaching contributed the most to his income in a period when he was dealing with students of modest capabilities. Yet he grew fond of his American students, who naturally appreciated him hugely – for many he became a friend, more broadly a professional support, and even a kind of father figure. Their devotion is exemplified in this farewell letter from one of them:

> I shall enjoy my year here – but I can hardly explain my feelings about leaving you. To say the very least, it is upsetting. My two years of study have been heaven for me – but you already know that, I am sure. You couldn't help but have felt that all this time. I can scarcely use so weak a term as "thank you"… it doesn't nearly express my real appreciation.[9]

His work with composition students proved less successful. Dohnányi had already expressed to the dean, in letters when he was concluding his contract, his poor opinion of the generation of young composers. This did not alter during his Florida years:

> There are nowadays very-very few composers in the whole world who should be allowed to compose. […] Now I don't mind "modernity" if the composer knows his "business", but generally he knows nothing, generally he hardly can harmonize decently a simple melody not to speak of his inability to solve the easiest task of counterpoint. Here most probably I shall want an assistant teacher; at least my demand will be that the student is well acquainted with the rules of harmony and the elements of counterpoint.[10]

Vázsonyi gives a very negative description of the university milieu and the conditions in which Dohnányi worked, but knowledge of the original documents casts doubt on his version, making it somewhat tendentious to say that the insensitivity and jealousy of the Tallahassee leadership led to the terms of the first contract being overturned and indirectly to the collapse of the aged composer. It appears from surviving source materials that discounting private students, Dohnányi took six to eight lessons a week, which crept up to twelve in two terms, but fell to four to six in his final years. So his timetable was filled to the extent envisaged by the university only in the hardest year. If it is noted that his absences were more frequent than had been envisaged in the original negotiations (47 teaching days in 1955, for instance) and that the number of recitals and other performances he gave were far fewer than Kuersteiner had expected, it becomes

[9] Sitges's letter to Dohnányi, 8 August 1955 (FSU Dohnányi Collection).
[10] Dohnányi's letter to Kuersteiner, 3 August 1949 (FSU Dohnányi Collection).

clear that the university leaders cannot be blamed for the difficulties to the extent that Vázsonyi claims.

Dohnányi contracted with the FSU for a sum of $5600 for the three terms of the 1949–50 academic year,[11] and he thought up to October 1949 that he would be able to augment his teaching salary with high fees for giving concerts. The concerts, however, were canceled one after another, partly for political reasons, which shook the family's position. The financial difficulties eased in subsequent years as Dohnányi's salary increased to $7500 in 1950–51 and $8400 in 1955–54,[12] which was augmented by fees for concerts and commissioned works. But this did not prove comfortably sufficient for the family. Their attitude to bank overdrafts, which differed from the American view, were coupled with the anxieties that had built up over the previous straitened five years to enhance their general ill-feeling. Yet Dohnányi's income did not give them a critically low standard of living. They bought a house of their own and paid off the loan in seven to eight years. They were able to put their foster children, who were in their twenties, through university and give them further financial assistance, so that the other members did not have to go out to work. In fact US economic statistics show that Dohnányi's income was relatively high: average income was $2366 in 1950 and $3440 in 1955.[13] Dohnányi had undoubtedly lived much better at earlier periods in his life, but these figures must alter the previous picture of his finances significantly. The statements in the biographies that the canceled concerts led to looming financial crisis and that he faced unpleasant conditions at the university need at least to be toned down.

The political accusations against Dohnányi clearly had a bearing on some of the concert cancellations around 1949–1950. The libels started in post-World War II Europe were revived in 1947 by Ferenc Göndör, owner of a Hungarian-language paper in New York, who approached several musical and political bodies pressing for a boycott of Dohnányi. Attempts to refute the false accusations were made by several of Dohnányi's Hungarian and American colleagues (including Edward Kilényi, John Kirn, Imre Waldbauer, Miklós Schwalb, and Tibor Serly), but even after some years, no satisfactory conclusion was reached. The pressure put on him slowly began to ease in the mid-1950s, probably because the political winds of McCarthyism blew in the opposite direction, but it emerges from family letters that the central arguments of those close to the composer were that his career had been hampered mainly by political prejudices and "livelihood jealousies" disguised as a political issue.

Despite the difficulties, Dohnányi appeared on the concert platform 124 times between his settlement in the United States and his death.[14] This averaged about once a month. Though in his youth he had been known to play publicly ten or even fifteen

[11] FSU's letter to Dohnányi, 6 July 1949 (FSU Dohnányi Collection).
[12] Dohnányi's contracts, 18 May 1950, August 1954 (FSU Dohnányi Collection).
[13] <www.census.gov> (accessed: 8 September 2012).
[14] For a list of the concerts see the dissertation.

times a month, it is a sizable number bearing in mind his age and teaching commitments. Most of the Tallahassee concerts (around a third of the total) were under his agreement with the university. Those held elsewhere were more important in several respects, not least financially, but it was important to his political rehabilitation that his audience should not be geographically confined. A real breakthrough would have involved successes in big cities, but there had been no repeat of his 1953 New York premiere. The usual venues throughout the period were smaller provincial, usually university cities.[15] He built up excellent ties with smaller cities, where he appeared several times, and these may well have been the most decisive bonds in his American years. Notably there was Athens, Ohio, where there arose almost a cult around Dohnányi personally and his appearances there. As one Athens music critic put it in the tenth season:

> This reviewer has written so many passages about our perennial and celebrated visitor, Dr. Ernst von Dohnanyi, that to do so again is to revert to a habit. Nevertheless, the annual visit of this world renowned musician to our campus never fails to be of interest, never fails to bring encouragement and renewed enthusiasm to our musical community.[16]

The enthusiasm was largely these were composite occasions (and not just in Athens). He would appear at once as a pianist, a chamber musician, a conductor, a lecturer, and of course a composer. As the same reviewer goes on to say:

> […] we know him so well that we are not surprised when he reveals to us something new about himself.[17]

Dohnányi had much need of the appreciation he won in that university environment, for his attempts to break into the metropolitan area of American musical life had been less than successful. Only sporadically could he appear in major American cities, through the influence of earlier acquaintances such as Doráti and Reiner. It is no exaggeration to say he was largely ignored by the musical establishment. Typically, Dohnányi's name scarcely occurs in the great US music-history monographs and dictionaries of the 1950s and 1960s, though they deal in detail with the contribution of the émigré European composers who arrived during and after World War II.[18] The main

[15] His one concert in New York City took place in Carnegie Hall, on 9 November 1953; he played his Piano Concerto No. 2. Some concerts in other major cities: San Francisco (1951), Chicago (1954), Minneapolis (1957).

[16] Paul Fontaine, "Celebrated Musician a Master in Field of Chamber Music", *Athens Messenger* (28 March 1957).

[17] Paul Fontaine, "Famous Artists Give Piano-Violin Recital", *The Athens Messenger* (13 March 1952).

[18] For example: John Tasker Howard and George Kent Bellows, *A Short History of Music in America* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1967); Irving Sablosky, *American Music* (Chicago–London: The University of Chicago Press, 1969); H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Music in the United States: A Historical Introduction* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc., 1969) = *Prentice-Hall History of Music Series.*

reason to see Dohnányi's American years as the most problematic period in his life is because his mark and status did not improve in ten years. By comparison, the financial problems and the overwork exaggerated by Vázsonyi seem less dramatic.

Still, another factor behind his neglect by concert-goers outside the universities may well be his conservative musical style. The US music world of the 1950s can hardly be blamed for failing to embrace an émigré whose style had counted as anachronistic for decades. It is interesting to see how Dohnányi himself viewed the case, for he had been steadily losing support since the end of the 1930s and his relation to contemporary music had become a key livelihood issue for him. This conflict and the isolation he bore with varying degrees of resignation became a prime feature of his American years, and the most decisive one in his musical output as well.

All in all, Dohnányi can certainly be called active as a composer in his American years. If the *Second Violin Concerto* (op. 43, 1949–50) begun in Argentina is included, nine works belong to this period, of which three piano pieces (op. 44, 1951) and two flute compositions (op. 48, 1958–59) share opus numbers. In addition there are two sets of piano études vital to his teaching work; two re-workings of the 2nd Symphony he wrote in the war years; and some other works left incomplete or in sketch form, or planned pieces which he did not to my knowledge begin. These form a varied group in genre and apparatus, and several opuses are exceptional for him. The flute works and the *Harp Concertino* (op. 45, 1952) are instrumental departures, while the *Stabat Mater* (op. 46, 1952–53) stands out for its religious text and the *American Rhapsody* (op. 47, 1952–53) for its loan materials.

The unusual features are often explained by composition circumstances, for some were commissioned. This again distinguishes his American period, as Dohnányi had a deep distaste for commissions and had seldom accepted them. In America, though, he needed the commissions to help him assert himself (to ease his isolation, gain greater recognition as a composer, and stave off the political calumnies) and for financial reasons. However, there were other, more significant factors than choice of instruments, texts, or musical material behind the question of whether a work was composed in this period had or did not have a commission to back it. This aspect is considered in the sections that follow.

3. Commissioned compositions

Within Dohnányi's life's work, *Stabat Mater* is perhaps the most unusual of the American works. The choice of a religious text is unusual for him, if not unprecedented. Was he turning to religion after the trials he suffered in the war and in exile? Even more surprising is the apparatus: the work is for double boys' choir. Naturally this could occur in a commissioned work. The commission came from George Bragg in Texas, choirmaster of the Denton Civic Boy Choir. The choir, which is still active, was

a few years old in 1952, when Dohnányi was approached. There was no doubt about the young choirmaster's ambitions, however. It already emerged in a newspaper article of 25 September 1952 that Dohnányi was only the first, not the only composer Bragg would commission to compose for the Denton singers. (As planned over 125 contemporary composers enriched their repertory over ensuing decades.)[19] Dohnányi had been to North Texas early in 1949, before he settled in the United States, and his recitals and master classes had been favorably received. Indeed the director of Texas Christian University in Fort Worth offered him a tenured professorship,[20] although Bragg did not meet him at that time and his choice of him had different grounds:

> The medium of boy choir has in it many of the qualities of a chamber group. […] We knew, of course, that we were looking for a master of chamber music. Ernest von Dohnanyi, the noted pianist and composer, and composer-in-residence at Florida State University, was selected since his concerted chamber works have long been highly valued by the world's greatest artists, and since his compositions have always had a freshness and youthful enthusiasm about them. He is a composer of melody with a touch of modern inventiveness. These outstanding qualities in his work led us to choose him for this first step in enlarging the modern repertoire of boy choir music.

The instrumental and chamber-music character of the oratorio-like composition is indeed a special attribute, apparent in the shaping of the work, disposition of the text, and fabric of the music. Here as in other one-movement instrumental works, Dohnányi blended his classical forms. The sonata-allegro, rondo, and variation forms can all be identified: *A–B–A'–B'–C–C'–A''–B''–coda.* The concept is far from self-evident, for *Stabat Mater* settings akin to it in period (Poulenc, 1950) or musical style (Dvořák, 1877; Verdi, 1898) or other criteria (Pergolesi, 1736) normally follow one of two formal strategies: either to build in line with the strophe breaks in closed movements, or to order structurally by the suggested textual images. Dohnányi followed a different principle of arrangement through interpretation of the text, by fitting it into a strict instrumental form.

Patterns for the work's formal build appear in Dohnányi's output mainly in his chamber music, and the same applies to the fabric: the variation principle is decisive. Apart from the variation relations of the formal units in the equation, there are found many other more reticent motif connections, which ultimately produce the work's homogeneous style. The motif relations derive from the orchestral introduction, which acts as a thematic kernel, for almost all the musical material bears some relation to it.

[19] "Denton Choir Commission to Dohnanyi" [without author] (25 September 1952); newspaper cutting in Bragg's diary without source (Bragg's Estate, Fort Worth, Texas).

[20] Ilona von Dohnányi, *Ernst von Dohnányi. A Song of Life,* ed. by James A. Grymes (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002), 168.

The introduction appears to follow two historical models: the "Selig sind" movement in Brahms' *German Requiem,* and Pergolesi's beginning to his *Stabat Mater,* as a link to its historical predecessors. So musically, the *Stabat Mater* does not add anything new to Dohnányi's earlier works, and indeed it ties this work closely to them. Although it cannot be ruled out that the choice of text reflects an aged, beleaguered composer turning to religion, the work's harmonics, shaping, and fabric, and *Weltanschauung* apparent in the individual constructions he puts on the text,[21] match so closely Dohnányi's earlier compositions that this – not some new-fangled religious outlook on life – is the context in which to interpret it, strengthened perhaps by the change in his living conditions.

A radically different creative environment appears in Dohnányi's single-movement orchestral *American Rhapsody* (op. 47), which can be assumed to mark an adaptation to his new country and a tribute to it, as an earlier analyst, Laura Moore Pruett, pointed out in the title of her study.[22] It was written for the 150th anniversary of Ohio University, as a result of the relationship with Athens described already. The commission dated from 1951 and the work was first played in February 1954 to the university public, and it was a huge success, of course. Like the *Stabat Mater* it has a single movement, which can be seen as a multi-movement form drawn into one. This is how the composer introduced it:

> The work begins with the popular "On Top Of Old Smoky" freely used as Introduction. The first main part consists of 3 variations on the White Spir[i]tual "I Am A Poor Wayfaring Stranger" (Andante quasi adagio). The third variation leads imperceptibly into the middle section, a gay Kentucky Mountain Song, "The Riddle" (Allegretto vivace). This is interwoven with the universally known "Turkey in the Straw". After a short return to the first measures of the "Wayfaring Stranger" worked up contrapuntally, the third, concluding part begins as a quick Presto. The well known "Sweet Betsy From Pike" appears in one of two Country Dances. The work ends with a few measures of "Alma Mater Ohio" together with one of the Country Dances and referring once again to "Old Smoky".[23]

To make the account easier to follow, let me distinguish five passages *(A, B, C, D, E)* of key dramatic importance, although the introduction (*A,* bars 1–44) and the return of the "Wayfaring Stranger" melody (*D,* bars 217–36) cannot be seen as separate. This unusual form was labeled a rhapsody, a term which Dohnányi said placed no curbs on him, as it implied formal freedom, digression, and a "rhapsodic" character. He added

[21] For the analysis of Dohnányi's *Stabat Mater*-interpretation see the full text of the dissertation.
[22] Laura Moore Pruett, "Dohnányi's *American Rhapsody,* Op. 47: An Émigré's Tribute to the New World", in *Perspectives on Ernst von Dohnányi,* ed. by James A. Grymes (Lanham, Maryland–Toronto–Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, 2005), 165–179.
[23] Dohnányi's program note without date (Ohio University: Baker Files).

that Opus 47 might even have been named "American Fantasia".[24] Yet the disciplined, traditional approach to form taken by Dohnányi is exemplified in the way his seemingly free overall form is made up of traditional units: a slow introduction *(A)* is followed by a three-section variation form *(B),* joined later by a fourth variation *(D),* surrounded by two trio forms (*C, E* – the second with a type of theme more reminiscent of a rondo).

Yet the links between the sections are a little problematic. At the cusp of *B* and *C,* for example, the last motif of the "Wayfaring Stranger" melody becomes the start of a section of "The Riddle" (bars 134–46). Although the composer's description has "the third variation lead imperceptibly into the middle section", the resolution of the motif transformation does not fit snugly into the musical sequence. The other units are also linked loosely, and the units of form are dramatically independent, yet too brief for the work simply to appear as an *attacca* juxtaposition of several instrumental forms. One wonders what this strange form, tied though quite conventional in its elements, can refer to, what the brokenness and unevenness of it can mean, and what relation all this can bear to the basic melodic material.

The looseness of overall form can be ascribed partly to the diversity of musical material. Most imposing is the "white spiritual" entitled "Wayfaring Stranger": an Aeolian (Dorian) key, a pentatonic stock of tones, polysyllabic lines, and an arched *(aaba)* structure. The two lines of "Old Smoky", on the other hand, offer minimal basic musical material. Perhaps the clearest is "The Riddle" with its dance step and simple Mixolydian alternation of fifths, while "Turkey in the Straw" seems overly complicated in its motifs and "Sweet Betsy" too simple, especially compared with the Hungarian folk songs Dohnányi used in other works. The composer's hierarchy is reflected in the way he presents, treats and shapes them, and in some cases this suggests why he chose them. The last two mentioned, for instance, appear only as a fleeting comic episode. Their material is not used elsewhere in the work, making them isolated in motivic terms. "Sweet Betsy", in fact, appears just once, as a contrast to other material. Still, such comically simple tunes can be witty if appropriately orchestrated, which is probably why they came to Dohnányi's attention. He also cuts the "Old Smoky" melody off from its environment, but it was probably chosen for an expressly motivic reason: it must have been brought into the *Rhapsody* for its fanfare-like melodic opening of triads. He may have been drawn to the country dances and "The Riddle", so much more emphatic than the previous passages, since they too provided raw material ripe for motivic treatment. So all in all it seems that Dohnányi considered various *musical* criteria when making his choices, not their historical environments or texts, or any interrelations between them.

[24] Myron Henry, "Would Join OU Faculty: Interview With Composer von Dohnanyi Furnishes Interpretation of 'Rhapsody'", *Ohio University Post* (26 February 1954).

The sole exception seems to be "Wayfaring Stranger", where he expressly underlined its independence and mint condition, so setting it on the peak of his treatment hierarchy (Example 1a). Elsewhere he is inclined to hurry along the development of a melody on its first appearance, but for "Wayfaring Stranger" he leaves ample time, making it an untouched island in the composition process, its intimate tone standing in stark contrast to its colorful, even brash environment. The composer largely broke up the other melodies he used, while the tune of "Wayfaring Stranger" is left whole even during the variations. Furthermore, the form attaching to it proves to be the fullest and most singular of the units of the composition. So it is fair to assume that for some reason the melody had greater significance for Dohnányi.

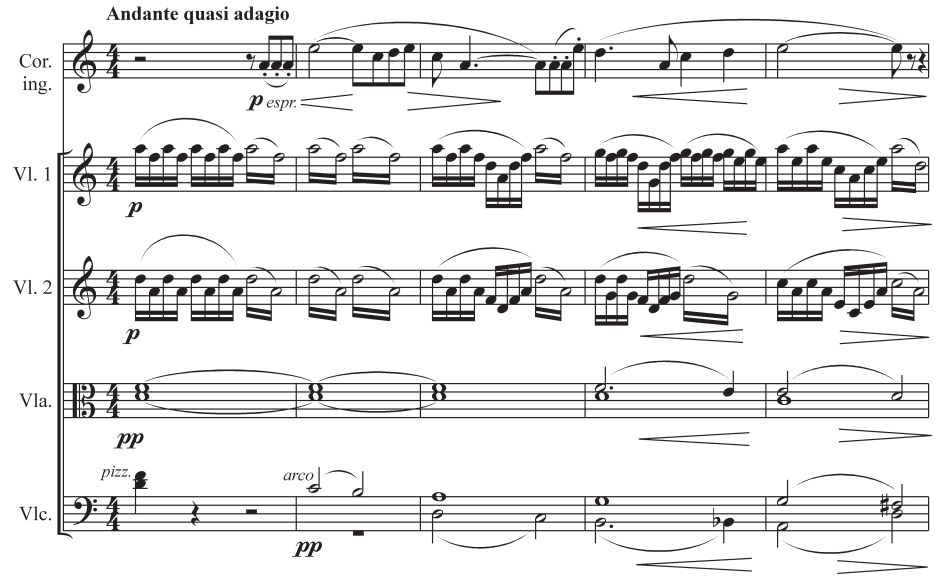
Pruett assumed that Dohnányi saw in "Wayfaring Stranger" a symbol of his own destiny in the difficult wandering years that followed his emigration.[25] This insight gains credence from a comment in the *Song of Life,* a biography of Dohnányi written by his third wife:

> I knew that this voyage could bring us wealth, fame, and comfort, I feared that we would instead remain unhappy aliens and wayfaring strangers forever.[26]

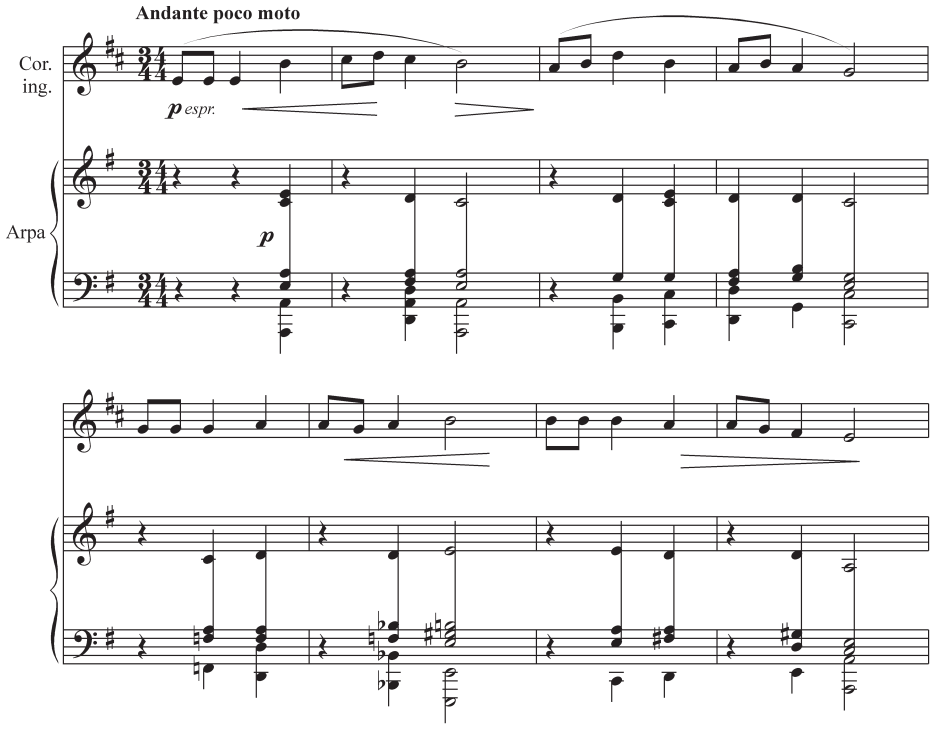
Pruett drew out this justifiable assumption into a programmatic explanation for the diverse characters of the variations. He even went so far as to bring up "Wayfaring Stranger" to explain the second variation, the one furthest in mood from the theme melody,[27] arguing that its combativeness conveyed Dohnányi's feelings on the cruelty of fate. This assumption seems less than convincing, but offers a good starting point for seeking some kind of program in that dramatic sequence of character variations.

Hearing the spiritual played on cor anglais in *American Rhapsody* over an organ point of strings, it is not hard to link it with the slow movement of Dvořák's *New World Symphony*. Yet there is a deeper relation discernible in the composer's own works: in terms of these the orchestration of the "Wayfaring Stranger" melody is irrefutably reminiscent of the variation movement of *Symphonic Minutes* (op. 36, 1933–34). There is a resemblance in its centering on the cor anglais, in the plaintive subject, and in the musical structure: upward fifths and a Dorian tinge (Example 1a–b). The dramatic similarity between the two passages becomes even plainer when the variations begin. There is kinship in the soft woodwind decoration of the melody and in the strong character, fabric and span of the second variations, offsetting the fine intoning. Likewise, the similarly developed subject and variations with a similar texture appearing in conspicuously the same order suggest that Dohnányi simply rewrote the variations of *Symphonic Minutes* using new material. So the set of variations can be said not to be

[25] Pruett, "Dohnányi's *American Rhapsody*", 171.
[26] Ilona von Dohnányi, *A Song of Life,* 168.
[27] Pruett, "Dohnányi's *American Rhapsody*", 171 and 173.



Example 1a: *American Rapsody,* the variation theme



Example 1b: *Symphonic Minutes,* beginning of movement IV

conceived musically in a strict sense: the subject is not determined by its own musical attributes, but rather derived from the crystallized scheme or variation strategy of an earlier composition. In the light of that, it is worth searching for ties to other pieces in the composer's life's work.

By the time *American Rhapsody* was written, the American musical nationalism of Aaron Copland and Roy Harris could be said to be out of style.[28] Dohnányi, of course, had no affinity with any political or social aspects of musical Americanism, or only insofar as it embodied an accessible, anti-modernist style of writing. If a parallel is sought for the Americanism in Dohnányi's music, it might be Dvořák's Ninth, *New World Symphony,* where the specific musical resemblances combine with a related approach. For Dvořák's subtitle "From the New World" describes an essential situation: the work reflects the impressions of an alien, a visitor to the New World environment. The title is addressed to the non-American public, to the Old World. Similarly, Dohnányi's *Rhapsody* is tied far more to the European past than it can be said to seek a means of expression in the extant American music of its day. In examining the factors behind Dohnányi's Americanism it should be remembered that *American Rhapsody* would never have been composed without strong support from the Baker family, and above all had it not been for Dohnányi's strong obligation to Ohio University. All this suggests that *American Rhapsody* is a symbol of intimate friendship, rather than homage to a new home country.

One model for his work that Dohnányi mentioned was Liszt's *Hungarian Rhapsody* series, perhaps for the underlying formal concept, perhaps for the stylistic and qualitative heterogeneity of the melodies arranged, but perhaps also because the term rhapsody in his case too suggested a kind of fragility. The "whole" whose fragments he wished to recollect was not American folk melody tradition, but things far closer to Dohnányi: the 19th-century tradition of composed music and his own life's work as a composer. It is questionable how much this was a conscious recollection, but there is no doubt that *American Rhapsody,* despite its modest length, gives an impression that Dohnányi wished it to sum up his life's work, and is all the more able to do so as it is the composer's last work, integral to his œuvre.

Besides, there is deeper significance in the strong role played by the "Wayfaring Stranger" melody. One can accept Pruett's surmise that Dohnányi saw in the wayfaring figure a symbol of his own destiny, but it is equally possible that Dohnányi did not lift the expression out of its context – that he identified with the mortal near to death, bidding his life farewell. As the wayfaring stranger of the lyric wanders, preparing for consolation in the next world, so does Dohnányi, through the earlier stages of his career, recalling the tone of the brightest, most colorful pieces. Nor may it be fortuitous that his

[28] Barbara Zuck, *A History of Musical Americanism* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1980).

memories are jogged by a pentatonic tune, as that attribute establishes associations with Hungarian folk music. Though the *Rhapsody's* timbre is bright and lively, in line with its promotional function, the recollections turn out not to be positive in tone. Composer and listener come to realize that deep down the present must make do with a rather pointless revival of a brighter past; the busy, attractive surface disguises in a way the want of a message of current importance.

It is possible, of course, to see the recollecting gesture of *American Rhapsody* just as ennui and dismiss it as less than successful, all the more because Dohnányi himself complained of lacking inspiration. But it must count in several ways as part of his œuvre, above all as an inescapable composition of his American period. Of these the least objective and in a way solemnest observation is that *American Rhapsody* is attractive, a fine example of Dohnányi's display style, whose more recent popularity appears also in the number of recordings.[29]

Another reason not to dismiss it as an occasional piece, less revealing of the composer's thinking, is that it shows at several points how Dohnányi too was aware of its problems and limitations. One prominent case of irony and self-deprecation appearing behind a fresh, smiling mask comes in a phrase in section *D,* where the "Wayfaring Stranger" melody returns in a tragic mood. The sound may well deceive listeners, as there are grounds for a tragic reading of the melody and of the wayfaring stranger as a symbol. Yet the "punchline" (hard indeed to identify in the tone) has escaped analysts of the work: under the woodwind imitation of the subject are heard the strings with a counterpoint of the most comic of the melodies, "Turkey in the Straw", what is more in a strongly altered, more grotesque form. So there is no treating section *D* just as a romantic climax, for the composer blends into the work's wistful tone elements of the banal and the distorted, which convey a self-disparagement prompted, perhaps, by the sterile and undeservedly lowly conditions around him at the time.

4. Non-commissioned compositions

Dohnányi in the earlier stages of his life had only composed to order occasionally, but this was reversed in his American years. There a mere two opus numbers covering a total of five pieces appeared independently of any commission: the *Three Singular Pieces* for piano (op. 44), and two flute pieces, *Aria for flute and piano* (op. 48/1) and a *Passacaglia for solo flute* (op. 48/2). The first were clearly written for his own use, to have something new for his American solo recitals. The flute pieces were intended

[29] BBC Philharmonic Orchestra, cond. Matthias Bamert (Chandos 9647, 1998); Radio-Sinfonie-Orchester Frankfurt, cond. Alun Francis (CPO 999-308-2, 1998); English Sinfonia, cond. John Ferrar (ASV 1107, 2001); Danubia Symphony Orchestra, cond. Domonkos Héja (Warner Classics 2564-62409-2, 2005).

for Ellie Baker, daughter of the university rector at Athens, but they were not commissioned as such. Here is how the flautist remembers the inception of *Aria:*

> It was after one of these concerts at the university, […] that I said to Dohnányi, who had just played a Brahms sonata so magnificently, "If only Brahms had written some solo music for the flute!" He replied instantly in his courtly gentle way, "I will write you something instead". The next spring, he showed up in Athens with the Aria, opus 48, no. 1 completed.[30]

Ellie knew even less of the birth of *Passacaglia,* and it can be stated clearly that these works were composed independently of any commission. Of the three piano and two flute works, more heed needs paying to this *Passacaglia* and to *Burletta* (op. 44/1).

The tone of *Burletta,* whose very title heralds playfulness, is not typical of his œuvre. As a Florida critic of the time put it pertinently, if somewhat naively:

> [Dohnányi's] compositions were surprisingly modern, staccato and entirely different from what one would expect of the grey-haired dean of the Florida music world.[31]

Milton Hallman in a short study of Dohnányi's piano œuvre asked whether he might not have been imitating, even parodying the mode of expression of contemporary music in this series.[32] Apart from the tone, what could suggest such an approach, and what could have motivated Dohnányi to take it?

Several of Dohnányi's piano works are built on an original, witty idea of some kind. The idea in *Burletta* is a constantly changing time signature, to which several people have drawn attention; the composer himself mentioned this aspect of it.[33] No detailed analysis of the work has appeared so far, but contemporary descriptions note that *Burletta* follows a basic time sequence of $\frac{5}{4}$–$\frac{4}{4}$–$\frac{3}{4}$–$\frac{2}{4}$, but this is sometimes broken, giving the piece an asymmetry and unexpectedness of its own. Although the surprises are a conscious element in the piece, I would like here to present the opposite: the regularity of the varying time signatures (although the basis for it is not the $\frac{5}{4}$–$\frac{4}{4}$–$\frac{3}{4}$–$\frac{2}{4}$ sequence) and its role in creating the form.

[30] Eleanor Lawrence, "The Flute Compositions of Ernst von Dohnányi", *The Flutist Quarterly* 21/4 (Summer 1996), 60–66, 62. Though Eleanor's memories are not too reliable since Dohnányi did not play Brahms sonatas at all during his American years. She may have thought of the concert on 26 March 1957, when he played the Rhapsody op. 119/4.

[31] "Famed Pianist Wins Acclaim" [unsigned], *The Palm Beach Post* (26 January 1954).

[32] Milton Hallman, "Ernő Dohnányi's Solo Piano Works", *Journal of the American Liszt Society* 17 (June 1985), 48–54, 54.

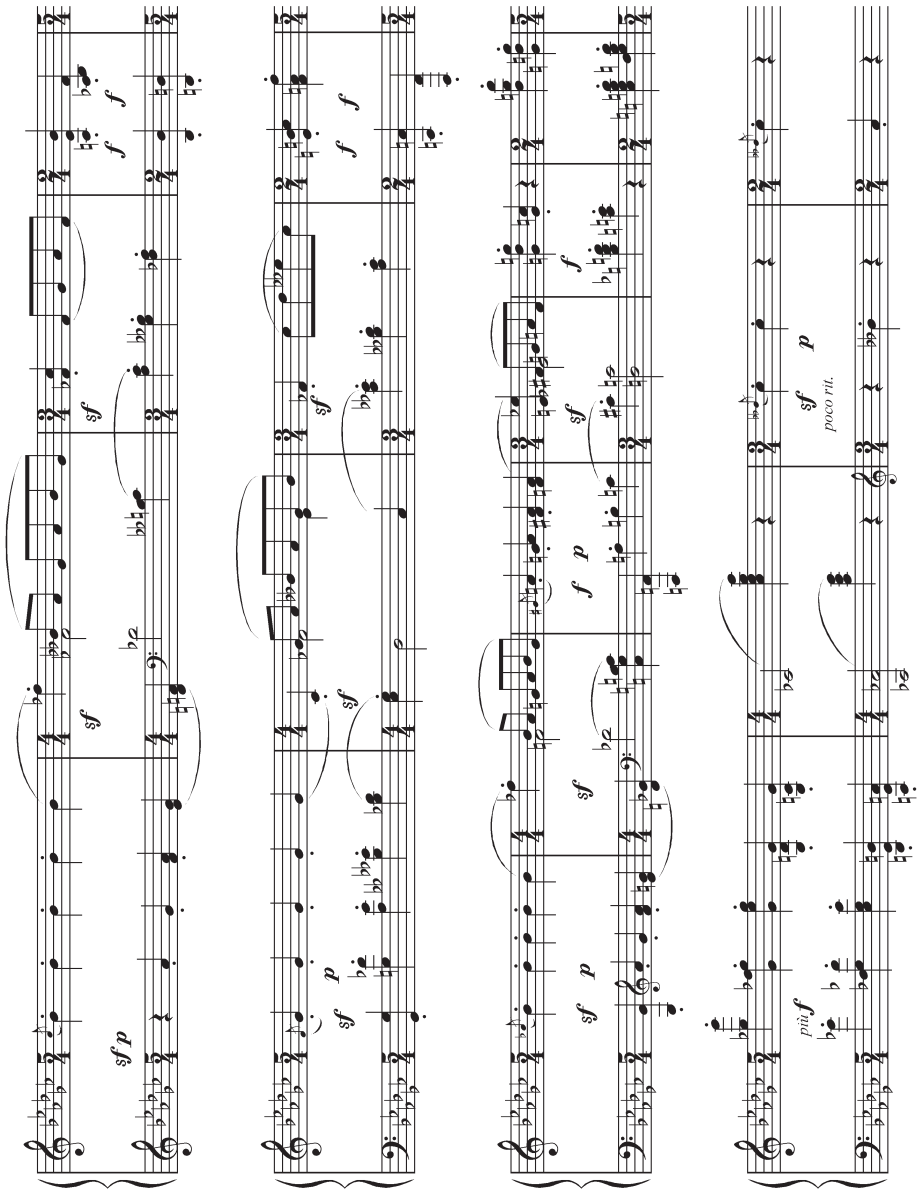
[33] "The Burletta, Opus 44. no. 1. composed May 1951 in Tallahassee (Florida) has a characteristic change of beat. 5/4, 4/4, 3/4 and 2/4." Dohnányi's letter to Peter Andry (EMI), 18 November 1956 (FSU Dohnányi Collection).

The overall form of *Burletta* is not unusual: a simple three-part form in which the main section is spare, marked by thematic treatment emphasizing a tritone, while the middle section is expressly melodic. However, the regular threefold form of the work is structured in an unusual way out of unusual elements. The smallest pieces are a bar each in length. The four most important motifs *(a, b, c, d)* appear consecutively right at the beginning of the piece (Example 2, m. 1–4). Discounting the melodic trio subject of the middle section, the whole work is built up of dozens of such motifs, which are strongly akin to each other. The system of kinship derives mainly from the presence of two musical elements: (1) a largely chromatic falling motif, and (2) a *sforzato* leap at the border of motifs *a* and *b*. Typical variation techniques used are abbreviation (part of the motif being omitted to shorten the bar, e. g. in the relation between *b* and *c),* extension (a longer rhythm value or rest being inserted, e. g. in the relation between $d_{t(=mirror)}$ and *f),* and approximate mirror reflection of the melodic motion, the last of which appears right after the first appearance of *a–b–c–d* (as a_t–b_t–c_t–d_t in m. 5–8).

Meanwhile four kinds of meter (5, 4, 3 and 2 quarter-notes) alternate, usually from bar to bar. Each time signature is changed within three bars, and even pairs of bars in the same meter are rare. So my argument is that the changeability of the meter is not random: the bars with the various time signatures are built in a planned way into units, although it is noteworthy that the regularity does not simply mean they follow the $\frac{5}{4}$–$\frac{4}{4}$–$\frac{3}{4}$–$\frac{2}{4}$ order found at the beginning of the piece. Interestingly, it is precisely where the grotesque sonority of the main section ends that the role of the changing meter appears with the lyric trio theme, which Dohnányi conveys with time-signature changes almost every bar. It may be thought that the flexible rhythm just lends the melody a kind of timbre and pulse, except that the composer has retained it even where the melody appears in canon, and the entry differences cause collisions in the metric system of the two parts. The trio theme appears in fact in two versions, each symmetrical in metrical structure (5–4–3–2–2–3–4–5 quarter-notes, 5–4–3–2–3–4–5 quarter-notes), and each retaining this even when the canon appears.

But other rules emerge in the trio's final section: its meters are in declining order. The difference is not random, as it refers back to the main section, where the changes of bar signature are also regular and likewise in declining order (combinations of 5–4–3–2, 5–4–4–3–3–2, 5–4–3 occur). Since the process of breaking down the units, defined clearly in this way, is structured accordingly, and the build of the units differs markedly from the classical elements of form, it seems more apposite to call the units "rows" rather than phrases or periods. This is not intended to suggest the row concept of serial music, but simply to distinguish the rows of *Burletta* from the traditional units of form, while referring to the special way of varying them, for instance with a big role for the mirror-inversion principle.

So I call rows the components of the work at a level between that of bar motifs and of formal sections. I call the basic row of elements the *a–b–c–d* heard in the first four bars of the work *A1,* and the succeeding four-bar unit of mirrored motifs *A2.* The



Example 2: The beginning of *Burletta*

essence of the variation after *A2* is extension, as an element of familiar $\frac{4}{4}$ and $\frac{3}{4}$ musical material is inserted to make the basic row *a–b–a*$_t$*–c–d–d*. (I have marked this row B, but it comes into being by abbreviating row D, for instance.) The features of the "row"-based structure of *Burletta* can be summed up like this: the rows with reducing (main section) or symmetrical (trio) meter orders consist each of three to six one-bar elements and may vary only within a set field – several are related to the basic row marked *A*.

It is worth noting that the formal units I have termed rows hardly vary as they pass through the key changes of the threefold structure. The first passage of the main section moves from the main key of E flat minor through to C flat minor; the next passage turns from C flat minor back to the main key, and moves on toward B flat minor; the third appearance built on similar pillars of tonality finally remains in E flat minor. The modulation is carried on in row *B,* and as this is notably static, the change of key comes unexpectedly: the preparation for the various cadences relies in practice on a single bar, the final beat of row *B*. Such sudden modulation is possible at all because the piece is uncertain harmonically and intentionally incoherent throughout. Dohnányi stresses this, or utilizes it, when he plays with the elements of the piece almost like building bricks, pushing them about freely onto successive tonal planes. This duality of shaping principles – rigidity that concurrently lends an almost improvisatory freedom – marks a bold excursion beyond the composer's "late Romantic" style.

The elderly composer stated his views rarely and usually with great caution about contemporary music that was remote from his own lines of composition. When he did so, he expressed doubt mainly on two heads: one was the primacy of originality, and the other that in meeting it, many composers did not start from the music or their own natural musical talents. Instead they composed according to various abstract techniques and devised systems. As he put it in an American interview:

> [Twelve-tone music] is confined within a system, so it is dull. Music must be free, a composer must write from inspiration. I do not listen a great deal to what is called "modern" music.[…] But I do not have to hear so much of it to know that the modern trend is too speculative. You see, if you are just trying to do something because that thing hasn't been done before – if that's the reason for doing it – the result will naturally not live long. I call this method of composition "college style".[34]

The strict order of *Burletta,* which ultimately conveys in performance irregularity and chaos, may well be a result of these very notions and a jibe at them. The humor and grotesqueness assert themselves especially well in the composer's own playing of

[34] Doris Reno, "Pianist Dohnanyi: A Serene Artist" [without source and date] (FSU Dohnányi Collection.)

the work – typically, for instance, where Dohnányi seems to rush into the continually shortening meters, as if he were doing a forward somersault.[35]

Of course it can be assumed that there lie behind *Burletta* more specific and probably more intimate models as well: Bartók's Burlesque No. 2 for piano, *A Bit Drunk,* which was in Dohnányi's repertoire, or the Burletta movement in his 6th string quartet. The latter sounds eerily similar to the stock of motifs in the Dohnányi piece, while the similarity in the piano piece is more one of sound. But the main subject in all three has staccato material with an initial grace note, repeated notes, and clashing intervals, and kinship can also be heard in subsequent contrasting, more melodious passages, where Bartók incidentally also has changes of meter. The chime is so strong that it can probably be judged deliberate. Certainly the influence of Bartók, or perhaps more correctly the chance imitation of Bartók, seems to be an aspect of Dohnányi's music that needs systematic examination.

It is hard to say whether the strange shaping and tart, dissonant sound are more than a smart idea, slipping over into irony. There are grounds for saying he meant as a joke the contrast between the piece's speculative organization and the fragmentary main tract of the lyrical middle section: *Burletta* can be read as a nice caricature of system-ruled composition. But the assumed inspiration from Bartók is probably not ironic – note that traces of Bartók's music appear in other "serious" works – but a case of Dohnányi finding in Bartók's musical parlance a pattern for eliciting the style of contemporaries. That along with their common émigré remoteness from their native land and past may be how he came to recall it.

Of Dohnányi's other American output, *Burletta* bears several resemblances to the *Passacaglia for solo flute,* whose variation theme is the experiment in his life's work that goes furthest in harmony terms. The special nature of the theme is that all twelve tones appear consecutively in the first half. Of course the melody as a whole is not atonal (see the resolution into triads of the opening minor, the melodic sequences, and the A minor/E Phrygian final cadence). Although Bálint Vázsonyi wrote that the piece is composed throughout in "regular rows",[36] in fact the closed units that succeed the theme have nothing to do with dodecaphonic rows either. But Vázsonyi's general analysis seems convincing: based on the contrast of the dodecaphonic theme and the tonal coda following the variations, he cautiously assumes the piece expresses Dohnányi's irony, his none-too-flattering opinion of modern music.[37] To back this is the theme-reversing transformation, which almost exactly matches the first statement in notes,

[35] DAT recordings of the following concerts: 21 March 1952 (Tallahassee), 28 February 1954 (Athens), 16 November 1955 (Madison); and a studio recording by His Master's Voice (1956), modern edition: "Dohnányi plays Dohnányi: The Complete HMV Solo Piano Recordings, 1929–1956" (APR, 2004).

[36] Vázsonyi, *Ernő Dohnányi,* 320.

[37] Ibid., 319–324.

but changes its nature, above all by shedding its rhythmic, melodic and dynamic homogeneity. The neatly grotesque return leads to the explosion of a coda, whose lengthy A major organ point offsets the variations' chromatics. So Dohnányi seems to parody the smooth, solemn theme suited to the genre. He gives it a comically maudlin air: overemphasized *tenuto* notes, broken-up chromatic leaps to the cadence, effect-seeking rests, fade-out, and the tone of D sharp inserted into the melody are followed by a liberated tonal coda that says he was only joking.

Interpretations of *Burletta* and *Passacaglia* shed light on each other. The former seems to be playful, even jocular about Dohnányi's more progressive composer colleagues, but *Passacaglia* calls for a subtler explanation. Conventional tonality triumphs over the twelve-tone theme, yet there are signs in the large-scale form, serious tone and other features, that Dohnányi did not see his own style as absolutely above theirs – there was uncertainty about it.

It emerged in the first section of this paper that *Stabat Mater* and *American Rhapsody* are akin mainly to Dohnányi works written decades before. The latter is a piece emblematic of the American years, not just for its Americanism, but for pointing to the most important attribute of the composer's late style: that despite appearances, the commissioned American pieces written for publicity refer back in several ways to earlier works of his. As for the exciting musical experiments of his later years, they were not commissioned or in some cases even performed in his lifetime. The works displaying a new inspiration and notable adjustment to his new environment were those closest to his European creative periods, while those where he sought new paths were digressive. Those two facts isolate the unusual feature of his later period: a cautious search for a path finally abandoned in introspection.

5. Two concertos – two stories

The difference in scope for the commissioned works and those not commissioned is clear in the tone, structure and dramatic force of two American-period works in the same genre. But it must be said that opposing or juxtaposing the *Second Violin Concerto* and the *Concertino for Harp and Chamber Orchestra* is not fully justified. First, *Concertino* is chamber music in some respects. Second, this too was commissioned originally, although the fact is not recorded in the catalog of his works or in his biography. However, the autograph fair copy of the score bore some dedication, which the composer later erased carefully, signifying that the cooperation was broken off at some point. Although very few documents linked with the composing of the work survive, it is possible largely to reconstruct from them what happened. In 1956, four years

after Dohnányi had told the impresario Andrew Schulhof that he would undertake to write a harp composition,[38] he put it like this to his publisher:

> I had with Edna Philips [sic] some differences which I don't want to discuss now. She is too much under the influence of the Salzedo School which makes the Harp to [sic, "do" may be meant] everything, only not to what it is made for.[39]

The composer was aware that the famous Philadelphia-based harpist Edna Phillips was a pupil of Carlos Salzedo, and he might have guessed she would be a devotee of the new modern tones and playing techniques of the Salzedo school.[40] But he may not have realized that this would preclude him from working with her. Phillips, according to one source, was deeply disappointed to receive a piece in the "neo-Romantic" style, so far from her taste, and flatly refused to perform it.[41] So it was heard first in Athens, the city faithful to Dohnányi, in 1963, three years after his death, performed by Lucile Jennings, harp professor at Ohio University. (Thus it was the one composition with an opus number never performed in his lifetime.)

The *Second Violin Concerto,* on the other hand, arose from notably successful co-operation between composer and performer. It was written for Frances Magnes, the American soloist.[42] It is unclear who brokered the commission, only that Schulhof was active in drawing up the contract. The impresario had good reason to promote the composition of such a new, representative work that might, like the previous opus 42, the *Second Piano Concerto,* be expected to establish Dohnányi on the concert scene of his new home, and which, unlike the previous work, would have a chance of performance even in the composer's absence. The assumption crops up several times in the letters of Dohnányi's younger sister that having Frances Magnes perform it might benefit him politically as well, for her father, Judah Leon Magnes, was a well-known reform rabbi active in the United States and in Israel. So Schulhof and a Dohnányi being accused of war crimes and anti-Semitism may have intended this cooperation with a violinist from a prominent Jewish family as a symbolic gesture. A more tangible reason for accepting the offer was that Magnes paid $2500, which was a high figure compared with what he received for later commissions: $500 for *Stabat Mater* a couple of years later, or $1000 for *American Rhapsody.* Furthermore, she bought exclusive rights to perform it for five years from the date of its premier and she regularly gave concerts abroad, so that

[38] Dohnányi's letter to Schulhof, 25 April 1952. Éva Kelemen, "Kedves Mici… Dohnányi Ernő kiadatlan leveleiből, 1944–1958 (4. rész)", *Muzsika* 45/11 (November 2002), 10–16, 10.
[39] Dohnányi's letter to Kurt Stone (AMP), 22 June 1956 (FSU Dohnányi Collection).
[40] Saul Davis Zlatkovsky, "In Memoriam: Edna Phillips Rosenbaum", in *The American Harp Journal* 19/3 (Summer 2004), 55.
[41] Sara Cutler's information (by email, 23 September 2008). Yet in an undated letter, Phillips wrote to Dohnányi that she was still learning the piece and trying to find an appropriate place and date for its first performance (FSU Dohnányi Collection).
[42] Contract with Magnes, 25 November 1948 (FSU Dohnányi Collection).

Dohnányi might expect his work to be heard in Europe as well, although in the event he would be disappointed in this respect and even the premier was postponed, probably because of Magnes' commitments. It was eventually heard in New York as well, on 15 February 1952, when it was received rather more coolly than on earlier occasions. The five relatively long reviews agreed in calling the *Second Violin Concerto* a clearly conservative composition, whose favorable reception was mainly Magnes' merit.[43]

The renowned New York critic Olin Downes remarked that it was as if Dohnányi had tailored the work expressly to Magnes' personality as a performer.[44] What was that personality? Dohnányi called her "an exceptionally fine violinist, brilliant and full of temperament".[45] The composition's underlying mood was indeed strong and temperamental. Each movement displays drama: contrast effects, preponderant developmental sections, and strong recapitulations. Dohnányi is almost making his soloist speak, and so creating stage conflicts and events in the instrumental piece. The mutually stimulating dialog of solo and *tutti* is clearest at the beginning of the development, where lengthy converse between violin and orchestra emerges as an easily comprehended dramatic scene (Example 3). At the end of the exposition, the drifting violin melody is tinged only by an ominous timpani tremolo. Suddenly an angry phrase appears in unison in the lower strings, from which emerges a striking chromatic theme – the material of the development section. However, what the string orchestra "said" is not convincing enough for the violin; its irascible response flows back to the soft melody, and another orchestral warning is needed before it surrenders and takes up the theme begun by the orchestra. To delve deeper, it is as if the individual represented by the violin were hesitating to knuckle under to the events of the outside world, and would like to remain an observer, but circumstances ultimately prevented that.

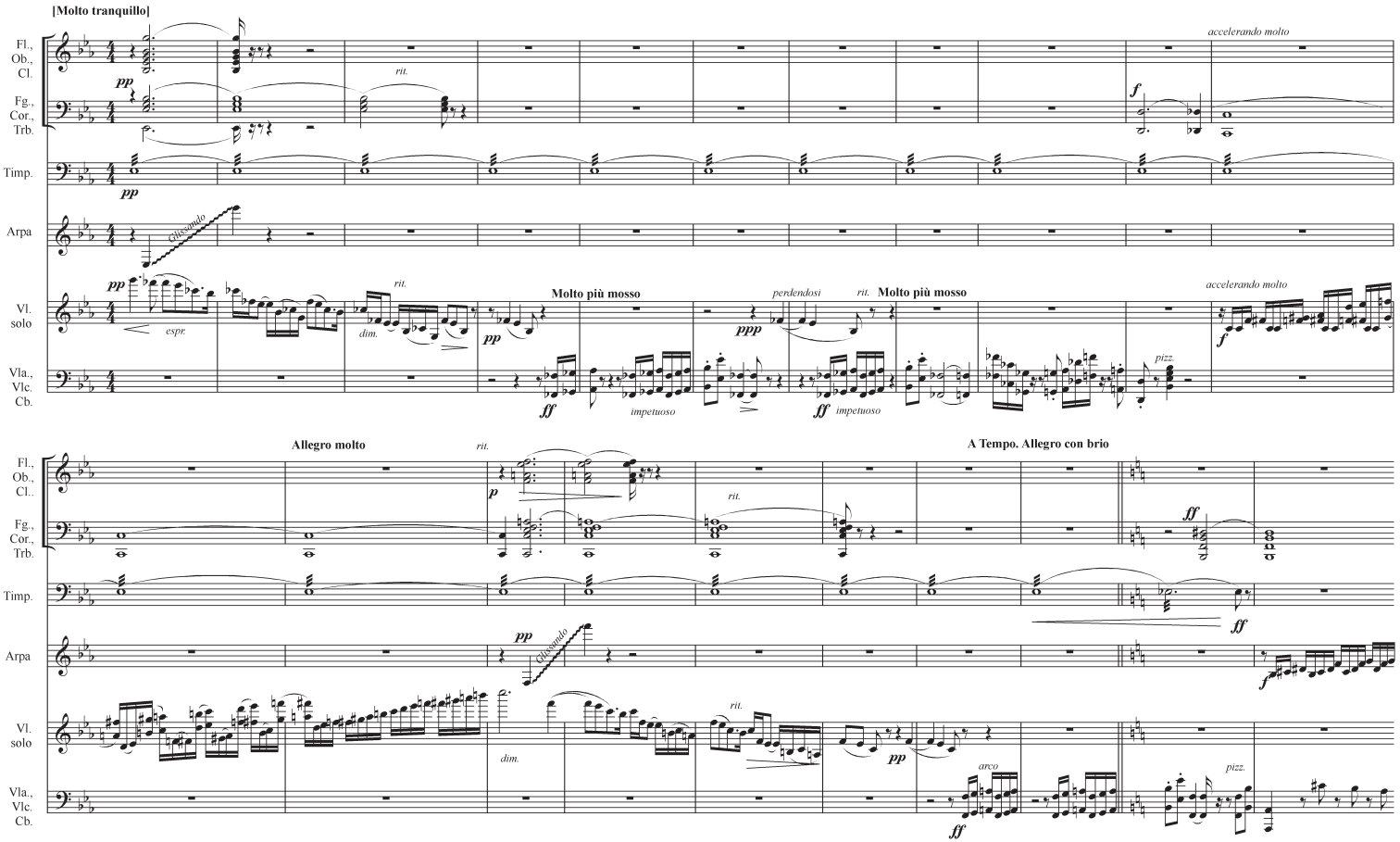
The other peculiarity of the composition lies in the orchestration: Dohnányi left out the *tutti* violins. His intention was probably to point up the contrast between the two players in the drama, the violin and the orchestra, to darken further the intonation of the work, and perhaps to make the solo instrument stand out more than usual. But this, noted a critic at the time, was not entirely successful,[46] although Dohnányi certainly strove to make the violin central.

[43] John Briggs, "Dohnanyi's Violin Concerto", *New York Post* (15 February 1952); Olin Downes, "Work by Dohnanyi introduced here", *The New York Times* (15 February 1952); Francis D. Perkins, "Concert and Recital: Philharmonic-Symphony", *New York Herald Tribune* [15 February 1952]; Miles Kastendieck, "Philharmonic At Carnegie", *New York Journal* (15 February 1952); Louis Biancolli, "Young Lady Violinist Rises to Top", *New York World Telegram* (15 February 1952).

[44] Downes, ibid.

[45] Dohnányi's letter to Sir Malcolm [without date] (FSU Dohnányi Collection).

[46] "No doubt a dramatic effect is wanted from the orchestra as well as the solo player. But it sounded as if there were miscalculated balances. Miss Magnes is one of the few violinists who might be expected to override these sonorities, as she did." Downes, ibid.



Example 3: The beginning of the development of the *Violin Concerto*

While the texture of the *Violin Concerto* gave Magnes plenty of scope, Phillips the harpist probably missed more than prepared strings from Dohnányi's harp part in *Concertino*. She would have been just as disturbed by the restrained treatment of the solo instrument: by the fact that the work is far from spectacular from the harpist's point of view. Only sporadically does the harp have a distinct thematic role: one short theme in the opening movement and a longer solo passage in the final slow movement. Elsewhere it just contributes to the harmonic backing, and rarely reproduces even effects known from *Variations on a Nursery Song*. So the *Concertino* differs in texture from other Dohnányi works at most in including a prevalent harp sound and producing in a broken-chord accompaniment the most varied configurations. In fact the work lies closer in sound and structure to an intimate chamber piece than to a grand concerto. It is worth turning briefly to its musical attributes to see the consequences of that.

The short dominant theme of the opening movement of *Concertino,* hardly more than a gesture *(Theme A),* appears first in the woodwind parts, above an undulating harp accompaniment. Even here, in the first section of the first movement, it does not take the same form twice (bars 1–16). It retains its outlines in the ensuing units of form, but its character changes too. Examples 4a–b shows the two main transformations in the first section of the theme. Within the twofold character, the first three note intervals, for example, are very variable: in one place a major second narrows to a step of a semitone, in another one or other or even all the fourths change into tritones, and later even wider intervals.

It is no accident that in identifying the formal parts of the movement, it is enough to use the term "A, B, C section". For even though Dohnányi wrote the opening movement of almost all his instrumental cycles in an easily recognizable sonata form and explored the dramatic scope in doing so, it seems as if he chose a different path with *Concertino*. The terminology of the sonata form does not fit well in this case, although some features of it can be identified. Instead the structure of the movement can be recorded as *A–B–C–D–A'–B'–C'–D'–A".* This series, heard twice and then starting a third time, gives the impression that the form is an open one, just a snippet of an endless musical process built out of rather rigid units.

The drama of departing from the sonata form derives also from the harmonic features of the movement. Typical of its tonal flexibility is the way the early bars fail to confirm the main key; the first tonal evidence (F major, a tritone distant from the main key of B major/B minor) appears only in bar 24, which marks the beginning of the third section *(C)* in thematic terms.

So the opening movement of *Concertino* is unusual in several ways for Dohnányi's œuvre, even if the stylistic eclecticism is considered. The rather insubstantial main theme, the dominance of thematic transformation technique, the strung form departing from the dramatic structure of a sonata, and the harmonic flexibility are all reminiscent of Debussy, even though Dohnányi's music rarely displays any French influence. The

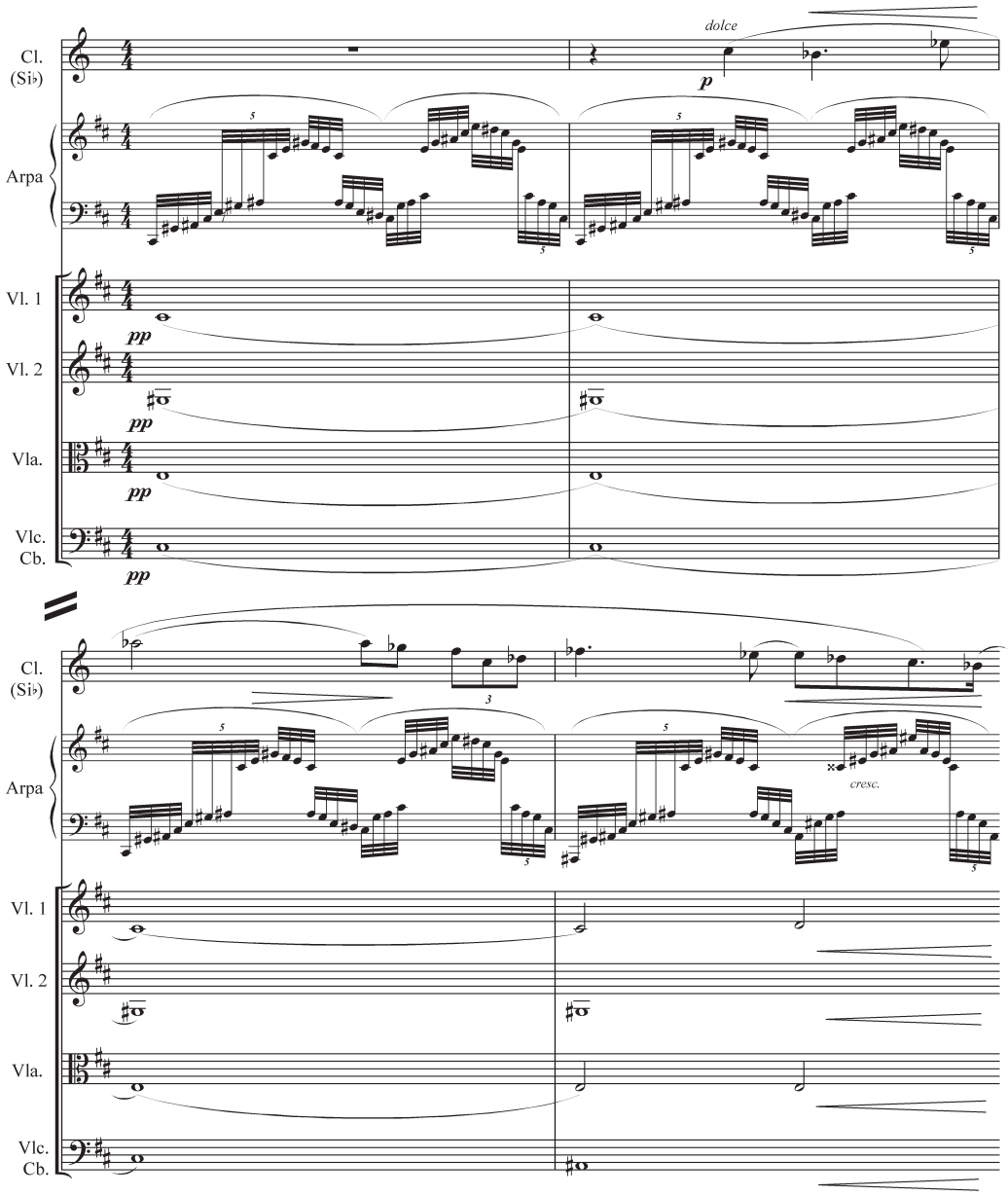
same kinship appears in the intonation, which is of course consequent on the fabric and the unusual formal attributes.

The fact that *Concertino* is not in fact a representative, virtuoso concerto, more an intimate chamber composition, appears most clearly in the last movement, which is slow to a degree unexampled in Dohnányi. This too is built on Theme A, as if the still unanswered questions posed by the open form of the first movement were being raised again. The transformed theme presents a more unusual face than any before: a rather vague turn has become a broad phrase harmonized in self-evident simplicity. Its repeated soundings build up an arched melody that differs strongly from the improvisatory displays of the theme in the first movement.

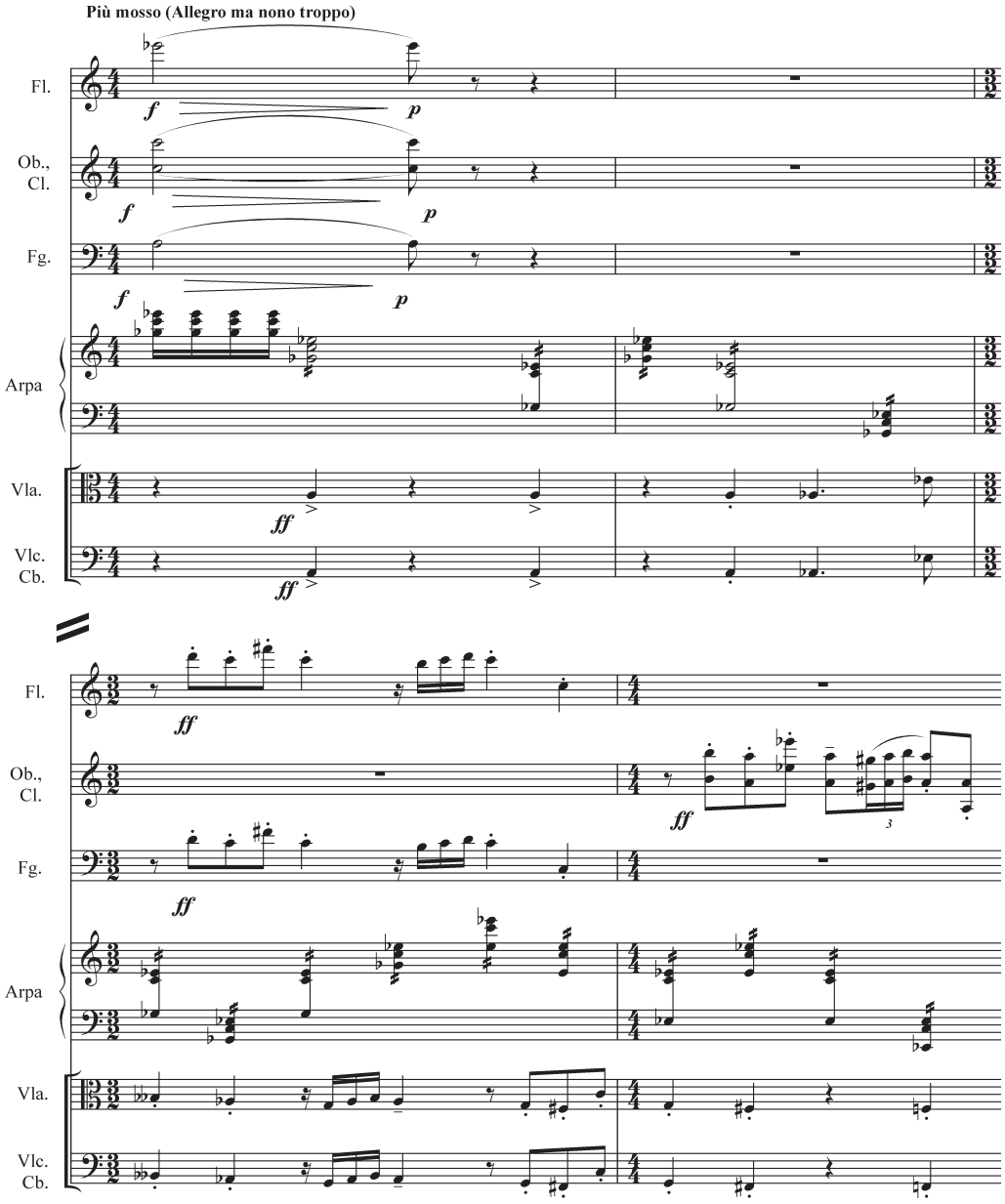
The tonal and structural taming in the third movement of the flamboyant first-movement subject has consequences for the sound as well. While the first movement is airy and improvisatory in style, the third has a heavier, more feelingful intonation. This is reinforced by the orchestration: the melody is heard for the second time by the cellos and violas, and the *espressivo* coloring in the lower strings differs radically from what preceded it. It is as if Dohnányi had turned from Debussy to Brahms and imbedded some rather alien, resistant material into his own style. There seems to be a curious reversed pairing of the ideal and the distorted here. What comes over as "impressionist" and "romantic" in the handling of melody and harmony turns at most in character terms into a juxtaposition of "restive" and "contented". The strange dichotomy is certainly basic to the concept of the work. It makes the function of cyclical organization more original than usual and its message more intimate. Anna Dalos too identified in terms of Debussy's influence a similar narrative based on contrasting different styles and fabrics in Kodály's 1st String Quartet,[47] but in his case this took "story of self-discovery" in the opposite direction, from Brahms to Debussy, as Dalos put it. The names of Debussy and Brahms emerged in relation to Dohnányi's *Concertino* as well, but in her account, unsurprisingly, Brahms, or rather adherence to Brahms triumphs. So the elderly Dohnányi's narrative half a century later goes the opposite way to the young Kodály's, seeming to state the impossibility of breaking with the old paragon.

Still, it must be said that the loveliest, fullest melodic form in the third movement comes from the cellos and violas (bar 24ff.) The sound of the viola had special significance for Dohnányi, as his father had been an amateur player. So the positioning of his display of the instrument in the intimacy of the movement's last bars is probably intentional. The closing *Poco adagio* section merely recalls fragments of the themes heard previously, stressing the harp *glissando* and string *pizzicato* passages against a quiet, intermittent B natural organ point on the timpani, which it may be no exaggeration to hear as a heartbeat. The dying throb and dissipating material around it probably denote

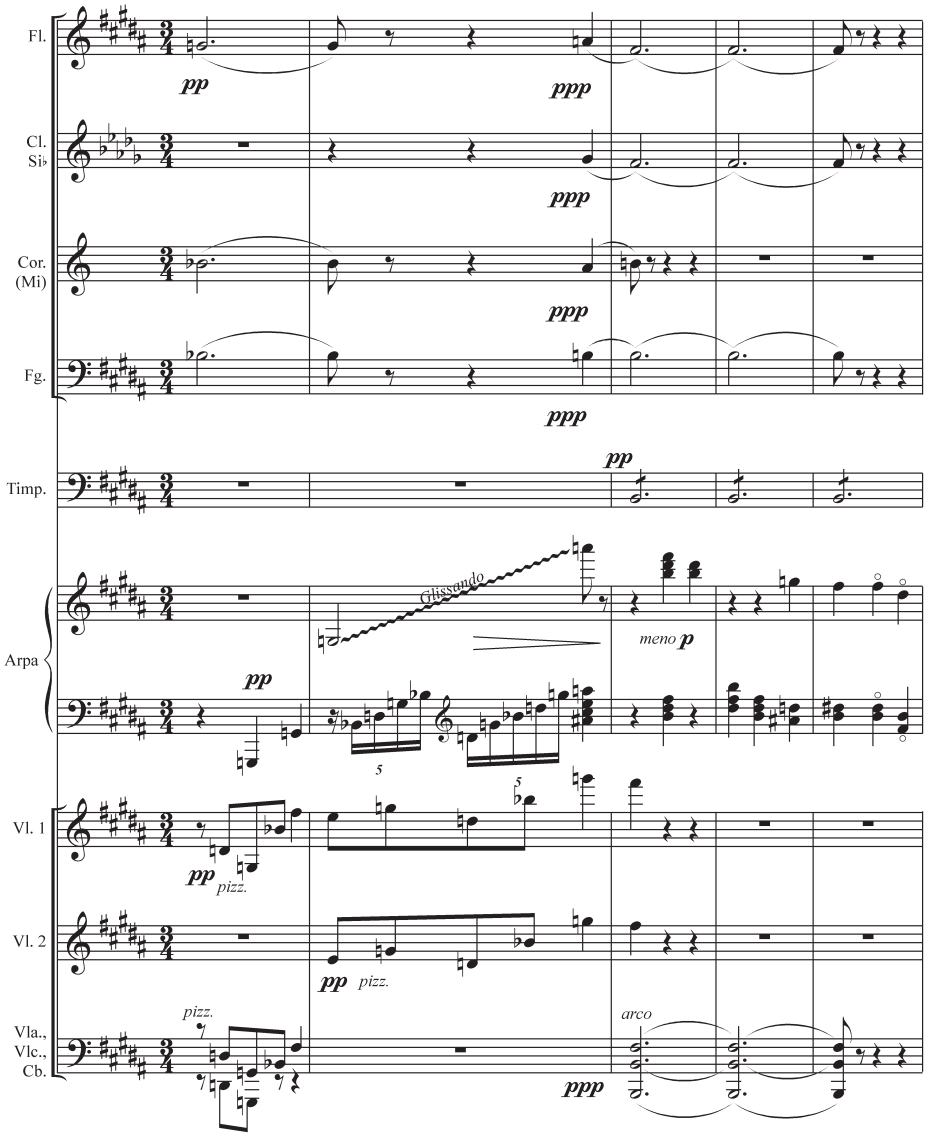
[47] Anna Dalos, "1. 4. Az önmagára találás története" […], in *Forma, harmónia, ellenpont. Vázlatok Kodály Zoltán poétikájához* (Budapest: Rózsavölgyi és Társa, 2007), 81–100.



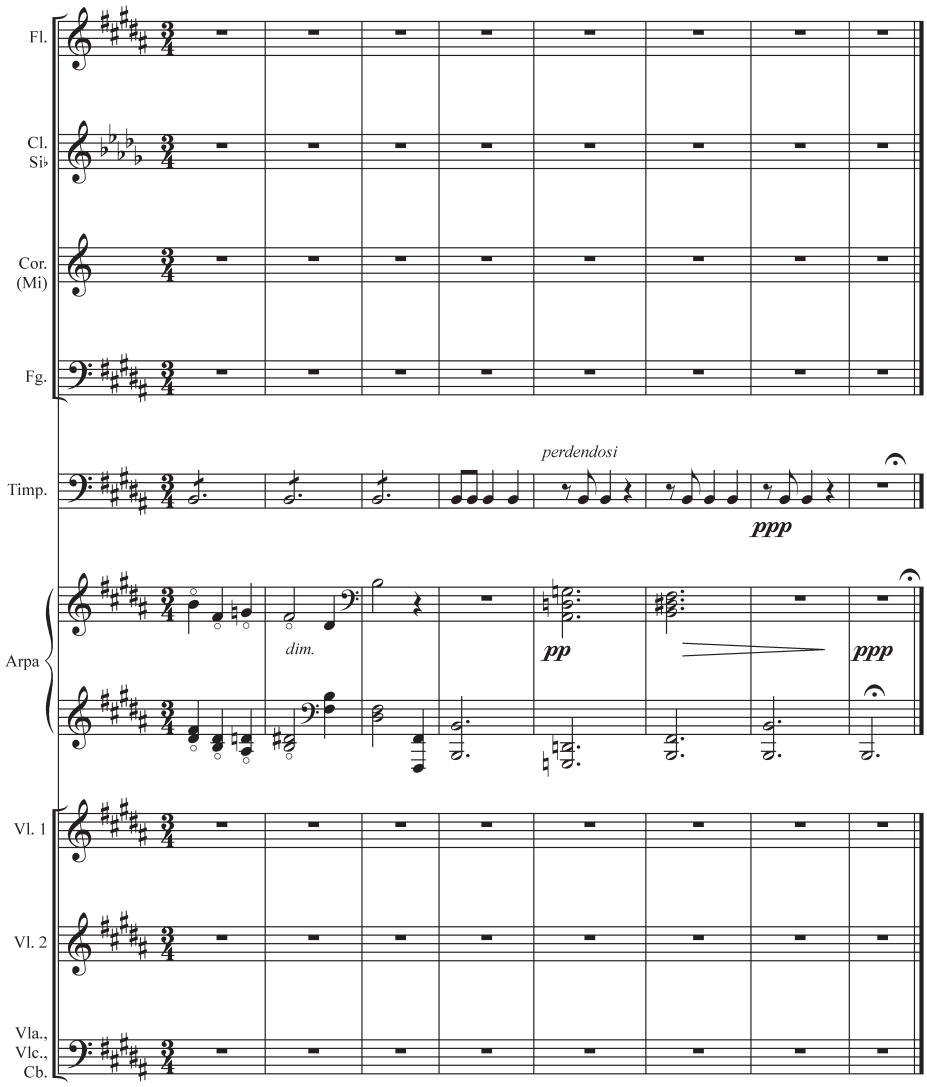
Example 4a: The beginning of *Concertino*



Example 4b: The transformation of the main theme of *Concertino*



Example 5: The closing barr of *Concertino*



Example 5: Continuation

an expression of mortality: the composer's own passing, and most importantly, a glimmer of his own earliest and strongest ties of sentiment (Example 5).

So *Concertino* can be taken as a cautious search for a path, in intonation, but also in theme-shaping, variation strategy, and grand form. All this, one might say, is "put in its place" in the third movement, where the dying close presents a broader interpretation: that Dohnányi, in a new environment toward the end of his life, is unable, even at a risk to his livelihood, to break with his own traditions and sees at most his passing as a resolution. It is hardly surprising that a composition with such an intimate tone did not charm an alien performer. Nor is it strange that the composer did not enter into discussion with her on possible changes, but was content to leave the work unperformed, as if he had not intended it for the public.

So the American works fall into two groups: those tied closely to his œuvre and retrospective in style, and those where he tried out new means of expression. This division coincides with whether he was writing to commission or not (the harp *Concertino,* as a failed commission, lies between the two, but here too the "reversal" is apparent in the piece). Of course it must be said that as the possibility of irony or self-deprecation arises with the "experiments", they do not essentially display a change of style either.

Everything suggests that Dohnányi's attitude and aesthetic scale of values were unchanged, despite the obvious verdict of the critics – he seemed like a living fossil in the second half of the 20th century. But his works show that the difficulties of his American career, his isolation, and even his age, had made him reconsider whether his path was right. The responses to his doubts differ in different works, but in essence are similar. Though he could try to draw into his style new harmonic elements, composing strategies, and inspirations, there was no other way he could write than in the eclectic, retrospective style he had cultivated all his life. The duality between his doubts and his ultimate, definitive viewpoint means the American period must be seen as one of the most interesting chapters in the Dohnányi œuvre and a remarkable occurrence in 20th-century music history.

(English translation by Brian McLean)

Anna Dalos

Kodály and the Counterpoint of Palestrina: Theory and Practice

This study is based on the author's PhD dissertation entitled *Forma, harmónia, ellenpont. Vázlatok Kodály Zoltán poétikájához* [Form, Harmony, Counterpoint. Essays on Zoltán Kodály's Poetics] and defended in 2005 (research directors: László Somfai and Tibor Tallián). A longer, Hungarian version of it was published in Anna Dalos's book of the same title (Budapest: Rózsavölgyi, 2007, pp. 232–270). The facsimiles are published with the permission of Sarolta Péczely Kodály; the music examples with the permission of Editio Musica Budapest (2–8) and Universal Edition Wien (1).

1. Theory

"Many have recounted the legendary atmosphere of Kodály's classes. I myself have some typical memories of them", László Somogyi recalled in Ferenc Bónis's album *Így láttuk Kodályt* [Kodály As We Saw Him], and went on to say:

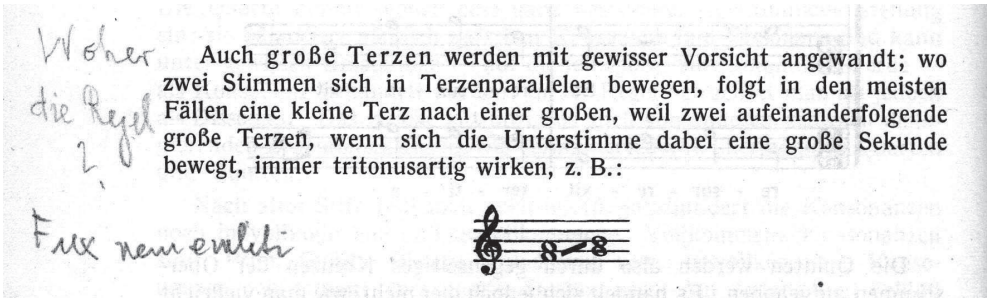
> On one occasion, when we were studying the Palestrina counterpoint, Kodály handed me a book and said "read it and report about". To my amazement, it was Knud Jeppesen's *Palestrinastil med saarligt handblick pas dissonansbehandligen,* written in Danish, of which only this edition existed at the time. To my mild protest that I did not know any Danish, he replied, "Do you think I do? I read it and understood it nonetheless". His classes were not continued in Danish after that either, but citing the page and bar numbers from the book, he would give us excerpts to study, which we had to copy out of the many-volumed *Complete Works of Palestrina* in the library. […] Older students of his had began collecting these examples, and my guess is that students coming after us did not reach the end either. The many thousands of examples from Palestrina served as a model for Kodály in learning the art of choral composition.[1]

The fact that Kodály relied on Jeppesen's work in teaching counterpoint is confirmed by Béla András, János Gergely, Rezső Sugár and Imre Sulyok in Bónis's book.[2] Having studied with Kodály between 1931 and 1935, Somogyi is nevertheless mistaken in his recollection. Born in 1892, the Danish music historian Knud Jeppesen who was editor-in-chief of *Acta musicologica* from 1931 to 1945, and president of the International Musicological Society from 1949 to 1952, wrote his doctoral thesis about Palestrina's style and his handling of dissonance, which he defended in German at the University of Vienna. Although Jeppesen's doctoral paper appeared first in Danish

[1] *Így láttuk Kodályt. Nyolcvan emlékezés* [How we saw Kodály. Eighty recollections], ed. by Ferenc Bónis (Budapest: Püski, 1994), 170.
[2] Ibid., 112, 154, 165 and 220.

in 1923,[3] a German version came out as early as in 1925[4] and an English translation swiftly followed in 1927.[5] However, it was Jeppesen's second book on Palestrina counterpoint, published in Danish in 1930,[6] that Somogyi and his classmates would actually have been reading. That every copy, brimming with notes in several hands and bearing the wear and tear of heavy use, can still be found in the library of the Budapest Academy of Music (K2726).

Kodály acquired the German edition of Jeppesen's book on Palestrina counterpoint in 1925, as is confirmed by the dedication in the volume. A personal relationship between Jeppesen and Kodály emerges from their correspondence, which they conducted with varying intensity between 1930 and 1963. Thirteen letters from Jeppesen have survived in Kodály's estate and 12 from Kodály in Jeppesen's.[7] Kodály's first letter, dated 16 August 1930, reveals that up to then he had been using Jeppesen's book on Palestrina counterpoint in his classes. Since it would have been impossible to cover the entire scope of the book, Kodály referred to as "ihr treffliches Werk" [your excellent work] in his classes, and suggested Jeppesen to write a counterpoint textbook.[8] At the time of writing, Kodály did not know such a counterpoint book had been written. Jeppesen sent him a copy of the book in Danish along with his letter in reply. It transpires from the letter of thanks, dated 1 October 1930, Kodály initially studied the musical examples, and only subsequently the text, with the help of a Danish–Hungarian dictionary.[9] Over


Auch große Terzen werden mit gewisser Vorsicht angewandt; wo zwei Stimmen sich in Terzenparallelen bewegen, folgt in den meisten Fällen eine kleine Terz nach einer großen, weil zwei aufeinanderfolgende große Terzen, wenn sich die Unterstimme dabei eine große Sekunde bewegt, immer tritonusartig wirken, z. B.:

Facsimile 1: Jeppesen: *Kontrapunkt,* 74.

[3] Knud Jeppesen, *Palestrinastil med saerligt Henblick paa Dissonansbehandlingen* (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaardo, 1923). For the bibliographical references in the counterpoint textbooks cited in this paper, see Table 1. The table also contains the shelf marks of the Budapest Kodály Archives (KA) and the library of the Budapest Academy of Music (ZAK), too. I use the "KA" shelf mark in the footnotes for all the manuscripts cited that are held in the Kodály Archives.

[4] Jeppesen, *Der Palestrinastil.*

[5] Jeppesen, *The Style of Palestrina.*

[6] Jeppesen, *Kontrapunkt. Vokalpolyfoni.*

[7] Kodály's letters to Jeppesen were published in *Zoltán Kodály: Letters in English, French, German, Italian, Latin,* ed. by Dezső Legány and Dénes Legány (Budapest: Argumentum–Kodály Archives, 2002), nos. 324, 327, 340, 382, 510, 574, 581, 586, 589, 603, 665 and 858.

[8] Ibid., 180 (no. 324).

[9] Ibid., 181 (no. 327).

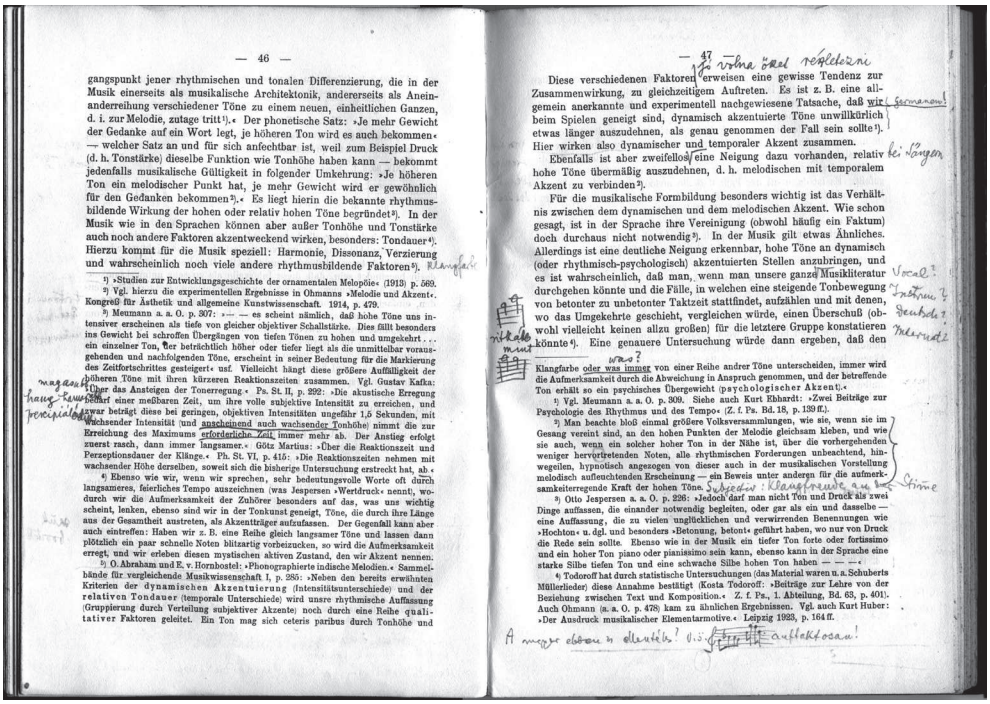
the next five years he inquired several times of Jeppesen and of Breitkopf & Härtel, as to when the book would finally appear in German, as he was forced to use the Danish version for teaching.[10] The Danish copy held in the library of the Academy of Music must have been Kodály's own, which he is thought to have donated to the library later, given that his private library features a copy each of the German and English versions of *Palestrinastil,* as well as two German and one English copy of *Kontrapunkt,* but no Danish original.

After a brief visit to Budapest in December 1935, Jeppesen sent Kodály a copy of the German translation of *Kontrapunkt,*[11] which Kodály analyzed in detail in a letter of reply. Unfortunately that letter has been lost, but as Kodály added copious marginal notes on the margin (as he was in the habit of doing), his views are known for the most part. In a reply dated 11 August 1936, Jeppesen gratefully acknowledged Kodály's exhaustive critique, but responded to only a few of his points. These included the indication of the source of the tritone rule on page 74 (see Facsimile 1). Kodály asked with respect to the cautious use of the tritone in parallel major thirds: "Woher die Regel? Fux does not mention it." In his reply, Jeppesen agrees with Kodály: indeed the rule did not come from Fux, but from Michael Haller, and is also supported by late-16th-century practice. It can also be assumed that some of Kodály's marginal notes in the book were intended for a letter to Jeppesen, while others were reminders to himself. There are even more notes in *Palestrinastil.* The meticulous care with which Kodály read Jeppesen's two books (presumably several times) confirm his immense esteem for the Danish scholar.

Kodály's notes, references, remarks and additions provide a wealth of information on his reading habits. He was a thorough reader who noted everything from misprints to grammatical errors, through inaccuracies and inner contradictions, and never failed to mark them in the margins, at the bottom of pages, or even between the lines. On pages 46 and 47 of *Palestrinastil* (Facsimile 2) Jeppesen discusses the nature of musical accents and the extent to which they are determined by various *factors:* rhythmic patterns, pitch, or the length or volume of a note. Kodály's notes fall into several types. Some point out idiosyncrasies (or less kindly, clumsiness) in the way Jeppesen phrases

[10] Jeppesen's reply to Kodály dated 11 August 1936 reveals that Kodály had already suggested translating the counterpoint book into Hungarian. This translation did not appear until 1974, however. Knud Jeppesen, *Ellenpont. A klasszikus vokális polifónia tankönyve* [Counterpoint. A textbook on classical vocal polyphony], transl. by Imre Ormay (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1974). Meanwhile Artúr Harmat's book on counterpoint appeared in two volumes, based on works by Jeppesen. Artúr Harmat, *Ellenponttan. I. Kétszólamú ellenpont,* [Counterpoint studies I. Two-part counterpoint], Budapest: Magyar Kórus, 1947; *Ellenponttan. II. Háromszólamú ellenpont,* [Counterpoint studies I. Three-part counterpoint], Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1956. However, Hungarian textbooks had been published at the beginning of the 20th century: Géza Szemethy, A *Palestrina-stilről. Különlenyomat a Katholikus Egyházzene Közlöny IX. évfolyamából,* [On the Palestrina style. An offprint of vol. IX of the *Gazette of Catholic Church Music*], (Budapest: Stephanum, 1902).

[11] Jeppesen, *Kontrapunkt. Lehrbuch.* Shelf mark 2362 in Kodály's library.



Facsimile 2: Jeppesen, *Palestrinastil,* 46–47.

his meaning. In line 3 of the first paragraph on page 47 he added to the word "wir", ["wir"] "Germanen". He added a similar comment to a sentence in note 5 on page 46. "Ein Ton", Jeppesen writes, "mag ceteris paribus durch Tonhöhe und Klangfarbe oder was immer von eine Reihe anderer Töne unterscheiden", where Kodály underlined "oder was immer" and above it wrote "was?".

Other types of notes include instances of Jeppesen's failure to make his meaning clear, such as Kodály's remark on page 47 – "details would be good" – referring to the factors Jeppesen discusses. A similar remark can be found in the second paragraph on the same page. Kodály inserted a caret mark into the phrase "Ebenfalls ist es aber zweifellos eine Neigung", where he believed the words "bei Sänger" were missing. Another inaccuracy is flagged up in the third paragraph on the same page, in "unsere ganze Musikliteratur", where on the margin Kodály wrote, "Vocal?, Instrum[ental?], Deutsch[?], Internat[ional?]". Closely related to this type of comment are his remarks related to content. In the last three lines on page 46 he added the word "Klangfarbe" to Jeppesen's list of factors contributing to musical accent.

The third type of note consists of those Kodály addressed to himself. These generally refer to things that caught his attention, to novelties, or to matters relating to his own ideas or interests. Beside footnote 3 on page 46, summing up Jeppesen's excerpts,

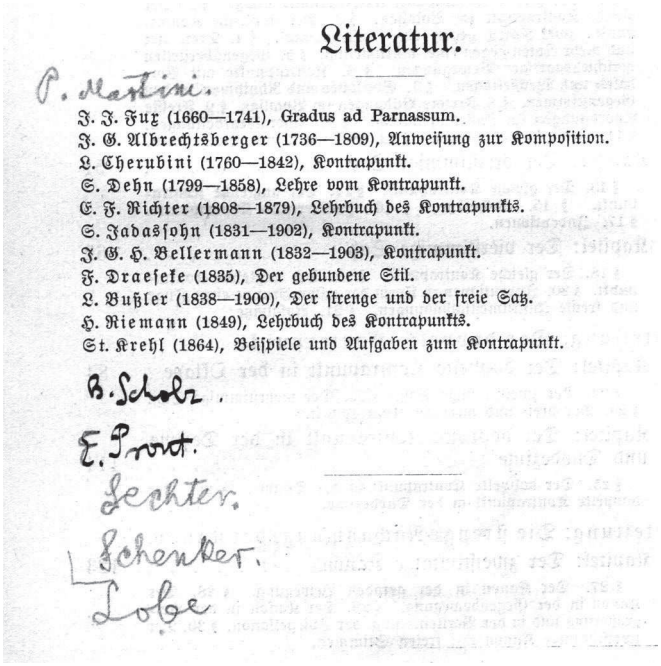
he wrote as a reminder, "a higher note is perceived earlier". The inner margin of page 47 contains a musical sample in Kodály's hand, indicating that the G–A step is "rarer" than the A–G step. In the text Jeppesen argues that it is usually the higher note that falls on the accented beat. In footnote 2 on page 47, describing how a church congregation will often tend to disregard tempo and go for the higher notes, Kodály wrote: "Subjectiv: Klangfreude an der Stimme", and at the bottom of page 47, "Is Hungarian practice at odds with this too?" noting the folk song "Ablakomba, ablakomba besütött a holdvilág" [The moonlight shines in my window] (or "Ha bemegyek, ha bemegyek a baracsi csárdába" [If I go to the Baracs tavern]), adding "with an upbeat!" This note is related to the third paragraph on page 47 and footnote 4. Although melodic and dynamic accents do not necessarily coincide in speech or music, Jeppesen is aware of the unconscious effort to give dynamic, rhythmic or psychological accent to higher notes. With "Ablakomba, ablakomba" the $\frac{4}{8}$, emphatic *incipit* is an upbeat, and the highest note of the melody, the twice-accented G, is on the second beat, i.e. in an unaccented position.

Kodály's growing interest in counterpoint was already evident in his years at the Academy of Music,[12] and this passion is reflected in the content of his estate. His private library holds twenty books on counterpoint, not counting chapters on counterpoint in his collection of textbooks on composition. However, he must have read considerably more on counterpoint than is found in his library. For example, Kodály added titles of books he was familiar with to the bibliography in Stephan Krehl's book on counterpoint (1908) (Facsimile 3).[13]

In addition, Kodály's notes on his readings have survived in a collection of manuscript pages in a file bearing the title "Kontrapunkt" and provide much information about his knowledge of it.[14] So Kodály's list of works on counterpoint consists firstly of works he added to Krehl's bibliography, secondly of Kodály's library, thirdly of the manuscript collection of notes, and fourthly of Kodály's marginal notes (Table 1).

Some of the items on the list can be found in Kodály's own collection, others in the library of the Academy of Music. The asterisked items contain notes in Kodály's hand. Naturally, his reading was not confined to the books he annotated. His reading often becomes apparent in the marginal notes and the "Kontrapunkt" manuscript notes. Reference to Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum*[15] in Facsimile 1 attests to this, while the copy of Fux's book held in the library of the Academy of Music has no marginal notes in Kodály's hand.[16] Similarly, reference can be found to Padre Martini's book on

[12] László Eősze, *Kodály Zoltán* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1967), 13.
[13] Krehl, *Kontrapunkt,* 4.
[14] KA Ms. mus. 496/1–184.
[15] Fux, *Gradus ad Parnassum.*
[16] Kodály also refers to Fux in his "Kontrapunkt" notes: KA Ms. mus. 496/110r, 180. 1r–5v.



Literatur.

P. Martini.

J. J. Fux (1660—1741), Gradus ad Parnassum.
J. G. Albrechtsberger (1736—1809), Anweisung zur Komposition.
L. Cherubini (1760—1842), Kontrapunkt.
S. Dehn (1799—1858), Lehre vom Kontrapunkt.
E. F. Richter (1808—1879), Lehrbuch des Kontrapunkts.
S. Jadassohn (1831—1902), Kontrapunkt.
J. G. H. Bellermann (1832—1903), Kontrapunkt.
F. Draeseke (1835), Der gebundene Stil.
L. Bußler (1838—1900), Der strenge und der freie Satz.
H. Riemann (1849), Lehrbuch des Kontrapunkts.
St. Krehl (1864), Beispiele und Aufgaben zum Kontrapunkt.

B. Scholz.
E. Prout.
Lechter.
Schenker.
Lobe

Facsimile 3: Krehl, *Kontrapunkt,* 4.

Table 1: List of books on counterpoint read by Kodály

(* = book containing Kodály's handwritten remarks; KA = Kodály Archives; ZAK = Library of the Liszt Academy of Music)

– Albrechtsberger, Johann Georg, *Anweisung zur Composition, mit ausfuerlichen Exempeln, zum Selbstunterrichte* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, without year [1804k.]). ZAK K16
– Bellermann, Heinrich, Der Contrapunkt oder Anleitung zur Stimmführung in der musikalischen Composition (Berlin: Julius Springer, 1862). ZAK K56/a*
– Bußler, Ludwig, *Der strenge Satz in der musikalischen Kompositionslehre,* rev. von Hugo Leichtentritt (Berlin: Carl Habel, 1904[2]). ZAK K2413
– Cherubini, Luigi, *Theorie des Contrapunktes und der Fuge – Cours de Contre-point et de Fugue* (Leipzig: Kistner; Paris: Schlesinger, 1835). ZAK K4354
– Dehn, Siegfried Wilhelm, *Lehre vom Contrapunct, dem Canon und der Fuga,* bearb. von Bernhard Scholz (Berlin: Ferdinand Schneider, 1859). ZAK K42.198*
– Draeseke, Felix, *Der gebundene Styl. Lehrbuch für Kontrapunkt und Fuge* (Hannover: Louis Oertel, 1902). ZAK K1808/I.
– Fux, Johann Joseph, *Gradus ad Parnassum* (Wien: Van Ghelen, 1724). ZAK K1358
– Hohn, Wilhelm, *Der Kontrapunkt Palestrinas und seiner Zeitgenossen* (Regensburg, Roma: Pustet, 1918). ZAK K2260/I*

– Jadassohn, Salomon, *Lehrbuch des einfachen, doppelten, drei- und vierfachen Kontrapunkts. Musikalische Kompositions-lehre,* Teil I: *Die Lehre vom reninen Satze,* Band II (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1909[5]). ZAK K1724
– Jeppesen, Knud, *Der Palestrinastil und die Dissonanz* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1925). KA without shelf mark*
– Jeppesen, Knud, *Kontrapunkt. Vokalpolyfoni* (Copenhagen, Leipzig: Wilhelm Hansen, 1930). ZAK K2726.
– Jeppesen, Knud, *Kontrapunkt. Lehrbuch der klassischen Vokalpolyphonie* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1935). (2 copies) KA 2362*, 2548
– Jeppesen, Knud, *Counterpoint. The Polyphonic Vocal Style of the Sixteenth Century* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1939). KA 2368
– Jeppesen, Knud, *The Style of Palestrina and the Dissonance* (London: Oxford University Press, 1946). KA 2361
– Juon, Paul, *Kontrapunkt. Aufgabenbuch* (Berlin: Schlesinger, 1910).
– Kitson, C. H., *Applied Strict Counterpoint* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916). KA: 2408*
– Krehl, Stephan, *Kontrapunkt. Die Lehre vom selbständigen Stimmführung* (Leipzig: Göschen, 1908). KA 2403*
– Kurth, Ernst, *Grundlagen des linearen Kontrapunkts. Einführung in Stil und Technik von Bach's melodischer Polyphonie* (Bern: Max Drechsel, 1917). KA 2492*
– Martini, Giambattista, *Esemplare o sia saggio fondamentale pratico di contrappunto e canto fermo* (Bologna: Instituto delle Scienze, 1774). ZAK K1043/I–II
– Morris, R. O., *Contrapuntal Technique in the Sixteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922). KA 2227*
– Müller-Blattau, Josef-Maria, *Die Kompositionslehre Heinrich Schützens in der Fassung seiner Schülers Christoph Bernhard* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1926). KA 2398
– Prout, Ebenezer, *Counterpoint: Strict and Free* (London: Augener, 1890). KA 2529*
– Richter, Ernst Friedrich, *Lehrbuch des einfachen und doppelten Contrapunkts. Praktische Anleitung zu dem Studium desselben zunächts für das Conservatorium der Musik zu Leipzig* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1881[4]). KA 2095*
– Riemann, Hugo, *Lehrbuch des einfachen, doppelten und imitierenden Kontrapunkts* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1888). KA 2102*
– Rischbieter, Wilhelm, *Erläuterungen und Aufgaben zum Studium des Contrapunkts* (Berlin: Ries & Erler, 1884). KA 2114
– Schenker, Heinrich, *Neue musikalische Theorien und Phantasien.* Bd. II: *Kontrapunkt. Erster Halbband: Cantus firmus und zweistimmiger Satz* (Stuttgart/Berlin: Cotta, 1910). *Zweiter Halbband: Drei- und mehrstimmiger Satz, Übergänge zum freien Satz* (Wien/Leipzig: Universal, 1922). ZAK K1807/A/II/1–2*
– Scholz, Bernhard, *Lehre vom Kontrapunkt und den Nachahmungen* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel), 1904. ZAK K843*
– Sechter, Simon, *Die Grundsätze der musikalischen Komposition. Dritte Abtheilung: Vom drei- und zweistimmigen Satze. Rhythmische Entwürfe. Vom strengen Satze, mit kurzen Andeutungen des freien Satzes. Vom doppelte Contrapunkte* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1854). ZAK K1397
– Taneyev, Sergey, *Podvisnoi kontrapunkt strogogo pisma* (Leipzig: Beljaev, 1909). KA 3417

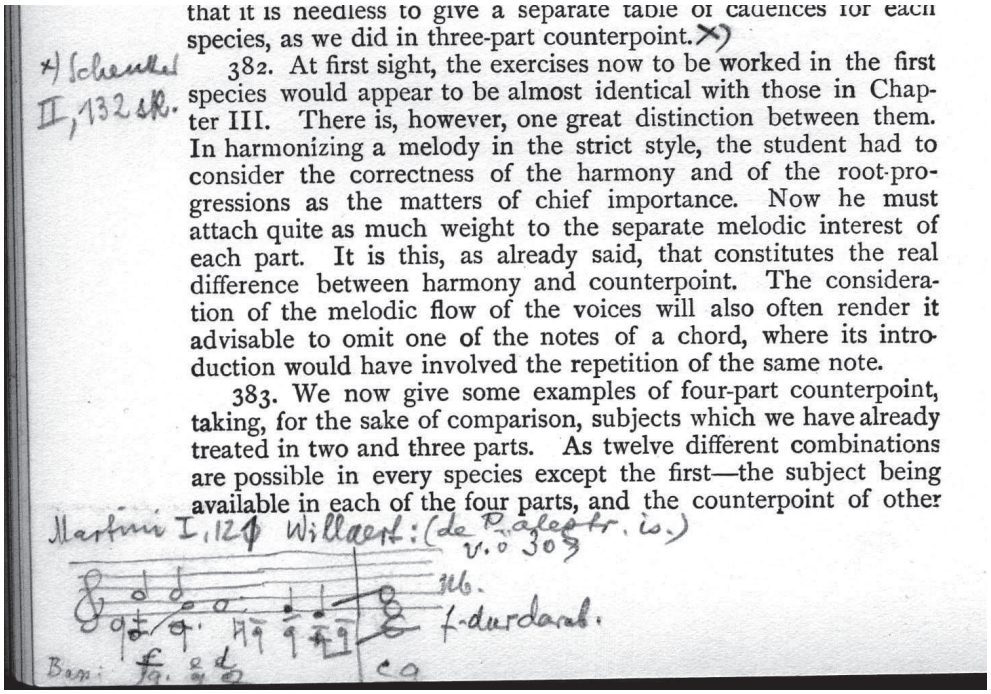
counterpoint[17] (a copy of which features in the Academy of Music library, also without marginal notes by Kodály) in Ebenezer Prout's book on counterpoint (1890; Facsimile 4).[18] Above the reference to Martini is a note in Kodály's hand on the second volume of Schenker's book on counterpoint.[19] The "Kontrapunkt" manuscript reveals Kodály was also familiar with Paul Juon's counterpoint practice; his notes preserve his counterpoints written to many a *cantus firmus* by Juon.[20]

The list of readings makes it clear that Kodály read every known major book on counterpoint, starting with Johann Joseph Fux's treatise (1725), but with the exception of Michael Haller's pioneering textbook published in Regensburg in 1891.[21] The fact that he was not aware of Haller's work – which cannot be found in the library of the Academy of Music either – is evident from the question he asked Jeppesen about the tritone rule in the letter from of 1936 mentioned earlier. He will have read excerpts from Haller's textbook on composition, because Wilhelm Hohn, in his book on counterpoint, quotes long passages from Haller, who had been his professor.[22]

The notes suggest that each time Kodály came across a new book, he returned to his former readings to compare statements and viewpoints. In any case, he had to re-read the main books, because by the 1917/18 semester he was teaching the second-year composition students, whose main area of study – according to the statutes of the Academy of Music[23] – was counterpoint, and he presumably prepared for his classes. Legendary as his memory was, he was compelled to refresh his knowledge annually. His re-readings are marked by his use of pencils of different colours and with different points. Although his reading habits provide a wealth of information important for interpretation and assessment, little emerges about the chronology of his readings.

In his years as a student of the Academy of Music, he came across Richter's book on counterpoint[24] which was compulsory reading in Hans Koessler's class. Written on the front end-paper in Kodály's copy is "Zoltán Kodály, 1901". A similar inscription appears in Riemann's book on counterpoint: "Kodály 1902".[25] He would also have read Siegfried Dehn's counterpoint textbook[26] as an Academy student. Viktor Herzfeld

[17] Martini, *Esemplare.*
[18] Prout, *Counterpoint,* 144. Kodály also refers to Martini's book in the "Kontrapunkt" manuscript: KA Ms. mus. 496/110r, 121r, 132r.
[19] Schenker, *Neue musikalische Theorien,* II/2.
[20] KA Ms. mus. 496/10r–v, 18v,182 1r.
[21] Michael Haller, *Kompositionslehre für Polyphonen Kirchengesang mit besonderer Rüksicht auf die Meisterwerke des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg: Coppenrath, 1891).
[22] Hohn, *Der Kontrapunkt.*
[23] *Az Országos M. Kir. Zeneakadémia Évkönyve az 1916/17-iki tanévről* [Annals of the Hungarian Royal Academy of Music from 1916/1917], ed. by Géza Moravcsik (Budapest: Országos M. Kir. Zeneakadémia, 1927), 50.
[24] Richter, *Lehrbuch.*
[25] Riemann, *Lehrbuch.*
[26] Dehn, *Lehre vom Contrapunct.*


that it is needless to give a separate table of cadences for each species, as we did in three-part counterpoint.*)

382. At first sight, the exercises now to be worked in the first species would appear to be almost identical with those in Chapter III. There is, however, one great distinction between them. In harmonizing a melody in the strict style, the student had to consider the correctness of the harmony and of the root-progressions as the matters of chief importance. Now he must attach quite as much weight to the separate melodic interest of each part. It is this, as already said, that constitutes the real difference between harmony and counterpoint. The consideration of the melodic flow of the voices will also often render it advisable to omit one of the notes of a chord, where its introduction would have involved the repetition of the same note.

383. We now give some examples of four-part counterpoint, taking, for the sake of comparison, subjects which we have already treated in two and three parts. As twelve different combinations are possible in every species except the first—the subject being available in each of the four parts, and the counterpoint of other

*) Schenker II, 132 ff.

Martini I, 124 Willaert: (de Palestr. is.) v. o 305

4. fakszimile: Prout, *Counterpoint,* 144.

held Dehn's counterpoint in high esteem and made it compulsory reading from the 1893–1894 term on, and the Academy had the book translated into Hungarian by István Kereszty.[27] Kodály would also have read Bellermann's counterpoint[28] at that time. The 1902 reports[29] of the reading circle at the Academy of Music library contain a reference to a "Mr. Kodály" returning Bellermann's book. According to the "Kontrapunkt" manuscript, he had become familiar with the works of Fux and Scholz before 1906.[30]

Between 1907 and 1925, Kodály must have read the works of Martini, Albrechtsberger, Cherubini, Jadassohn, Draeseke, Bußler, Krehl, Prout, Sechter, Lobe and Kitson. Obviously, he could not have read the first volume of Schenker's book[31] until after

[27] *Az Országos Magyar Királyi Zeneakadémia Évkönyve* [Annals of the Hungarian Royal Academy of Music], (Budapest: Atheneum, 1894), 22.; Siegfried Wilhelm Dehn, *Az ellenpontozat tana* [The discipline of counterpoint], transl. by István Kereszty (Budapest: Pesti Könyvnyomda, 1893).

[28] Bellermann, *Der Contrapunkt.*

[29] Currently in the Library of the Liszt Academy, no shelf mark.

[30] In the Counterpoint manuscript KA Ms. mus. 497/176, there is a separate bundle of manuscripts which date from before 1906, as the still school-boyish handwriting of Kodály shows. On this basis it can be shown that Kodály as Koessler's pupil went through Fux's and Scholz's books, as well as those of Riemann and Richter. Scholz, *Lehre vom Kontrapunkt.*

[31] Schenker, *Neue musikalische Theorien,* II/1.

1910, the second until after 1922,[32] and Ernst Kurth's great work on Bach until after 1917,[33] which were their years of publication. The library inventory was completely rewritten in the 1927–1928 term, when Margit Prahács became head of the Academy of Music Library, and so with few exceptions it is no longer possible to identify when the other books were acquired.[34] What is certain is that they were all present before 1927. Nor is it known when Kodály acquired his own books, but it is likely that he showed a growing interest in books on counterpoint once he had a chance to teach it, from the 1917/18 term on. He is known to have read Jeppesen's *Palestrinastil* in 1925, and *Kontrapunkt* in 1930 and 1935. Kodály must have read Hohn's and Morris's[35] books on counterpoint (dating form 1918 and 1922, respectively) after reading *Palestrinastil,* as that is where he learnt of them.

It transpires from Kodály's notes that prior to reading *Palestrinastil,* Kodály had mostly read the accounts of Bellermann, Kitson, Prout and Schenker; their books come up most often in his notes.[36] But he immediately saw the significance of Jeppesen's dissertation, and even decades later spoke of it in the highest terms. In the notes to his 1950 work *Bartók the Folklorist,* he wrote as follows about the composition techniques of his peer:

> He [Bartók] nevertheless kept studying, and when finally a work came out that revealed the true, enduring essence of good style in terms of concepts revised and finely tuned over many years, as was Jeppesen's book, he borrowed it one summer and proceeded to buy it; in fact on his piano there were a few volumes of Palestrina's complete works.[37]

Kodály remembered in his 1966 book *Utam a zenéhez* [My path to music]:

> Knud Jeppesen was the first to have illuminated Palestrina's style perfectly. I recall once writing a choral movement, which Koessler told me was "in Palestrina's style". Well, years later I realized this piece was a far cry from Palestrina's style.[38]

[32] Schenker, II/2.
[33] Kurth, *Grundlagen*.
[34] The date of acquisition can only be established from the 1929–1930 term on, when they began to include in the library inventory the date of accession of each new item.
[35] Morris, *Contrapuntal Technique.*
[36] KA Ms. mus. 496: Bellermann: 44r–v, 64r, 65r, 84v, 85r, 86r, 93r, 110v; Kitson: 26r, 34r, 41r, 93r, 94r, 102v; Prout: 1r, 17v, 23r, 28r–30r, 32r, 44r, 45r, 47r–48r, 50r, 61r, 63r, 64r, 66r, 67r, 81r, 82r, 83r, 84v, 85r, 89r, 94r, 100r, 101r–102v, 138r, 139r–v, 141r, 143r; Schenker: 42r, 44r, 52r, 63r, 64r, 72r, 83r, 84v, 85r.
[37] Zoltán Kodály, *Közélet, vallomások, zeneélet. Kodály Zoltán hátrahagyott írásai* [Public life, confessions, musical life. The literary remains of Kodály], ed. by Lajos Vargyas (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1989), 208.
[38] Zoltán Kodály, "Utam a zenéhez" [My path to music], in id., *Visszatekintés,* III: *Hátrahagyott írások, beszédek, nyilatkozatok* [Recollections, III: Literary remains, talks, statements], ed. by Ferenc Bónis (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1989), 542.

In 1964 he wrote an introduction to a book by a pupil of his, Tibor Serly:

> In my career as a teacher I gradually moved from Bach to Palestrina, to the latter with the help of Knud Jeppesen's brilliant book. This book helps achieve self-control – and a sense of responsibility for every single note.[39]

Two key ideas return in Kodály's lines. First, he lights the fact that Jeppesen "revealed […] the true, enduring essence of good style" and "perfectly illuminated Palestrina's style", and secondly, not yet really familiar with Palestrina's style, he only gradually moved onto it from Bach. Characteristic of his thinking is what he wrote to Jeppesen after 1 October 1930:

> May I share some other desires of mine? If you could supplement your *Palestrinastil* (with the technical characteristics of other modes of writing), you would achieve something similar to what Kurth failed to do with Bach.

Kodály understandably compared Jeppesen's *Palestrinastil* with Ernst Kurth's 1917 analysis of Bach – the two books concluded two centuries of "single combat". Kodály's counterpoint readings, too, belonged to two different schools, one based on Palestrina, the other with Bach as the role model for teaching counterpoint. The textbook authors of both schools followed the structure of Joseph Fux's *Gradus ad Panassum,* which enjoyed immense popularity, coming out in Lorenz Mizler's German in 1742, in English in 1770, and in French in 1773.[40] Fux's book consists of two parts. The first – theory – is an introduction to the analysis of intervals; the second part – practice – establishes a system of five species for two, three and four voices. This is followed by fugue studies – meaning imitation structure in Fux – and practical exercises in double counterpoint in octave, tenths and twelfths.

Although structurally these books followed Fux's *Gradus,* they form two distinct groups, depending on whether they belonged to the Palestrina or the Bach camp. The advocates of the Palestrina style – Fux's followers, supporters of the Cecilian Movement such as Bellermann, Haller, Hohn and Morris – made a case for the modal church keys, and took the linear and melodic nature of Palestrina's music as a starting point in their vocally-inspired exercises, believing that harmony must adapt to the linear character of this music. The other school – Albrechtsberger, the Anti-Cecilians including Sechter, Dehn, Scholz, Richter, Draeseke, Bußler, Riemann, Jadassohn and Krehl, as well as English theorists Kitson and Prout, constituting the German tradition

[39] Zoltán Kodály, "Serly Tibor könyve elé" [Introduction to Tibor Serly's book], in Kodály, *Visszatekintés,* III, 127.

[40] Johann Joseph Fux, *Gradus ad Parnassum oder Anfuehrung zur Regelmäßigen Musikalischen Composition auf eine neue, gewisse, und bisher noch niemals in so deutlicher Ordnung an das Licht gebrachte Art,* transl. and ed. by Lorenz Mizler (Leipzig: Mizler, 1742). Italian translation: Carpi: Manfredi, 1761. English translation: London: Preston, 1770. French translation: Paris: Denis, 1773.

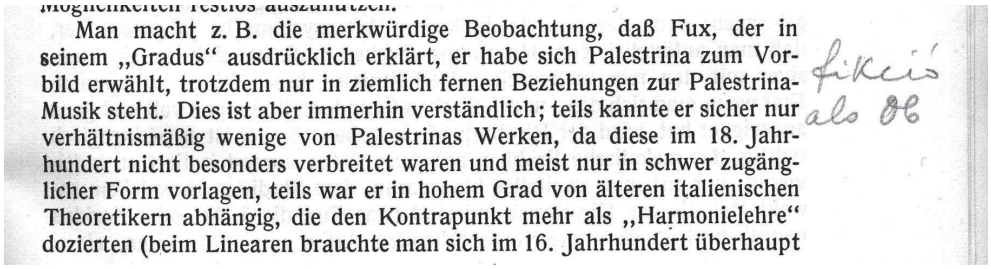
originating itself from Kirnberger – regarded Bach as the ultimate classic in the art of counterpoint. Their starting point was major and minor tonality, and they encouraged their pupils to superimpose their instrumental counterpoint exercises on a predetermined harmonic plan. This was, in fact, the approach taken by the composition professors of the Budapest Academy of Music – Hans Koessler, Viktor Herzfeld and Albert Siklós – as attested by the textbooks written by the last two.[41]

Advocates of Palestrina passed down Fux's rules from book to book. But while rejecting the contrapuntal practices of his contemporaries in the 1720s and recommending Palestrina's brand of counterpoint, Fux had no knowledge whatsoever of Palestrina's works, lacking as he did any of his manuscripts or contemporary publications. So the rules he set were more reflective of a "Palestrina style" modified and distorted over a century and more, than of Palestrina's actual style. Hence Kodály's note on page xi of the introduction to Jeppesen's *Kontrapunkt* (Facsimile 5) refers to: "fiction als ob".

I came across the expression "fiction" in several places in Kodály's notes. It makes the point that the style Fux and some of the Bach advocates such as Prout and Bußler, who were making an attempt to present in their works the Palestrina style and the modal keys and to Bach's counterpoint rules, was in fact a non-existing, fictitious style. Bellermann was the first counterpoint textbook author to go back to Fux, who was actually familiar with Palestrina's works. Haller, Hohn and eventually Jeppesen followed in his footsteps.

Fux's didactic approach proved so reliable that over two hundred years later, Jeppesen's *Kontrapunkt* employed a similar scheme – discounting his omission of double counterpoint – as did the works of Albrechtsberger, Cherubini, Bellermann, Dehn, Scholz, Prout, Krehl, Riemann, Bußler, Jadassohn, Schenker and Hohn. Naturally, each textbook has its minor differences. For example, Jadassohn, Draeseke, Richter and his follower Prout began by teaching counterpoint through exercises for four voices. Bußler advocates triple meter, Scholz a free-rhythm counterpoint built on *cantus firmus,* while Hohn has exercises for both types. Scholz swaps the chapters on imitation and double counterpoint; Dehn analyses all possible forms of double counterpoint (not only in octaves, tenths and twelfths, but in other intervals too), while Schenker decided not to discuss it at all. Unconnected with Fux's Western tradition was the Italian Padre Martini, the greatest merits of whose two-volume textbook for Kodály would have been the many 15th- and 16th-century Italian examples, often entire works. (In Facsimile 4 Kodály quotes an example by Willaert taken from Martini's book.)

[41] Viktor Herzfeld, *A fuga* [The fugue] (Budapest: Rozsnyai, 1913); Albert Siklós, *Ellenponttan* [The study of counterpoint] (Budapest: Rozsnyai, 1913).


Möglichkeiten restlos auszunützen.

Man macht z. B. die merkwürdige Beobachtung, daß Fux, der in seinem „Gradus" ausdrücklich erklärt, er habe sich Palestrina zum Vorbild erwählt, trotzdem nur in ziemlich fernen Beziehungen zur Palestrina-Musik steht. Dies ist aber immerhin verständlich; teils kannte er sicher nur verhältnismäßig wenige von Palestrinas Werken, da diese im 18. Jahrhundert nicht besonders verbreitet waren und meist nur in schwer zugänglicher Form vorlagen, teils war er in hohem Grad von älteren italienischen Theoretikern abhängig, die den Kontrapunkt mehr als „Harmonielehre" dozierten (beim Linearen brauchte man sich im 16. Jahrhundert überhaupt

Facsimile 5: Jeppesen, *Kontrapunkt,* XI.

These musical excerpts were invaluable to Kodály and other enthusiasts prior to the arrival of the complete works of Palestrina at the Academy of Music in 1907.[42]

Heinrich Schenker's and Ernst Kurth's polemic works sought to challenge the 19th-century notion of teaching counterpoint, which they believed to be unrealistic and unmusical. They both proclaimed that living music did not have predetermined rules, and so the art of composition could not be mastered on a basis of textbook rules, only through extensive study of classical masterworks. Both authors produced scholarly studies, even though they had intended them as textbooks. Kurth believed Bachian counterpoint to have been conceived on linear and melodic foundations, rather than harmony, the essence of a contrapuntal composition being that the different melodies sounding together develop in a way least detrimental to melodic formation and sonority, but in contrast with harmony, not with the help of it. So in his study he took the polyphony of the cello suites, solo violin sonatas and partitas, accomplished in a single voice, and shed light on the laws of consonance by analyzing two-part compositions: the inventions. His work seeks to be exhaustive in an encyclopedic way, and discusses the characteristics of Bachian melody, rhythm, formation of melodies, part-writing, various technical processes, and the features of the resulting inner energy, which is a keyword in Kurth's musical aesthetics and psychology. But it does not offer a historical perspective. It does not discuss the relations of Bach's style to that of his predecessors or delve into its inner development.

[42] Before 1907, Kodály would have known Renaissance polyphonic works from various collections, including Karl Proske's series *Musica Divina* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1874; shelf mark Z8042/I–VIII LH in the Library of the Liszt Academy of Music) which had come from Liszt's estate. See *Liszt Ferenc hagyatéka a budapesti Zeneművészeti Főiskolán* [The estate of Franz Liszt at the Academy of Music in Budapest], vol. II, ed. by Mária Eckhardt (Budapest: Liszt Academy of Music, n. d.) = *A Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Főiskola tudományos közleményei* [The scholarly publications of the Liszt Academy of Music], vol. 3, ed. by János Kárpáti. Another key source was Franz Commer's *Musica Sacra* (Berlin: Bote & Bock, 1838, shelf mark Z4496/I-XIV in the Academy of Music library) and Michael Haller's Op. 88 *Exempla Poliphoniae Ecclesiasticae* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1904, shelf mark Z 13420/I–II in the Academy of Music library), a two-volume collection – indeed, Kodály's notes can be found in these items.

Schenker's two-volume work cannot be seen as a textbook either, though it follows Fux's textbook structure. He is a critical of his forebears – Fux, Albrechtsberger, Cherubini and Bellermann – and makes a strong case against what he calls the "pseudo-knowledge" and "pseudo-science" that they promulgate, citing Viennese Classical and Romantic masterpieces to support his claims. He approaches the subject from the angle of composing method, not composition studies, by exploring what exactly the function of counterpoint teaching is, and what the pupil learns and can employ as a composer. But because his work can boast neither historical experience nor a thorough analysis of the style of Palestrina or Bach, it is even more theoretical than its predecessors, mostly downright hypothetical in fact, despite approaching composition studies from a practical point of view.

Jeppesen's *Kontrapunkt* follows Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* in structure and educational approach without setting objectives like Schenker's and Kurth's. Its novelty lies in being based on his other work, *Palestrinastil*. In a certain sense, his analysis of Palestrina's style and discussion of the treatment of dissonance take a similar approach to Kurth's and Schenker's. Jeppesen sought to write a critical essay of the Fuxian tradition, clarifying and rectifying his predecessors' errors and describing hitherto unobserved phenomena. However, his method was far more systematic than Kurth's and Schenker's. He reviewed Palestrina's entire œuvre known at the time, and structured his subject to admit of statistical considerations and categorization of the musical solutions.

Jeppesen divides Palestrina's music into three key elements: melody, harmony and dissonance, corresponding to the three main chapters in his book. Of each key element he discusses the smallest constituents: the characteristics of melodic structure, the nature of musical accents, the sets of notes, the features of interval patterns, the modes of use of typical rhythm patterns (such as the melodic rules of crotchet movement), various formulae of rhythmic movement, and the possibilities for applying specific intervals (thirds, fifths, sixths, octaves) within harmony; he analyses the influences the style underwent and compares Palestrina's works with those of his predecessors in terms of style and of compositional practice. He highlights the reasons for "irregularities" and calls attention to transcription errors in the edition of Palestrina's complete works.

By this method of stylistic criticism, he succeeds in identifying the features of Palestrina's style, and uses his observations to draw historical, philological and aesthetic conclusions. Central to his theory is dissonance. There is tension between the melodic and harmonic dimensions in Palestrina's music, born of which is the dissonance present in both "spheres of musical ideas", to use Jeppesen's term for the vertical and horizontal aspects of music. To achieve the vertical idea, triads need to sound in the optimal sonority, while the horizontal idea is best achieved in diatonic movement. To keep these two "ideas" in balance, it is imperative for dissonance to be strictly treated step by step. This shapes one of the underlying rules of Palestrina's style: that dissonance, while it has a practical function in harmony, can be interpreted as a melodic

phenomenon. So in addition to melodically motivated and unintentional – passing and ornamental – dissonances and to dissonances serving musical expression, the definitive element in Palestrina's style is a primary, consciously motivated, musical dissonance: a syncope at odds with the consonance born of the new harmonic ideas. These new harmonic impulses entered late 16th-century music from folk music, or rather through the influence of the *frottola* genre. Dissonance would become a musical effect precisely because all attention was on consonance. Jeppesen believed that the way it embraces dissonance as a musical phenomenon constitutes the novelty of this conservative, culminating art.

Kodály was presumably taken by the methodology of Jeppesen's book. In his notes and writings he often compares it to books on Mozart by Wyzewa–Saint-Foix,[43] works brought a breath a fresh air to musical historiography through a novel approach to stylistic history and criticism. This approach to musical scholarship assumed a key role in Kodály's musicological thinking, too. In his study "Three Hungarian songs by Lukács Mihálovits" he summed up his methodological approach like this:

> Familiarity with a style comes when one can trace its emergence, flourishing, waning and vanishing, chart its course and spread, determine laws at every stage of its development, and establish its relevant clichés and individual differences.[44]

The same approach is evident in Kodály's writings on folk music. His great study on Hungarian folk music[45] classifies different types based on the characteristics of the flourishing multitude of folk songs. He focuses on the analysis of melodic structure, phraseology, rhythm, form, line structure, set of notes and the use of intervals. He also compares Hungarian folk melodies with the music of related peoples, establishes the influences of European music, church music, secular art music and the popular art song, and through his method of stylistic criticism, succeeds in pinpointing the "corrupted" forms of folk songs and incorrect notations. Not unlike Jeppesen, Kodály's observations lead him to drawing aesthetic conclusions, not just historical and philological deductions. In a study that seeks to be straightforward in its musical analyses, the passage on the treatment of intervals is a case in point:

[43] Cf. Kodály's article "Mihálovits Lukács három magyar nótája" [Three Hungarian songs by Lukács Mihálovits] published in 1951 in *Új Zenei Szemle* and his notes. In Zoltán Kodály, *Visszatekintés,* II: *Összegyűjtött írások, beszédek, nyilatkozatok* [Recollections, II: Collected writings, talks, statements], ed. by Ferenc Bónis (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1964), 271.; id., *Magyar zene, magyar nyelv, magyar vers. Kodály Zoltán hátrahagyott írásai* [Hungarian music, Hungarian language, Hungarian poetry. The literary remains of Zoltán Kodály], ed. by Lajos Vargyas (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1993) 136.

[44] Kodály, "Mihálovits Lukács három magyar nótája" [Three Hungarian songs by Lukács Mihálovits], *Visszatekintés,* II, 271.

[45] Kodály, "A magyar népzene" [The Hungarian folk music], *Visszatekintés,* III, 292–372.

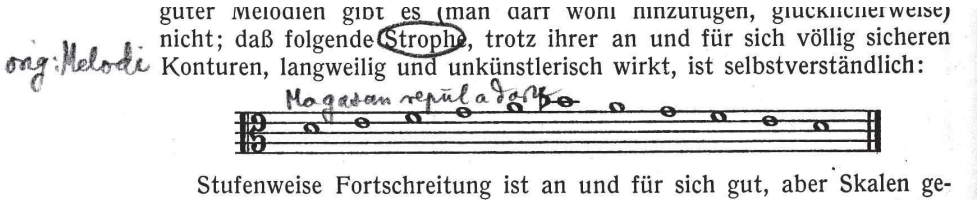
> Nothing remains but a major and a minor second, a third, a fourth and a fifth up and down; a minor sixth and octave up. This should not be seen as meagre or primitive. Every great classical style is marked by selection rather than amassing of means. In terms of choosing intervals, Hungarian folk song is almost identical with two of the peaks of melody: Gregorian chant and the melodies of the Palestrina style. In both we find a monophonic melodic style. Despite its polyphonic texture, the melodic line in the Palestrina style does not betray its monophonic character.[46]

It is typical that Kodály should cite Palestrina style as an example alongside Gregorian chant, when discussing the two peaks of melodic culture. Both of Kodály's copies of Jeppesen's books have examples of folk songs that Kodály wrote in to support or disagreement with Jeppesen's claims. "Ablakomba, ablakomba" [The moonlight shines in my window] in Facsimile 2 was one such example, where Kodály was referring to the differences of Hungarian versus German folk songs in terms of accentual relations, pointing out that while German melodies tended to highlight accents by means of a high note, in Hungarian folk music the accent was not necessarily on the highest note.[47]

On page 80 of *Kontrapunkt,* Jeppesen explains in connection with an Aeolian melody based on D and consisting of set of eleven notes that in spite of its symmetrical construction and well-defined contours, it is boring and inartistic (Facsimile 6). Above the melody Kodály wrote the text incipit of "Magasan repül a daru" [The crane flies high], a Hungarian folksy art-song whose first line, like Jeppesen's example, consists of an upward and a downward scale (albeit in a major key). This melodic structure, too, is inartistic, or as Kodály puts it, an example of a "transitional type of man's" "lack of culture".[48] But the importance of Kodály's notes lies chiefly in the inferences they offer. It appears he read Jeppesen's books in a way that let his own scholarly interests "work away" in the background, and all he wrote of Palestrina's style he compared and measured with his own experience in folk music.

However, there may have been other things about Jeppesen's book that held Kodály's attention; things that shed light on what Palestrina's music meant to him. As quoted already from Kodály's study on the folk music of Hungary, "[i]n spite of its polyphonic texture, the Palestrina style does not betray its monophonic character". As Kodály points out in the closing chapter of that study, monophony is not a sign of meagreness, "[i]t is no primitive product, but an art matured and refined by thousands of years of evolution".[49] Kodály's avid interest in counterpoint must have been rooted

[46] Ibid., 331.
[47] Kodály, "Magyarság a zenében" [Hungarianness in music], *Visszatekintés,* II, 245.
[48] Kodály describes the popular art-song with these words in "A magyar népzene" [Folk music of Hungary], *Visszatekintés,* III, 297.
[49] Ibid., 371–372.


guter Melodien gibt es (man darf wohl hinzufügen, glücklicherweise) nicht; daß folgende Strophe, trotz ihrer an und für sich völlig sicheren Konturen, langweilig und unkünstlerisch wirkt, ist selbstverständlich:

Stufenweise Fortschreitung ist an und für sich gut, aber Skalen ge-

Facsimile 6: Jeppesen, *Kontrapunkt,* 80.

in the way Palestrina's style truly represented the kind of polyphony which, as Jeppesen said, drew almost exclusively on monophony, and its evolution into polyphony was in effect by chance. It was this characteristic that made it paradigmatic in Zoltán Kodály's eyes. First, it revealed the exemplary historical course that Hungarian musical culture might take to become polyphonic, and secondly it trained composers to a "good style" through which a culture of music might evolve at all.

2. Practice

In a polemic study exploring the role of counterpoint in modern music, Theodor Wiesengrund Adorno dismissed in strong terms the received idea that the 20th-century renascence of counterpoint occurred as Historicism gained ground.[50] When composers' attention turned to the technique of counterpoint, they were not out to rehash an old method of composition. The rules of counterpoint had been born from the immanent laws of the sphere of composers seeking to integrate, transform and consolidate form, harmony and counterpoint, and to create new music. In other words, it evolved from the inner organisation of the work.[51] Adorno was in agreement with Ernst Kurth that the emancipation of counterpoint was linked with a novel interpretation of harmony[52] – the greater the independence notes acquire within a harmony, the more polyphonic the individual chords become.[53] This procedure leads modern music to "pan-counterpoint", which allows, on the one hand, the spirit of counterpoint to develop unhindered, but on the other can potentially cause its death.[54] It was the immanent development of compositional technique that led Adorno to turn against the common idea that counterpoint represented the polyphonic music of a relatively homogeneous, closed society. He be-

[50] Theodor Wiesengrund Adorno, "Die Funktion des Kontrapunkts in der neuen Musik", in *Klangfiguren. Musikalische Schriften,* Bd. I (Berlin/Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1959), 210–247.
[51] Ibid., 223.
[52] Ibid., 216.
[53] Ibid., 218.
[54] Adorno clearly had serialism in mind at this point. Ibid., 228 and 238.

lieved no "contrapuntal cosmos" could restore the structure of modern society, and modern counterpoint was actually a symbol of polyphony that lacked a community.[55]

Adorno's concept clearly came from his aim to make Schoenberg's music absolute, but his assessment draws attention to the fact that counterpoint, unlike the tradition of form and harmony, which was unbroken until the 20th century, had not be to the fore in compositional thinking for a long time, and when it was, it had always needed specific aesthetic-poetic considerations, so that it only became a focus of composers' interest in the 20th century. The history of compositional ideas has yet to be examined from this angle,[56] although the majority of 20th-century composers, including Schoenberg, Hindemith, Stravinsky, Bartók and Kodály, consciously sought to create contrapuntal works. The increase in 20th-century theoretical works on the counterpoint of earlier ages, and the publication and popularity of works by Kurth, Schenker and Jeppesen, attest to the importance of counterpoint in the aesthetics of new music.

At the same time it is clear that as Neo-Classicism spread, counterpoint was introduced into the works of many composers with historicizing intentions, and that from the 1930s, contemporaries saw it as the symbol and prerequisite of an ideal society.[57] This idea was advanced in *Moderne Polyphonie* (1930) by Siegfried Günther, who later had Nazi leanings. He claimed that polyphony was an expression of collectiveness,[58] not individuality, and that modern polyphony chiefly had a sociological function.[59] Smaller ensembles could perform contemporary polyphonic works, and building on these small, musically educated communities, the audiences of the future could be groomed within the span of a few decades.[60] Accordingly, Günther dedicated a chapter to the relationship of modern polyphony and musical education,[61] highlighting the sig-

[55] Ibid., 216.

[56] Which is why Adorno's detailed if biased analysis is so important. Charles Warren Fox sought to elaborate the issue with a specific phenomenological, analytical approach: "Modern Counterpoint: A Phenomenological Approach", *Notes* 6/1 (December 1948), 46–57. Diether de la Motte experimented with analyzing certain works ("Kontrapunkt") and Siegfried Borris explored some technical issues ("Probleme des Kontrapunkts"). Both studies can be found in *Terminologie der neuen Musik. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für neue Musik und Musikerziehung Darmstadt,* hrsg. von Siegfried Borris et. al., Bd. 5 (Berlin: Merseburger, 1965), 7–16 and 17–24.

[57] Kodály's pupil Antal Molnár was among those to share this view: Antal Molnár, "Az egyházi zene története rövid áttekintésben. 3. rész" [A short overview of church music, part 3], *Katholikus Kántor* 17/3 (March 1928), 66–68.

[58] Siegfried Günther, *Moderne Polyphonie* (Berlin–Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1930). Günther, a music pedagogue, co-initiated in 1937–1938 a debate on the applicability of, and methodological basis for racial theory in musicology, in *Archiv für Musikforschung.* For detail see Pamela S. Potter, "Incentives to Explore the Race Problem and the Jewish Question in Musicology", in *Most Germans of the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 182.

[59] Günther, *Moderne Polyphonie,* 70.

[60] Ibid., 71.

[61] Ibid., 72–88. It is worth comparing in this respect Günther's book with the writings of György Kerényi, in particular *Az énekkari műveltség kezdetei* [The beginnings of choral education] = *Népszerű zenefüzetek 6* [Popular musical booklets] (Budapest: Somló Béla, 1936).

nificance of the folk song in the birth of the new counterpoint. This goes to show how close his views were to those of Kodály's pupils. Yet Günther saw Ervin Lendvai as the father of modern polyphony;[62] his book discussing numerous contemporary composers including Bartók fails to mention Kodály at all.[63]

Hungarian-language writing on Kodály agrees that counterpoint assumes a central role in his oeuvre. László Eősze argued that "Baroque linearity, Renaissance light and equilibrium attracted and occupied him throughout his life. Bach was 'food for his mind' and one of the most important at that, and in Palestrina, apart from the discipline and purity of part-writing, he admired a 'degree of responsibility found in no one else'."[64] Ferenc Bónis also wrote how "Palestrina's works were the measure of knowledge and inspiration for Kodály the choral composer",[65] and as János Breuer noted, "Kodály's school […] recreated the vocal counterpoint of the Palestrina style, from the *Bicinia Hungarica* to his largest scale, monumental works for mixed choir".[66] Kodály's pupils, however, looked to Lassus as the precursor of their master.[67] As early as 1917, Antal Molnár pointed out that Kodály was including the folk song in his teaching of counterpoint, and it was due to this "Hungarian counterpoint" that Hungarian music could finally be absorbed into the bloodstream of young people.[68] Lajos Bárdos, too, believed Kodály had specifically created "Hungarian polyphony".[69]

In his short monograph on Kodály, Antal Molnár described the features of folk-song-based Hungarian counterpoint through an analysis of *Mátrai képek* [Mátra pictures]:

> The figurative ornament of the melody becomes an independent counter-melody. The contours of the parts grow out of each other into a solid body; form is none other than the melody's radiance toward its innermost depths (and that is the key to

[62] Günther, *Moderne Polyphonie,* 97.
[63] At the time of publication in 1930, he could not have discussed Kodály in this context in any case, due to the lack of compositions and statements to this effect.
[64] László Eősze, "Jézus és a kufárok. Kodály vegyeskari motettája" [Jesus and the traders. Kodály's motet for mixed choir], in id., *Örökségünk Kodály. Válogatott tanulmányok* [Kodály: our inheritance. Selected studies] (Budapest: Osiris, 2000), 85.
[65] Ferenc Bónis, "Neoklasszikus vonások Kodály zenéjében" [Neoclassical features in Kodály's music], in *Magyar zenetörténeti tanulmányok Kodály Zoltán emlékére* [Studies in the history of Hungarian music in memory of Kodály], ed. by Ferenc Bónis (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1977), 219.
[66] János Breuer, "Bartók és Kodály" [Bartók and Kodály], in id., *Bartók és Kodály. Tanulmányok századunk magyar zenetörténetéhez* [Bartók and Kodály. Studies in the Hungarian music history of our century] (Budapest: Magvető, 1978), 21.
[67] Kerényi, *Az énekkari műveltség kezdetei* [The beginnings of choral education], 28. Antal Molnár, "Az egyházi zene története rövid áttekintésben. 2. rész" [A short overview of church music, part 2], *Katholikus Kántor* 17/2 (February 1929), 39.
[68] Antal Molnár, "Magyar kontrapunkt" [Hungarian counterpoint], *Zenei Szemle* 1/4 (June 1917), 120.
[69] Lajos Bárdos, "Kodály gyermekkarairól" [Kodály's children's choruses], in *Tíz újabb írás. 1969–1974* [Ten new writings. 1969–1974] (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1974), 115–210. See Chapter Two, entitled "Polifónia" [Polyphony], 154–176.

> all independent counterpoint!). Like a root, the melodic material in the composer's mind shoots its trunk, branches and leaves – everything that was there already but required the sunshine of individual inspiration. There is no sign of "enrobing in harmony": the folk song provides its own context, ideas sprout from one voice to the other, and atavistically intertwine.[70]

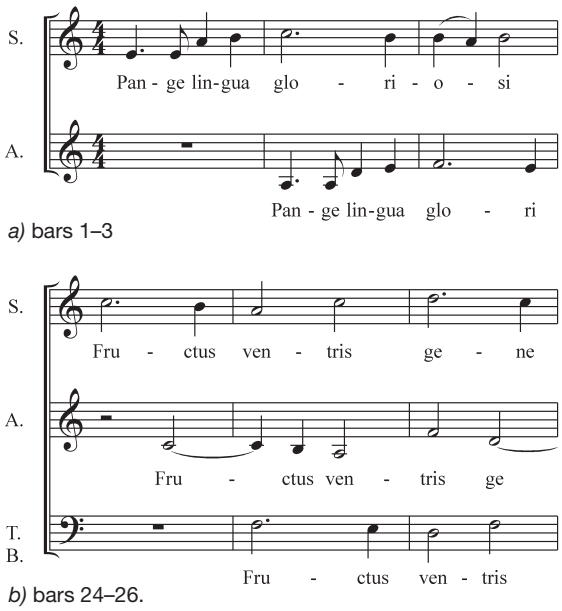
In Molnár's interpretation, then, counterpoint evolves from the melody; the numerous counter-melodies enshrouding the melody do not constitute any kind of a harmonic structure, but rather a musical fabric born of the ornaments and configurations of the melodies. Every subsequent contrapuntal development evolves from the melody. "The ultimate test of the melody's strength", Molnár writes, "is the way in which its complete melodic environment is born of it, by means of parthenogenesis".[71] In other words, Kodály's Hungarian counterpoint is not an imprint of social structure, not even a symbol of community art, but rather something that shows by example how a complete contrapuntal network is created from a monophonic Hungarian folk song by parthenogenesis.

The fact that Kodály's interest in counterpoint came from polyphony born of monophony, rather than from a reception of Renaissance choral polyphony, is supported by his own compositions, in addition to the notes in his readings. It should be noted that his choral works feature very few turns and characteristics evocative of the style of Palestrina or Lassus, and only occasionally do they take on Palestrinian traits. His *a cappella* works do not, for the most part, display the features described by Jeppesen – rhythm reduced to a few values, the principle of stepwise motion, avoidance of broken triads, strict treatment of dissonance, an equilibrium of themes, or consistent imitation followed through the entire formal section.

Pangue Lingua is widely regarded as a paradigmatic work of Hungarian church music, which had been undergoing renewal since the 1930s. Constructed from slower notes and consisting of a diatonic scale, the melody in the first half of the motet (bars 1–14) is sung in a fifth canon by the upper two voices (soprano and alto). Meanwhile the bass – whose *incipit* resembles that of the upper two parts and only diverges later on – has a subordinate, accompanying role (Example 1a). In the second half, the new fifth canon is again intoned by the soprano and alto, but when it is repeated, the alto enters two crotchets ahead in bar 24, and its melody is not a fifth but an octave apart (Example 1b). Here the regular fifth canon is ensured by the entry of the bass voice, but in the three-part structure the alto merely has a harmonic, auxiliary role.

This motet is the most evocative of the Palestrina style of any of Kodály's choral works. Its rhythmic equilibrium, use of whole notes, half-notes and quarter-notes, its imitational structure, and its progression in second leaps are all reminiscent of Roman

[70] Antal Molnár, *Kodály Zoltán* (Budapest: Somló Béla, 1936), 45.
[71] Ibid., 42.

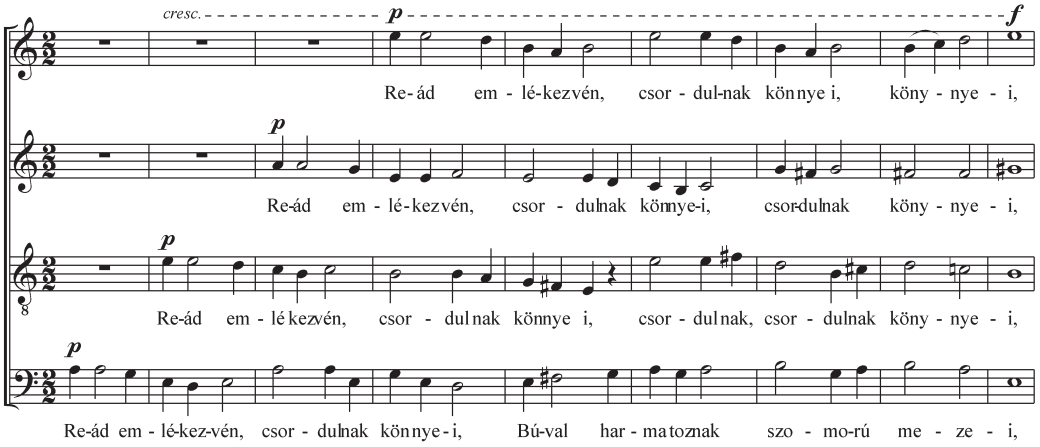


Example 1a–b: *Pange Lingua*

ecclesiastic composer. Yet there are unorthodox solutions as well, where Kodály moves to a dissonance on an accent (third quarter-note in bar 2 and third quarter-note in bar 9), the melody involves broken triads (bars 5–6 in the soprano, bars 6–7 in the alto, bars 19–20 in the soprano, bars 21–22 in the alto, bars 26–27 in the alto, bars 27–28 in the alto and bars 30–31 in the bass). In addition to these irregularities, the work's song-like character is out of keeping with the Palestrina style, which is achieved by the soprano voice's unbroken A–Av–B–B melodic structure and its dominance.

The first half of the "Reád emlékezvén" [Remembering you] section of *Ének Szent István királyhoz* [Hymn to King Saint Stephen] (bars 24–32, Example 2) is also evocative of Palestrina. The folk hymn *cantus firmus* is sung by the bass. The other three parts enter by imitating the melody, but depart from the progression of the theme as early as the following bars, while remaining close in rhythmic form and scheme. The two types of rhythmic formula (quarter-note and half-note), following the principle of stepwise motion[72] and the use of prepared and passing dissonances, all contribute to the Palestrina feel. But Kodály departs from his stylistic forebear on several points: the bass *cantus firmus* evolves in a song-like manner, a features that works against any Palestrina-style imitational motet.

[72] Albeit Kodály does not strictly adhere to the rules here either: after a downward leap he moves down again instead of changing the direction of movement – it is true, however, that this irregularity follows from the cantus firmus.



Example 2: *Ének Szent István királyhoz,* bars 24–32.

Perhaps the song-like character of Kodály's counterpoint choruses spurred two studies of the features of Kodály's counterpoint – by Lajos Bárdos and Mihály Ittzés[73] – to analyze his two-part vocal exercises rather than his choruses. While Bárdos's classification attempt primarily sought to isolate sections of free and bound counterpoint – dividing the latter into two subgroups, 1) counterpoint fabrics that do not contain imitation and 2) actual imitation – Ittzés was out to demonstrate Kodály's stylistic patterns in the two-part vocal exercises. He believed that in these vocal works Kodály relied on Renaissance, Baroque and Romantic models, in addition to his folk inspiration, but not on Viennese Classicism, first due to the essentially homophonic style, which brought nothing new in harmonic terms compared to the Baroque, secondly because it was instrumentally conceived music, and thirdly because in Kodály's mind it chiefly assumed significance in terms of form.[74]

Bárdos came across Renaissance antecedents in *Bicina Hungarica,* Baroque models in the 15, 55 and 44 two-part vocal exercises, both styles in Kodály's 66 two-part exercises, folk music in the 77 two-part exercises, and Romanticism in the 22 and 33 two-part vocal exercises. He considered imitational construction, canon technique, chromaticism, and certain specific idioms and types of theme to be part of a Baroque stylistic pattern, while he regarded as Romantic certain typical groups of chords, key relationships, and chromaticism. He was able to find very few Renaissance antecedents

[73] Bárdos, "Kodály gyermekkarairól" [Kodály's children's choruses] and Mihály Ittzés, "Kodály énekgyakorlatai" [Kodály's vocal exercises], in id., *22 zenei írás. (Kodály és... elődök, kortársak, utódok.)* [22 studies in music. (Kodály and ... predecessors, contemporaries, successors)] (Kecskemét: Kodály Intézet, 1999), 97–120.

[74] Ittzés, "Kodály énekgyakorlatai", 98.

and in fact saw only two music historical references.[75] But he was at variance with Antal Molnár's interpretation in believing he had discovered a "harmonic background" in the two-voice texture in Kodály's vocal exercises.[76]

Kodály's writings contain surprisingly few references to counterpoint technique. The longest discussion of it by him occurs in a lecture he gave in 1951, where he compares the theme entries in fugues, i.e. the practice of tonal and real answers, with the features of fifth-shifting Hungarian folk songs:

> Someone who has graduated at the Academy and knows twenty-five fugues by heart may be liable to think that this phenomenon [tonal answer] can be found exclusively in polyphonic fugues. On the other hand, we can see that it has nothing to do with polyphony; it was not polyphony that created it; it was not polyphony that gave birth to it. It is a principle in the construction of music in one voice and can be demonstrated in various musical literatures – in the Far East and all over the world – that never knew polyphony. It is a principle that wants to maintain melodic unity by, among other things, not jumping with a jolt out of the initial key but by linking smoothly and cautiously the first notes of the tune with those following it and thus creating a closer connection between them.
>
> This phenomenon can be found in many of our folk songs. If we inspect all the songs in which there is a fifth relationship – by the second section being either lower or higher – we shall find such "tonal" symptoms at every turn, that is to say divergences from the strict, crude fifth transposition by the use of a fourth here and there, and by the first phrase not exceeding an octave. The octave of the phrases forces this because it is the octave we want to hear. If we go beyond it, the effect offends our ear in certain respects. But there are also exceptions; there are continuations of the tune where the crude fifth transposition asserts itself so rigidly that we are obliged to leap nine notes right after the final note of the first phrase or section […].
>
> If the ear has become accustomed to a tonal continuation it cannot help finding this sudden jump of a ninth jarring, or, at least, sharp. It poses a problem from the singing point of view, too, and it is not impossible that in the development of the ancient tonal custom the fact that tonal answers are generally easier to sing may have played a role. (Anyway, we have to acknowledge that there are ones like this, too, and that we call them real, as opposed to tonal answers – initial themes transposed literally, in their complete reality.

[75] Ibid., 99–101. He compared the melody of *Bicinia hungarica* no. 115 – an arrangement of Geneva Psalm 124 – with a melody from Lassus's *Puisque j'ay perdu* mass and demonstrated kinship between the melody of *Kis kacsa fürdik* [The little duck swims] (BH/101) and a chorale by Nicolaus Herman from around 1560.

[76] Ibid., 99.

> The same can be found in the field of the fugue, too. There, too, certain composers in certain periods preferred the real continuation to the tonal one.[77]

Kodály, then, traces the tonal and real answers in fugues back to folk music's fifth-shifting mechanism, stressing the primacy of folk music. He also points out that fifth-shifting – which corresponds to a tonal response with its highlighting of the octave interval – occurs more frequently in Hungarian and related folk music than clear-cut fifth transposition, as it is easier to sing. But the quoted passage confirms Antal Molnár's belief that Kodály's Hungarian counterpoint draws on folk-song potential.

This assumption is supported by a collection of several hundred pages of notes held at the Kodály Archives in Budapest in a file marked "Kontrapunkt", most of which are dedicated to issues of two-part counterpoint.[78] The manuscript is thought to have been written prior to or around the same time as *Bicinia hungarica,* but as the notes to Kodály's counterpoint readings attest, they would also have served as auxiliary material used for teaching.[79] In addition to the notes on his counterpoint readings, it contains Kodály's copies of Renaissance choral works and various compilations of examples illustrating certain technical issues. Kodály was chiefly after irregularities in the works of Palestrina and his 16th-century contemporaries, in particular 6–4 chords,[80] hidden consecutive fifths and octaves,[81] and dissonant *cambiata*.[82] It also contains numerous counterpoint exercises, elaborated and sketched.[83]

The manuscript also provides a wealth of information about issues that most occupied Kodály at the time of drawing up his concept of Hungarian counterpoint. The collection of manuscripts reveals he was mainly interested in melodies to be arranged; he was on the lookout for themes that were monophonic from the outset, that is, like Antal Molnár pointed out, their composition had no harmonic considerations: "Must find themes that were created without c[ounter]p[oint] in mind, not like in Juon. Chorale,

[77] Zoltán Kodály, "Ancient traditions – today's musical life. Lecture given at the Institute of Popular Education", in *The Selected Writings of Zoltán Kodály,* ed. by Ferenc Bónis (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1974), 165–166. (Hungarian original: "Ősi hagyomány – mai zeneélet. Előadás a Népművészeti Intézet iskoláján", in *Visszatekintés,* I, 225−226.)

[78] KA Ms. mus. 496/1–184. A small part of the manuscript is dedicated to three- and four-voice counterpoint.

[79] A lesson plan that has come down to us serves as proof: KA Ms. mus. 496/28r. This collection of notes contains a document attesting to Kodály's early interest in counterpoint: a notebook in which Kodály as a student at the Academy of Music collected, among other comments, his notes to Fux's *Gradus*. KA Ms. mus. 496/180. Another collection of notes, in which he refers to the works of Riemann and Scholz, also date from his early period (KA Ms. mus. 496/176).

[80] Ms. mus. 496/68r, 80r, 113r, 179r.

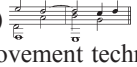
[81] Ms. mus. 496/1r, 2r, 8r, 9r, 11r, 78r, 80r, 91r, 107r, 108r, 109r, 111r, 121r 125r, 128r, 130r.

[82] Ms. mus. 496/7r, 8r, 24r, 62r.

[83] 10r–v, 12r–14v, 15v–16v, 19r–23r, 54r–v, 100v, 114r–118v, 120r, 182/1r–3r. For the majority of his exercises Kodály used the cantus firmi provided by Paul Juon. Paul Juon, *Kontrapunkt. Aufgabenbuch* (Berlin: Schlesinger, 1910).

folk song", he wrote in one note.[84] Accordingly, on a page containing counterpoint exercises to be elaborated, he noted down folk songs and folk hymns,[85] while another page contains an arrangement on the *Eccer a cigányok* [Once the Gypsies] cantus firmus.[86]

In any case, as regards teaching counterpoint, Kodály was clearly concerned with the harmonic thought behind the contrapuntal fabric.[87] He had in mind an ideal of counterpoint that could break loose from the sense of modern harmony:

> Dilemma: Early technique: certain portions are inseparable from keys, but how could the modern sense of harm[ony] be turned off? Only by ceaselessly pointing out the difference between modern and 16th [century].
>
> 2. Other parts of technique related to rhythm! this is completely ignored  etc. system of accents developed in class[ical] music  that is applied to 16th[-century] key. His [Kitson's] only cryptic remark about consecutives: why is the 16th c[entury] less sensitive to consec[utives]: because accent less marked (page ...)  3 voci. Also less sensitive to $\frac{6}{4}$. Oughtn't one rather seek a basis for movement technique independent of (modern and 16th[-century]? A joint one for both eras? Or study both independently, first modern, then 16th[-century?][88]

This note raises several important issues. First, it highlights the difference between modern and 16th-century harmonic thinking, pointing out that the main difference lies in the change in the sense of rhythm and meter. That accounts for modern sensitivity to consecutive fifths and octaves, and the change in interpreting the $\frac{6}{4}$ metre – meaning whether we now understand the $\frac{6}{4}$ time signature to mean twice $\frac{3}{4}$ or $\frac{3}{2}$ (for, accordingly, the accents will fall on different beats). Secondly, Kodály has an idea for a new "basis for movement technique".

Kodály's interest in two-voice texture would also have been related to his break with modern, post-*Tristan* harmonic thinking. That is why he so often revisits in his notes the idea that counterpoint textbooks do not devote enough attention to two-voice music. "The trouble is they do not discuss separately the two-voice example of Pal[e] st[rina]. 2-part cases should be dealt with exhaustively", he noted.[89] He defined the

[84] KA Ms. mus. 496/18v.
[85] KA Ms. mus. 496/20r.
[86] KA Ms. mus. 496/54r.
[87] He also considered whether dealing with counterpoint could involve the possibility of new harmonic ideas. "The foundations of modern 'harmonic' c[ounter]p[oint] are not yet stable. But will they be? Before it dev[elops], the new harmonizers tilt at the walls of H[armonie]lehre." KA Ms. mus. 496/171v.
[88] KA Ms. mus. 496/41r–v. At the same time, another note, edited and published by Lajos Vargyas, entitled "12 errors of Antal Molnár", makes a case for the correspondence and equality of harmony and counterpoint. Kodály, *Magyar zene*, 54–55.
[89] KA Ms. mus. 496/26r.

Palestrina style as "the style without the seventh ch[ord]",[90] and in one note he elaborated on this, when listing what he believed to be the key attributes of two-part music:

> What is important in 2-p[art] music?
>
> Exhaust message by means of 2 p[art]s. Eliminate all elements typical of 4-part music V7. Intervals requiring representation significant then. Perf[ect] 2 p[art]: one not lacking, indeed disturbed by, a 3rd part. […]
>
> two-p[art] thinking to be taken for granted: it infinitely purifies and reinforces entire style.
>
> To provide bass line for 2-p[art] Melody, then arrange it in 4 p[arts] and add a second p[art] below (so that 2 p[arts] are left), quite a different matter. 2nd part much more concentrated: includes bass, but missing filler p[art]s need to be added.[91]

These notes betray Kodály's belief that learning to think in terms of two voices not only helps to break out of modern harmony and traditional four-part harmonization, but also to purify and reinforce one's sense of style. Kodály showed how a second part written to a melody – where no harmony is involved in its conception – boasts many more features: not only that of a function-reinforcing bass, but all the tasks of the other missing parts.

As discussed above, when comparing the melodic line and use of intervals in Palestrina's style with those of Hungarian folk music and Gregorian chant, in the essay about Hungarian folk music, Kodály pointed out how all classical styles could only come about by means of selection.[92] He was out to achieve the same in his two-part vocal exercises, i.e. consciously to renounce traditional harmonic means and narrow down his composing scope. So his espousal of two-voice writing was not only rooted in an educational concept, but in a kind of classicizing effort. This followed from Kodály's understanding of monophonic melody as the basis of two-voice counterpoint. Hence he saw counterpoint as part of the theory of melody.[93]

In another note he argued that 16th-century audiences did not distinguish between consonance and dissonance, because rather than listening to the relationship of the two voices, they were always following one or other melody.[94] Kodály's discussion of the sensitivity to $\frac{6}{4}$ and the problem of accents suggest he had an avid interest in the triple meter. He mentioned in several notes how the counterpoint textbooks failed to devote

[90] KA Ms. mus. 496/119r.
[91] KA Ms. mus. 496/48v.
[92] Kodály, "A magyar népzene" [The folk music of Hungary], *Visszatekintés,* III, 331.
[93] "C[ounter]p[oint] is clearly theory of melody […]." KA Ms. mus. 496/49r.
[94] "Did 16th-century man sense a real difference between the two [consonance and dissonance]? Because + diss[onance] (+) conson[ance]. does the identity of the two not cancel the difference? He would rather hear the mel[ody] whether high or low than the relationship of the 2 p[arts]." Ms. mus. 496/149r.

enough attention to it, even though the accents were differently distributed than in movements in double time, so that passing and auxiliary notes behaved differently.[95]

One note in the manuscript – "But what is the style of *today?* Is it not a peculiar blend of past and the future?"[96] – reveals why Kodály studied Palestrina's style so profoundly. This view suggests that any musical style is created through the mixing of old and new elements. This is true for Kodály, too, whose two-part vocal exercises paradigmatically demonstrate how past and future, Renaissance and Baroque counterpoint, Romantic harmony and many types of folk music meld together artistically. Consequently, it can assumed that the criteria described in Kodály's notes are applied in the two-part vocal exercises without discrimination, in particular in the *Bicinia Hungarica* series, given that these works were composed around the same time he wrote most of these notes. His later two-part exercises gradually depart from the ideas described in the notes, albeit the many pieces in the summary 22, 55 and 66 two-part exercises are related in many ways.[97] The characteristics of certain pieces in *Bicinia Hungarica* and *Two-Part Vocal Exercises* are therefore direct documents of Kodály's ideas about two-part Hungarian counterpoint.

When Mihály Ittzés claimed to have discovered chiefly Baroque models in Kodály's bicinia,[98] suggesting only the *Bicinia Hungarica* contained Renaissance elements,[99] he was pointing out one of the key characteristics of the vocal exercises. Undoubtedly, the theme of the majority of pieces based on imitation – the rhythmic richness, characteristic turns, chromaticism and tunes leaning towards a closed major/minor tonality – have Baroque features. These characteristics prevent these short pieces from having anything in common with Palestrina's style, not to mention the fact that few of the exercises feature imitation. The majority of the vocal exercises are contrapuntal in construction in that the two parts mostly move opposite each other and often note against note, but for the most part they do not imitate each other. The majority of the pieces are not even long enough to allow for a full imitational section. Bárdos made a distinction between the two types when speaking of free and imitational counterpoint.[100] Certain features of Palestrina's style, however, do appear in the four booklets of *Bicinia Hungarica* (albeit they lack purely Palestrina-style pieces) and in the 33 and 66 two-

[95] KA Ms. mus. 496/ 69r, 85r, 86r, 87r. Note on 86 recto expounds the problem most clearly: "None touches on the triple problem. 1. Shall we list it with dual? pure con[sonance]? 2. with quadruple? dissonance of passing counter-movement? and allow passing 7 and 2 and similar systemizable milder cases?"

[96] KA Ms. mus. 496/48v.

[97] *Bicinia hungarica* was written between 1937 and 1942, the *15 two-part vocal exercises* were finished in 1941, the 33, 44, 55 two-part vocal exercises in 1954, the 22 and the 66 two-part vocal exercises in 1962, and the *77 two-part vocal exercises* in 1966.

[98] Ittzés, "Kodály énekgyakorlatai", 101–109.

[99] Ibid., 97–98.

[100] Bárdos, "Kodály gyermekkarairól", 155–157.

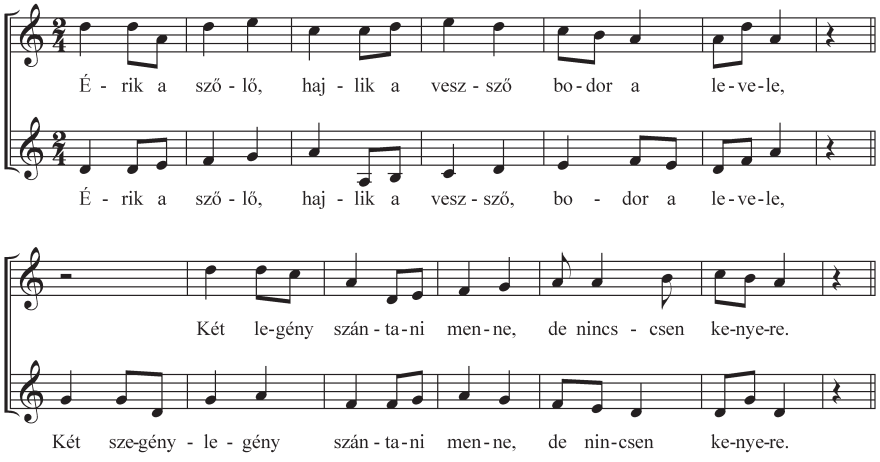
part vocal exercises,[101] but it is the 55 two-part vocal exercises that feature the most straightforward stylistic references.[102]

The folk-song-inspired themes gave more scope for arranging in a way that approached Palestrina's style, because they were far removed from the harmonic ideals of Viennese Classicism and so more evocative of the diatonic world and church keys of the Renaissance. Moreover, as Kodály maintained, they were linked also to the Palestrina style by their melodic formation and use of intervals. Yet Kodály did not employ folk-song or stylistically similar themes in all his two-part vocal exercises. It is *Bicinia Hungarica* that contains the most folk songs, although imitation of folk songs can be found in the 15, 55, 66 and 77 two-part vocal exercises too, while the 22, 33 and 44 vocal exercises altogether lack a folk-song theme. Yet the main feature of Hungarian counterpoint as described by Antal Molnár – the way folk song is drawn into the contrapuntal fabric and the fabric created from folk song by parthenogenesis – is present most plainly in these pieces. The folk-song themes uniquely adapt to the imitation structure of the two-part vocal exercises, and a distinction can be made between two types of Kodály composition in many respects very similar to one another.

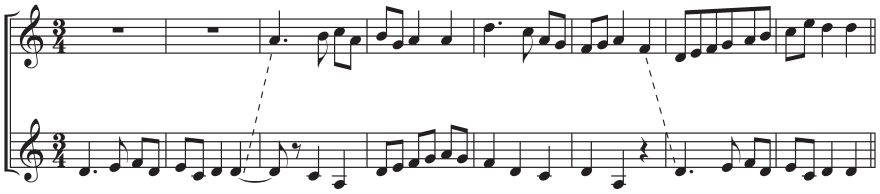
In the first, simpler type, without imitation, Kodály distributes the four lines of the folk song or the folk-song-like tune between the two voices, giving either lines 2 and 3, or the entire second half of the tune to the second voice.[103] In No. 42 of *Bicinia Hungarica* (Example 3) the first half of the folk song ("Érik a szőlő" [The grapes are ripening]) is sung by the higher voice, and the second half, a fifth lower, by the lower voice. The melodic division of the melody is facilitated by a fifth shift. The melody countering the folk song undoubtedly counterpoints the theme, yet cannot be seen as an equal: it is a complete, closed-structured tune, the directions of movement within being set by the features of the folk song.

Kodály's focus was clearly regular dissonance treatment; however, his counterpoint is very remotely related to the stylistic features of Palestrina counterpoint. In the *Bicinia,* dissonance only occurs in unaccented places on the eighth quaver (bars 1 and 5), the second crotchet (bar 9) and the second quaver (bar 12). The only exception is the D–C interval on the first quaver of the penultimate bar; however, the dissonance here is prepared by the D in the alto, and the soprano, too, acts as an ornamental auxiliary note. The melodic characteristics do not follow the rules set up by Jeppesen either: the accompanying part contains a sequence (bars 1–4), a broken triad (bar 6) and two consecutive but parallel intervallic leaps (bars 9–10).

[101] 33/6, 66/19, 22, 26, 28, 29, 30, 39, 45.
[102] 55/3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 17, 18, 28, 31.
[103] Examples of the first type: BH/9, 11, 13, 23, 28, 32, 34, 35, 36, 53, 66, 68, 82, 83, 86, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 103, 104, 108, 136, 141, 143, 146, 148, 150, 152, 153, 156, 158, 164, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 175, 176, 177, 178, 180. 15/6, 55/6, 66/15, 33, 77/7, 9, 73.



Example 3: *Bicinia Hungarica,* no. 42.



Example 4: *Bicinia Hungarica*, no. 46.

No. 46 in *Bicinia Hungarica* provides an example of the second type of incorporating folk songs (Example 4).[104] Kodály did not use a folk song here, but a structure and tune evocative of a folk song, in its four lines and melodic turns. The second line of the fifth-shifting melody behaves like the *comes* that follows the tonic-key *dux* in a fugue: so the pseudo-folk song's second line also functions as a real answer. This is the procedure he refers to in his 1951 lecture quoted earlier, and employed, as this example shows, in his compositions.

This eight-bar exercise is an imitation structure insofar as the counter-melody below the second and third line of the melody and above the fourth generally moves counter to the higher voice, and as in Exercise No. 42, it adheres completely to the rules of dissonance. But the melodic formation – to take Jeppesen's description of the Palestrina style strictly – is flawed, for after downward second steps it contains a downward third leap, followed by another downward second step (bars 4–5), a broken triad (bars 6–7) and an upward leap of a third after downward second steps.

[104] Examples of the second type: BH/7, 52, 54, 66/10, 11, 20, 23, 28, 39, 41, 44, 52, 58, 77/71.

The folk song assumes a fundamental structural role in both exercises. Its four-line form has a determining influence on the structure of the short pieces, so exemplifying how folk song is incorporated into Hungarian counterpoint. The imitation pieces in *55 Two-Part Vocal Exercises* reminiscent of the Palestrina style make considerably subtler use of folk songs. Kodály wrote some of them without bar-lines in an effort to evoke Renaissance choral practice.[105] This, however, does not conceal the periodicity of the melodies he used. In No. 7 (Example 5), the tonal answer in the higher voice responds to the theme intoned in the lower: the two clearly bear the features of fifth-shifting folk songs.

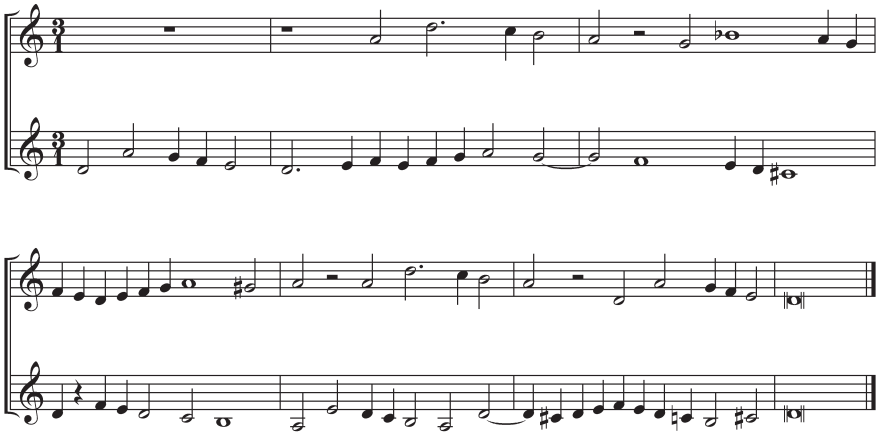
Also connected with this is the brevity of the themes. The formula of an upward fifths leap and a subsequent downward scale comes several times in the six-bar imitation: first in the tonal answer of the higher voice, where the fourth transforms into a fifth, and then at the start of bar 5, where it recurs in the lower voice beginning on A, and the theme of the tonal answer in the higher voice follows two half-tones later. In the penultimate bar, the fifths-leap theme is intoned by the upper voice in the original key. By means of periodically repeating the theme, Kodály used a practice quite alien to the Palestrina style: a comprehensive thematic scheme was something introduced in Baroque counterpoint.

The sections falling between each statement conclude in a cadence with the two main features of Palestrina's style: scale movement and suspension. Occurring at the turn of bars 2 and 3, the first suspension serves to move the section forward. Kodály does not take the first 2–3 suspension (A–G–A–F) further, but in the higher voice, after a rest, he places a G above the F in the lower voice, and while normally resolving the lower voice downward on an E, the higher voice makes a minor-third leap, and the resulting B flat constitutes another dissonance with the E sounding at that moment, and serves as a resolution. The suspension is only resolved by the subsequent C sharp–A sixth and the D–F third. The delay prepared by the next scale movement, however, follows the traditional Renaissance formula. At the turn of bars 4 and 5, the B-A–B-G sharp suspension would qualify for Jeppesen's collection of examples.

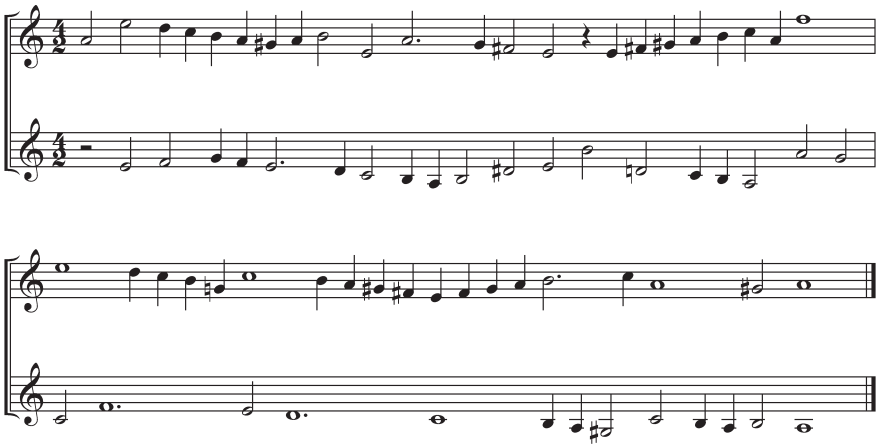
The features of the Palestrina style are also evident in No. 4 of *55 Two-Part Vocal Exercises* (Example 6). Here, however, the contrapuntal construction does not involve imitation. The piece is not unlike the inner section of a lengthier imitation motet, and only counter-movement plays an important role. Unlike No. 7, the piece does not employ suspension, but scale movement is predominant, making it comparable to Palestrina's style.

At the same time, the exercise has many more irregularities, such as a surprising D sharp in the lower voice. This is curious not only because a D is heard before and

[105] There are no barlines in nos. 4, 17 and 28 either, and in other places he employs $\frac{4}{2}$ and $\frac{3}{1}$ time: nos. 7, 18 and 31.



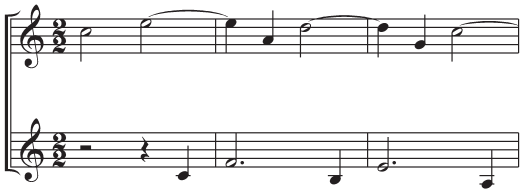
Example 5: *55 Two-Part Vocal Exercises,* no. 7



Example 6: *55 Two-Part Vocal Exercises,* no 4.

shortly after the note occurs, highlighting its strangeness, but because this chromatic note was not used in the Renaissance. Another non-Renaissance solution appears in the lower voice at the end of the piece, where the tune leaps from G sharp to C. The diminished fourth was unknown in that era. Here the G sharp–C interval sounds at the same time for the length of a quarter-tone.

Even from these pieces, most evocative of Palestrina's style, it is clear that Kodály's prime objective was not to revive Renaissance music. He brought up compositional problems possibly also typical of Renaissance music, and dedicates these short pieces to considering those problems. They are undeniably exercises in compositional technique. No. 22 in *66 Two-Part Vocal Exercises* is a case in point, where Kodály explores



Example 7: *66 Two-Part Vocal Exercises,* no. 22, bars 1–3.

issues of suspension technique. The 25-bar composition contains four longer passages of suspension, all of which have a similar structure (Example 7).

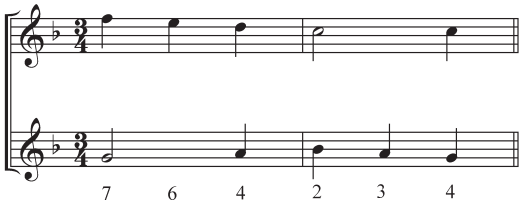
The tune in both voices is determined by downward leaps of a fifth and upward leaps of a fourth; but in a complementary way, the leap in one voice always occurs when the other voice is stationary. There is always a dissonance on the most accented part of the bar, the first beat, but Kodály prepares one of the notes of the dissonance by tying the identical note in the previous bar. The dissonance is resolved on the second beat. This type of suspension is evocative of Palestrina's style, but differs from it – and this is what makes it an exercise – in that it is too often repeated, making it sound like a sequence.

Kodály was also interested in triple meter. The fact that he regarded this as a considerable technical challenge is attested by the fact that *Bicinia Hungarica* and the seven series of *Two-Part Vocal Exercises* contain altogether 58 pieces in triple time. *Bicinia,* the earliest such collection, contains 32.[106] As the counterpoint notes suggest, Kodály was chiefly interested in triple meter because the accents fall on quite different beats, and the rules of dissonance treatment were adapted to it. The $\frac{3}{4}$ metre of no. 101 in *Bicinia Hungarica* ("Kis kacsa fürdik" [Little duckling swimming]) comes in a light, *frottola*-like character; but in spite of the distance from the genre of the motet, the second voice clearly imitates the first.[107] Kodály applies the rules of dissonance applicable to triple meter in a perhaps overly consistent way, giving this piece a playful character.

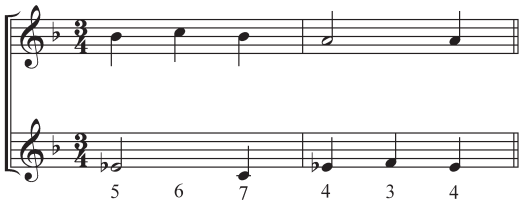
He generally puts a dissonance on the third beat, now a fourth or a major ninth, then a tritone or a minor seventh. Where the third beat is nevertheless consonant, it is usually associated with a fifth, a major or a minor sixth. Only the closing note is the most perfect consonance, an octave. The second beat is, surprisingly, always consonant – an octave, a major or minor third, a major or minor sixth or a perfect fifth. The penultimate bar is an exception where the stronger cadence is prepared by a minor seventh on the

[106] BH/7, 8, 18, 35, 36, 38, 39, 46, 51, 58, 64, 66, 72, 83, 101, 103, 107, 110, 113, 120, 123, 125, 128, 133, 138, 141, 148, 150, 155, 162, 170, 180, 15/10, 22/14, 33/7, 11, 12, 14, 17, 44/2, 22, 25, 28, 30, 32, 36, 55/6, 7, 40, 49, 54, 66/59, 66, 77/52, 54, 58, 59, 69. In addition to triple metre, Kodály was also interested in the possibilities of 5/4, 5/8 and 7/4 metre: BH/61, 121, 122, 136, 139, 156, 159, 160, 165, 169, 172, 173, 174, 177, 178, 179, 15/5, 33/10, 55/25, 47, 77/71a.

[107] This is even more obvious in the three-part version of the piece: BH/101a.



a) bars 7–8.



b) bars 13–14.

Example 8: *Bicinia Hungarica,* no. 101

second beat. The first beat can have either a dissonance or a consonance, but some accented moments stand out where Kodály achieves dissonance by means of a leap. In such cases (Example 8, bars 7–8, 13–14) the counter-melody is progressing in a scale, preparing for the dissonance.

The two-part vocal exercises primarily highlight the fact that the works of Zoltán Kodály feature surprisingly few elements of Palestrina's style. His *Bicinia* and his counterpoint notes reveal he was less concerned with Palestrina's style than with the thought of creating two-voice music based on monophonic music. His contrapuntal use of folk songs, reinterpretation of the tonal and real answers of fugues, and exploration of dissonance treatment and the possibilities of triple meter served to create a new, specifically Hungarian counterpoint. Through this he intended to create a crystal-pure classical style – and through consciously narrowing down his compositional means – and offer a counter-example to harmony-based Western music.

Balázs Horváth

The Role of Spatiality in Musical Composition

This is a condensed version of the author's DLA dissertation: *A térbeli zene típusai a XX. század második felének zenetörténetében, a zenei tér jelenléte a kompozícióban* [Types of spatial music in the musical history of the second half of the 20th century, and the presence of musical space in composition], defended in 2005 (research director: András Wilheim).

1. The antecedents and criteria of the research

Spatial music has occupied many analysts and historians of music, musicologists and students of aesthetics. They have examined how space connects with music in general and in specific cases. Many view space as an inseparable, even self-evident aspect of music. Others try to separate it from it and serialize it, examining it from a physical, or even philosophical point of view. Many opinions have been expressed about the role of space in music, its importance and its susceptibility to measurement, but less has been said in studies so far of the integral unity and connections of composition and space, even though compositions in general gain strength from coherencies. Many have concerned themselves particularly with the technical scope and ways of achieving spatiality in electronic music. The author's doctoral dissertation examined the subject from several angles, using numerous examples. It presented the types of spatial music through three important aspects of space (historical sides, basic cases of external space, and structural use of space), and in shedding light on these through specific examples, underlined the main features of the relation between musical space and composition. These three aspects were helpful in approaching a composition-related understanding of the parameters of musical space. Examining the examples from the history of music also shed light on what aspects of spatial music types can serve as a basis for "earning" this attribute. Since I was mainly attracted to spatial music in my capacity as a composer, I set about collecting experiences of it from a large number of works, mainly composed in the second half of the 20th century. The frame of the dissertation came from analyzing the possibilities for spatial thinking presented in the examples. This paper describes the experiences of that analysis. It omits most of the examples, but retains the observations and experiences gained from them. Nevertheless, the classification involves touching on the analysis of certain specific works, insofar as the example sheds light on the question raised. The choice of composers and works was arbitrary, of course, and reflects the author's personal opinion on how important a composer or a work is to a comprehensive handling of spatialization. Many of the examples continue to derive from the 20th century. I turn to the music of earlier periods only if they meet my criteria and show a strong analogy with later types of music.

The presence in music of various musical parameters, independently or in close relation to each other, is a constant problem for composers. Writings, studies, or even works of music that examine the individual constituents of music often focus on just one special parameter or musical attribute. Although integration of the parameter of space calls for a relation with the other parameters of music. Compositions that present the various parameters in their relations can lead to a more comprehensive result. It is for this reason that it was my purpose to present the relation of space to the other musical parameters.

The aspects of a theoretical approach to space are summed up excellently in a PhD dissertation by Maria Anna Harley examining compositions related to musical space.[1] Her paper is based on the studies and compositions of the 19th century. Her observations on the relations of the use of musical space and composition are generally important and comprehensive in their approach.

In another sense from the accepted today, Helmholtz[2] already saw some tie between musical scales and space. "Musical space" in the sense understood here was first alluded to by Nadel,[3] who first used the expressions musikalischer Raum and Tonraum in 1931. The problem of space was also discussed by Varèse.[4] He expanded the traditional musical idea at that time of three dimensions (horizontal time, vertical pitch, distance+dynamics) with a fourth, projection of sound in space. Stockhausen and Boulez in the 1950s defined musical space precisely: for Stockhausen the fifth musical parameter was the "position of sound",[5] while Boulez spoke of music's "spatial dispersal".[6] Both agreed that spatiality was a separate musical parameter, which was an important change of approach anticipated by Varèse. Space – the projection of sound – which he had called a fourth dimension, was later seen even by Varèse as workable only in conjunction with dynamics. While judging this to be technically complex, he raised the treatment of space to a special role in thinking terms. However, he said nothing about timbre as a separate category, probably because its complex operation made it impossible to place in a clear system.

Essential distinctions between spaces, such as "space of time" and "physical space", appear first in Ligeti.[7] Cage, in a 1961 text, describes space as the fifth dimen-

[1] Maria Anna Harley, *Space and Spatialization in Contemporary Music: History and Analysis, Ideas and Implementations* (PhD diss., 1994. Montreal, McGill University).
[2] Hermann von Helmholtz, *Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen als physiologische Grundlage für die Teorie der Musik* (Braunschweig: Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, [4]1877 [[1]1863]).
[3] Siegfrid F. Nadel, "Zum Begriff des musikalischen Resumes", *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 13 (1931), 329–331.
[4] Edgard Varèse, "The Liberation of Sound", *Perspectives of New Music* 5/1 (1936/66), 11–19.
[5] Karlheinz Stockhausen, "Musik im Raum", *Die Reihe 5* (1959), 59–73.
[6] Pierre Boulez, *Boulez on Music Today,* transl. by S. Bradshaw and R. R. Bennett (London: Faber, 1971), 67–70.
[7] György Ligeti, "Wandlungen der musikalischen Form", *Die Reihe* 7 (Form-Raum), (Vienna: Universal Edition A.G., 1960/1965), 16.

sion – after "frequency or pitch, amplitude or loudness, overtone structure or timbre, duration, and morphology […]" – although this fifth to him was morphology or articulation.[8] He also emphasizes, however, that it is the connection of the five parameters that represents the sound in the space. Stockhausen was the first to call actual space the fifth parameter.[9] Merleau-Ponty[10] was one of several to treat space as abstract, from a philosophical angle, seeing space and time as an inseparable unit. (He saw two basic types of spatial use: successive and simultaneous.)

The role of space in music is clear, as all music sounds in acoustic space, which has greater or lesser effect on the piece played. It is also clear that sounds with various attributes behave in different ways in a given acoustic environment. It is enough to alter just one parameter of a note (e. g. its timbre) to change the space as well. If the spatial position of a sound changes, so does the meaning of the music, so that the musical space is at least as important as the other parameters. To simplify the question a little, let us say that all music that possesses at least two sources of sound at a distance from each other is spatial music. Nevertheless, likewise important is the conclusion of Bielawski that musical spaces are not necessarily manifested in a specific location (say between four walls), as the presence of the participants, listeners and players, makes acoustic and psychological alterations to it. It is as if the participants themselves bring in the performance space, a psychologically closed space that need not necessarily be physically closed as well.[11]

Reading Stockhausen's 1959 article "Musik im Raum", it becomes apparent that as a composer he sees space as one of the five musical parameters (with pitch, duration, timbre, and volume), but he discusses its relations to the other four, and the impossibility of conveying it notation.[12] One important conclusion he reaches is that space (the distance and direction of sounds) cannot be treated in isolation, as an individual parameter, or only under very restricted conditions.

The individual role of the parameters was transformed in the works Stockhausen began to write in the 1970s. According to Harley,[13] the idea of "serializable space" does not simply become sidelined for she finds that space is beginning to be a tool for the polyphony of musical bands. By helping to bring temporal structuredness to the material, space ceases to be a static element.

Stockhausen's article also discusses the connection between the tone and the distance of sound: his theoretical arguments were applied in practice, at the beginning of

[8] John Cage, *Silence: Lectures and Writings* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1961), 9.
[9] Stockhausen, "Musik im Raum".
[10] Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phénoménologie de la perception* (Paris: Gallimard, 1945) = *Phenomenology of Perception*, transl. by Colin Smith, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981).
[11] Ludwik Bielawski, *Strefowa teoria czasu i jej znaczenie dla antropologii muzycznej* (Krakkó: PWM, 1976), 219–221.
[12] Stockhausen, "Musik im Raum".
[13] Harley, *Space and Spatialization*.

his stage work *Luzifers Tanz* (1983), which sets out to demonstrate how a great mass of sound approaches its hearers. In fact the introduction to *Luzifers Tanz* is explained in anticipation by this passage from the above mentioned study written a quarter of a century earlier:

> The further away the sound is produced, the more often are the sound-oscillations reflected, and the arriving oscillation has a more or less strongly-modulated amplitude, the spectrum is more deformed. […] The tone level is a spatial characteristic of sound in so far as it determines the amount of expansion of the sound waves (the greater the distance, the weaker the sound pressure); but that our perception of "near–far" is chiefly orientated in the spectral composition of the sound – that is to say, its temporal characteristics – which is influenced by the combined effects of tone level and conditions of spatial transmission (modulation, deformation).[14]

The orchestra "approaches" the listeners step by step, achieving this spatial effect through the dynamics and tone color. Having a growing number of instruments play increasingly loudly conveys a sense of approach, so that the third dimension, of course, is not actually, physically present. Example 1 shows which groups of instruments enter and at what volume. It can be seen how the introductory music becomes increasingly loud and its timbre ever more complex and distorted. So a sense of approach is induced in the listeners. (The numbers in Example 1 mark the entries of the groups of instruments. Each group continues to play.)

The connection between space and tone color described above was already recognized by Ives:

> A brass band playing *pianissimo* across the street is a different-sounding thing from the same band, playing the same piece *forte,* a block or so away.[15]

Ives is known to have dealt seriously with the task of creating the richest possible external spaces and with the relations of these to sound qualities. So he too described from his own experience that space cannot be replaced exclusively by intensity or by varying the number of instruments, and cannot be imitated.

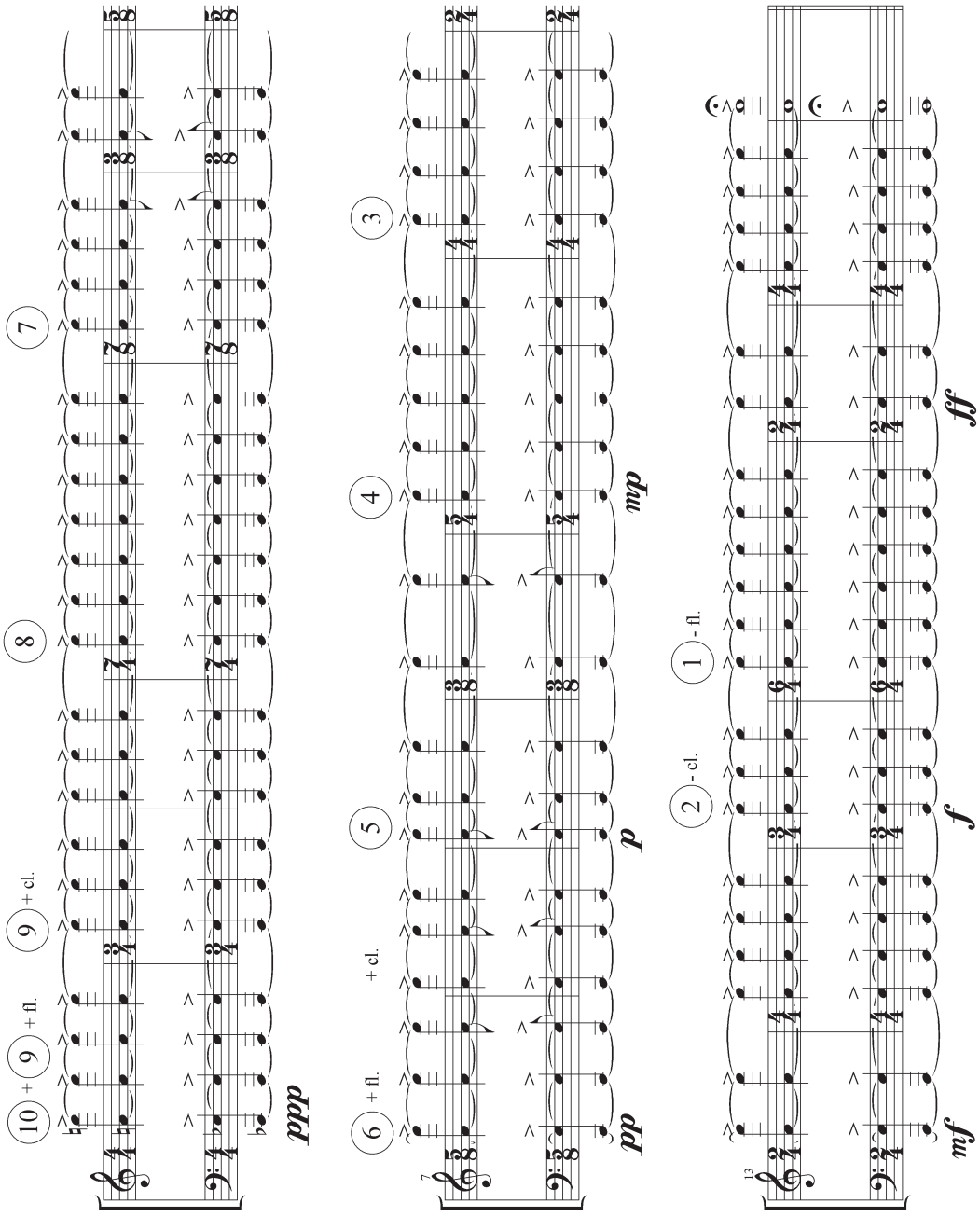
The writings of Varèse, Brant, Boulez and Smalley are interesting, among other things, because they describe experiences gained in their composing work, so that their thinking as composers can be studied as well.

The question of spatiality is approachable from three directions:

1) Development of spatial music in the history of European music from the Middle Ages onward. (I deal with this only briefly here.)

[14] Stockhausen, "Musik im Raum".

[15] Charles Ives, "Music and its Future", *American Composers on American Music,* ed. by Henry Cowell (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1933), 191.



Example 1: Karlheinz Stockhausen: *Luzifers Tanz*, introduction – excerpt

1: flutes and basset horns, 2: clarinets, 3: saxophones, 4: oboes and bassoons,
5: trumpets and trombones, 6: trumpets and trombones, 7: solo percussionist, 8: horns,
9: euphoniums, 10: alto trombones, tenor horns, and tubas

2) Types of musical space, i. e. the means of utilizing physical space.
3) Types of spatial music. I place such works in three groups according to the depth of relation between a work and its sound space, as conceived in composing terms.

2. Terminology

These are the concepts employed in the theses to achieve a more accurate approach.
Spatial music means types of music where spatial sound plays a major role and the acoustic presence of space is clear: the place, direction and motility of the "spatial projection" of sound is important.[16] It needs to play a special coequal role in the structure of music, or form an integral part of the system of relations within the work.

Mono (spot), *stereo* (bidirectional) or *three-dimensional space* – types of sounding in which lengthwise and crosswise sounding are joined by vertical directions – and *diffusion* (the principle of spread) are the formal and sound-source positioning determinants of the character of sound.

Internal space determines the internally conveyed space and sonority. All sound has it, but the sound utilized determines the external space the composition gains, or the relation it acquires with other sounds. According to Smalley,[17] the spatial representation of musical processes depends on the sounding materials, so that it is impossible to identify the spatiality without recognizing the musical language.[18]

External space is the spatial experience created by compositional and physical devices, often but not necessarily independent of the internal life of the notes or soundings. In most cases external space is determined by the position of the participant musicians, the spatial diffusion of the sound sources, which in electronic music means the positioning of the speakers, and the allocation of the bands.

[16] Maria Anna Harley, "Spatiality of sound and stream segregation in 20th century instrumental music", *Organized Sound* 3/2 (1998), 147–166.
[17] Denis Smalley, "Spatial Experience in Electro-Acoustic Music", *L'Espace du son,* vol. 2 (Ohain: Musiques et Recherches, 1991), 123.
[18] Internal space is not the same as pitch space, which is something physically apart from musical space, although some relations between the vertical points of the space and the frequency size of sounds may develop by association.

Listening space or environment is the place where the composition is heard, or the actual sound space in which the work is heard.[19]

Speaker: loudspeakers must be treated as instruments to avoid misunderstanding when discussing electronic music.

Electronic music is any music that reaches its listeners through speakers. In this case the source of the sound is electronic, irrespective of what types of sound are heard. *Amplification* also belongs to the category of electronic music as the source of sound – the instrument – is the speaker.

Ideal listener: the point in listening space where listeners receive the best possible sound. This does not necessarily coincide with the center of the environment/listening space.

Psychological space is the spatial experience emitted by a composition at the moment of sounding, determined for listeners by the spatial sound provided by the sound sources and environment. Psychological space is a subjective sense of space connected to the momentary sound.

Auxiliary space is the type of spatiality required for a work to sound. Authors often fail to refer to the need to utilize the space, or in some cases to deal with it at all. Harley uses the expression "quasi-spatial structure",[20] by which she means the relation between the assigned ensemble of instruments and the given space, and the standard seating order of instruments (e. g. a solo instrument or a group or groups of instruments opposite the audience).

Employed space: the spatial sound employed by a composition, which is, however, essentially independent of the structure of the work. The employed space differs from the composed space in its complete or partial absence of mutual effect on the other parameters and its exclusive or exorbitantly strong directing role in the composition.

Composed space: the space in which the spatiality of the sounds and sources of sound, the acoustic quality of the performing space, and the spatial presence of the piece have compositional significance. The composed space is actually one of the important parameters of a composition, even its main organizing element, establishing relations with the other parameters of the music.

[19] Smalley (ibid.) distinguishes between *composed space* and *listening space,* which he goes on to divide further, attaching to it spatial textures. He interprets listening space according to the spatial relation of the listener to the speakers, which lies outside the composer's intentions. Composed space, on the other hand, is the spatial experience conceived by the composer. The mutual dependence of the two types of space brings about the actual space, described by Smalley as *interdependence* of the two space-types. The two classes of composed space are *internal space* (the sounding space belonging to the spectro-morphologies or sound forms) and *external space* (the ultimate spatial sounding of the sounds). Cf. Denis Smalley, "Spectromorphology: Explaining Sound-Shapes", *Organized Sound* 2/2 (August 1997), 107–126.

[20] Harley, *Space and Spatialization,* 179.

3. A brief historical outline

The first glimpses of spatial music in history can be taken to be the responsory chants of the Middle Ages. That exchange of responses in space is one of the simplest cases of spatial music. But it was not until the 16th century that composers consciously began to use the composition procedure based on medieval techniques. Alongside examples of polychoral technique *(coro spezzato)* were outstanding works by the cathedral composers of St. Mark's, Venice, above all Giovanni Gabrieli, whose compositions have numerous spatial characteristics. Two of his works, the 1597 *Sacrae Symphoniae* and the posthumously published *Symphoniae Sacrae* of 1615 in particular contain a very large number of combinations of timbre and space. Polychoral technique inspired many composers, including Heinrich Schütz, a Gabrieli pupil whose works embraced a multitude of combinations.

Spatial thinking also appeared among the 17th-century composers of Salzburg Cathedral, but they on the whole "employed" the space. They rendered their basically four-part material spatial by multiplying it, orchestrating it densely, and placing the players at various points around the building.

The spatial approach became sidelined in 18th-century music. The typical tendencies of the period were to build larger concert halls, which on the one hand led to a loss of performer/listener contact, and on the other resulted in fixed halls that impeded rather than assisted the production of special spatial effects in music. The creation of concert halls also meant that performers played on stage and the audience heard them in an auditorium. (This psychological and spatial distance would be bridged by 20th-century composers by placing sound sources in among the audience, for example in Xenakis' *Terretektorh,* where orchestra and audience come close together in a specific space.) Apart from separating the sound source (players, instruments) from its recipient (the audience), concert halls were also a drawback for spatial music because of their shape and the fixed relation between the two parties. Stockhausen saw the solution to the problem in creating venues and halls with appropriate shapes, sizes and layouts.[21]

Spatiality in the music of the Romantic period is negligible. An important exception is Berlioz' *Requiem,* where space is present symbolically and acoustically: four brass ensembles of different sizes and compositions surround the orchestra at the four cardinal points. The spatial operation of the *Tuba mirum* movement is also interesting for the disposition of the sound sources, which is tied closely to their pitch. This movement is an early, very exciting example of a composed space.

Characteristically, there appear in the 20th-century solutions tried in the musical past, but now placed in a new setting. Meanwhile some composers seek new spatial

[21] Karlheinz Stockhausen, *Texte zur Musik,* vol. 3: 1963–1970 (Cologne: M.DuMont Schauberg, 1971), 153–187.

possibilities, or even research the problem of spatial music theoretically. Ives, one of the century's outstanding "spatial composers", was specifically interested in the appearance of musical layers, and the possible spatial separation of these (on-stage/off-stage). In *The Unanswered Question* (1906) and Symphony No. 4 (1912–26), for instance, he leaves clear instructions in certain movements for some instruments to be placed separately,[22] and composes the instrumental parts of them according to a precise concept and system of musical relations.

Composers in the 20th century dealing with spatial music could take one of two directions, depending on their stance in relation to tradition. One stance was complete rejection of it, in other words to seek spatial sounds and solutions that deliberately ignored tradition. The opposite was to compose for the new situation tried techniques of spatiality known from various traditions. The latter primarily involved freshening up polychoral techniques. Of the many examples let me mention one: Nono's large-scale work *Prometeo,* which openly takes Venetian polychoral technique as its pattern.

Spatialization may also serve to boost the dramatic effect and verbal message of stage music. There are two vivid examples of this in the presence of three orchestras on stage in Mozart's *Don Giovanni,* where the three consorts not only break out of the orchestra pit, but break away from each other (and in terms of the dramatic events, socially as well). A strong connection can be heard in the passage between the material and the spatial presentation of it.

A surprising way of placing the orchestra on stage appears in the opera *Három nővér* [Three Sisters] by Péter Eötvös. The instruments in an eighteen-piece ensemble playing in the pits are each linked with a different singer, so that a specific musical link develops between sounds from the pits (instruments) and the stage (voices). Dramatically, the singers can still be present when off stage. But Eötvös also uses an opera orchestra of traditional size, which he places behind the stage. So the acoustic sound space opens, and as distance reduces the volume of the orchestra, it functions as a real musical background, and not just acoustically, as the orchestra symbolizes in opera history the outside world beyond the characters.

Most of my examples concern the field of acoustic music, although the treatment of space in electronic music is an automatic concomitant of the genre. Yet acoustic or mixed compositions are more useful in examining the links between space and compositional means, and other parameters. An accurate plan for placing the speakers is essential to an electronic music performance. In terms of positioning sound sources, such as speakers, the factor is discernible in performances of 15th-century and 16th-century polychoral music as well. Contemporary depictions of *cori spezzati* show the choirs, i.e.

[22] Charles Ives, *The Unanswered Question* (New York: Southern Music Publishing, 1906), and Symphony No. 4 (New York: Associated Music Publishers, 1965).

> the sound sources dispersed widely. It is most interesting to see how often musicians were placed high: in galleries or on platforms to improve their sound. The instruments in most such cases were loud and belled, and their sound was resounded against stone surfaces that echoed them well.[23]

So performances adapted to the venues of the time worked on observations similar to the ones for performances of electronic music, with precise placement of speakers being required for virtual spaces.

One problem with the imperceptibility of virtual spaces is that listeners to acoustic music can sense "tangibly" the sound's spatial presence as they hear it and see its source, the instrument, whereas the virtual space of electronic music makes it harder to imagine. Virtual space is clearly a concept tied to electronic music. For Xenakis, the problems of virtual space and acoustic realization depend among others

> on the architecture of the performance space, the position of the speakers and many other things.[24]

The alterations of sound easily produced in stereo electronic music are likewise not possible with live musicians in space. The outcome

> depends on the speed of the sound as well as on the angle of two loudspeakers or musicians, that is, on the relative position of the listener.[25]

4. Presentation of the types of configuration produced in musical space

The spatially applied form of most spatial music can be traced to certain basic types. These are worth considering even though attribute differences are what give a composition individuality. The sound-production form of some may require a certain type of environment, even a specific one, but the connection does not follow rules.

I place the categories of spatial form in order of complexity. Furthermore, it is worth examining the types, in most cases, in a simplified framework of geometrical forms, with the more complex cases placed under a separate head. The complexity and degrees of complexity of the forms are established in relation to the increase in the

[23] László Ujházy, "A 15–16. századi zene akusztikai környezete" [The acoustic environment of 15th- and 16th-century music], *Muzsika* 35/9 (September 1992), 43–47 [I]; 35/10 (October 1992), 34–39 [II]; 35/11 (November 1992), 35–38 [III].

[24] Iannis Xenakis, *Music, Space and Spatialization: Iannis Xenakis in Conversation with Maria Anna Harley* (Paris, 25 May 1992), 6–7.

[25] Ibid.

number of Trochimczyk's dimensions.[26] Examination of her types, of course, requires concert halls and venues whose acoustics do not differ from the relevant spatial form. So traditional concert halls

> [do] not create conditions for such equidistant location of sound sources, and spatial imagery is usually "fractal" – that is, fragmented, non-linear, and not easily described.[27]

The starting points for my classification are plausible ones, but it should be remembered that defining the form of acoustic presentation in specific works and clarifying its role in the composition may lead to more accurate findings.

A counter-example to composers thinking purely in dimensions is the American Henry Brant, who approached the question of musical space in many works and writings.[28] Brant's view of abstract use of geometrical forms is basically negative.

> Brant has not participated in the systematic search conducted by many avant-garde composers for new means of unifying musical structures. His spatial music has little in common with that of radical "structuralist" composers of spatial music […].[29]

Spatial presentation of a composition may also be complex in fewer dimensions (just as a moment in music that employs fewer means may be complex in its connections), but it may be that a work or a passage from it simply follows or occupies a spatial mold with a certain number of dimensions. Increasing the number of spatial dimensions may just be a mathematical matter, but it is still important musically. The number of dimensions a specific work occupies simply denotes an unoccupied space or mold:

> "Space" in music is neither empty, nor absolute, nor homogeneous; it is revealed through the spatial attributes of sound matter.[30]

The essential spatiality of a composition is determined simply by the events occurring in that space. Ultimately the sound space of music is set not by the physico-acoustic conditions, but by the work, which marks acoustically and psychologically the area, or more precisely the sound field that we sense as the space filled by the music at a given time.

[26] Zero dimensions: a point or one sound source; one dimension: a line or stereo sound source; two dimensions: a sound source wrapping round the audience; and three dimensions: "embracing" arrangements. Maja Trochimczyk, "From Circles to Nets: On the Signification of Spatial Sound Imagery in New Music", *Computer Music Journal* 25/4 (Winter 2001), 37–54.

[27] Ibid.

[28] The most important study on the subject is Henry Brant, "Space as an Essential Aspect of Musical Composition", *Contemporary Composers on Contemporary Music,* ed. by Elliot Schwartz and Barney Childs (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), 221–242.

[29] Brant's view is quoted in: Maria Anna Harley, "An American in Space: Henry Brant's 'Spatial Music'", *American Music* 15/1 (Spring 1997), 70–92.

[30] Harley, *Space and Spatialization,* 185.

Reinterpretation of the multichoral arrangements

Bichoral and polychoral techniques can be seen as refreshment of the two-point, basically one-dimensional arrangement of sound sources, which was among the simplest spatial arrangements and acoustically clearest to follow.

Special use of bichoral technique is made by Bartók in his *Music for Strings, Percussion and Celesta,* which may be the first in musical history to include a detailed plan for placing the instruments. The use of a stereo space follows from the staged treatment of the musical material. Study of Bartók's seating proposal reveals not only a stereo space, but the central role of the piano, harp, celesta and percussion.

Bichoral in an unusual way is György Kurtág's *Op. 27 No. 2 (Double Concerto),* whose spatial form refines stereo spatial utilization further. The stereo environment, which can be seen as basically one-dimensional, is opened out into two dimensions when the stage positioning of the solo cello and piano "mimics" the stereo placing of the two groups of instruments (Figure 1), so that the audience finds the traditional stereo sound extended longitudinally. The spatiality of the piece rests on projecting the stereo space of the stage into depth. The parameters of the space become an integral part of the work through the relations of the instrumentation – the internal relations of the orchestra's handling of the material, i. e. the relations between the soloists and the orchestra "accompanying" them.

Sounds heard from three or four directions

The spatial structure of sounds coming from three or four directions can also be filled with musical material in several ways. The biggest factors in the relations between arriving from around or in front of the audience are the sameness or difference in the musical material arriving from several points and the requirement of virtual movement in the sound. These questions are raised, for instance, in one of the outstanding works of spatial music, Stockhausen's *Gruppen* (1958), written for three orchestras. The spatiality of *Gruppen* may not be its most important aspect, but it is not immaterial to the creation of the sound and structure. The threefold spatial nature "not only has a dramatic and visual role, but a structural one as well".[31] The most frequently quoted and analysed passage is at No. 119, where the sound "moves" continuously among the brass sections of the three orchestras. When considering this passage of sound "continuously" moving in space is worth recalling the "discrete" spatial motion used by Gabrieli.[32] Stockhausen's description of the piece in "Musik im Raum" itself points to

[31] François-René Tranchefort, *La musique symphonique* (Paris: Fayard, 1986), 734. Quoted by Annette Vande Gorne, "Espace/Temps: Historique", *L'Espace du Son,* vol. 2 (Ohain: Musiques et Recherches, 1988), 8–15.

[32] The terms continuous and discrete sound motion are Harley's. See her "Spatiality of Sound".

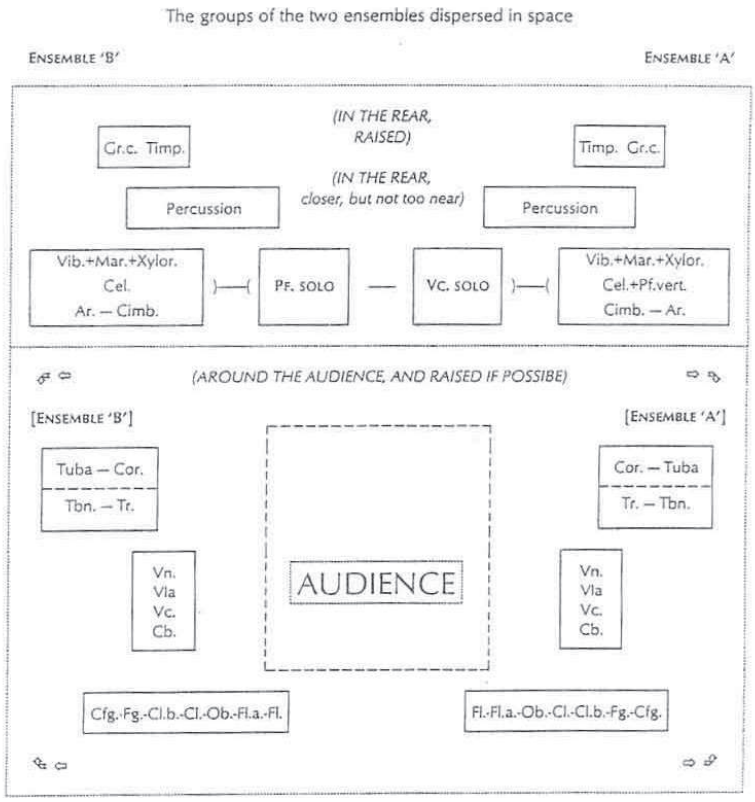


Figure 1: Orchestral seating plan for György Kurtág: Op. 27 No. 2 (double concerto)
With kind permission of EMB Budapest

several links with Gabrieli's use of space – specifically to the similarity of timbre in the three orchestras, the material moving between them, and the effects with echoes and responses. While Gabrieli makes the spatial responses with tonal connections, Stockhausen avails himself of the dynamics to obtain a virtual impression of spatial motion of sound. This technique was employed in many works of 20th-century music (e. g. Stockhausen's *Carré,* and pieces by Xenakis, who likewise favored the virtual motion of sound, for instance in *Terretektorh* and *Persephassa*).

The symmetric three-point spatial disposition and embracing of the audience with sound form an important attribute of Xenakis' *Alax* (1985). The analogous musical

material played by three ensembles of the same consistency essentially serves only to expand the sound spatially and encompass the audience acoustically.[33]

The circle as a spatial option is present also in several Stockhausen works, but he deals with the theory of it in "Musik in Raum". He conducts an experiment in serializing directions by breaking the circle up into segments. While his theory follows composing criteria (which he would later apply in the 1979 *Unsichtbare Chöre*), it seems vulnerable because the sounds are heard ahead, to the side, or behind, according to the location of the listener, so that the localization of them cannot be analyzed perfectly.[34] The even division of the circle in Stockhausen's way, according to Harley, appears to be a theoretical explanation with limited compositional side-effects. Although this principle fits into the thinking of serial composers, listeners at different points in the space will hear the music differently. They will not all sense with equal clarity the precisely positioned points in space, not least because of the blurring characteristic of the space as well.[35] Yet even if the compositional principle is inapplicable, it is still important for confronting recipients with the primary musical experience of space, i. e. the more or less regular series of sounds reaching them from several directions. On preciseness of hearing, a different view from Harley's comes from Léo Kupper, whose article "Space Perception in the Computer Age" describes an experiment in which listeners placed in a dome of sound (a system of speakers within a hemisphere) could distinguish 3151 points. The experiment shows that our spatial awareness is stronger than our appreciation of pitch. To Kupper,

> space is not an effect of the pitch dimension, but a parameter more important than pitch or rhythm and timbre articulations in music.[36]

Structural use of three-dimensional spaces in spatial music appeared only when it became necessary to use the vertical plane as well. Stockhausen, when researching this in the 1950s, still avoided using the third dimension.[37] But a third dimension was required for almost spherical West German pavilion constructed for the Osaka World Exposition in 1970. The sound could be directed in the auditorium using a joystick,

[33] As Harley notes, the spatial arrangement of *Gruppen* and *Alax* appear very similar, as *Alax* has the ensembles in a triangle, so producing a kind of circle. The important differences between the two are, however, (1) that the Xenakis work has no spatial movement of sound, and (2) that the spatial disposition of the players means it is not points, but planes of sound that meet up, to produce diffuse, spatially extenuated sounds. Maria Anna Harley, "Spatial Sound Movement in the Instrumental Music of Iannis Xenakis", *Journal of New Music Research* 23/3 (September 1994), 291–314.

[34] Jens Blauert, *Spatial Hearing. The Psychophysics of Human Sound Localization,* transl. John S. Allen (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1983).

[35] Harley, "Spatiality of Sound".

[36] Léo Kupper, "Space Perception in the Computer Age", *L'Espace du Son,* vol. 1 (Ohain: Musiques et Recherches, 1988), 59–61.

[37] Stockhausen, "Musik im Raum".

with three simultaneous movements that created virtually a maximum of five revolutions per second.[38]

In time, one form of three-dimensional sound to become widespread was the space formed by placing eight speakers in a cube. The idea came from Stockhausen's *Oktophonie* (1990/91), and the main parameter that leads the rest was the octagon. The hexahedron made it possible to produce both two-dimensional virtual motions (as in *Gruppen,* horizontally in the audience plane, or *Luzifers Tanz* vertically) and three-dimensional rotations that raise or lower the spirals during rotation. In this piece the composer handles the motion alongside the pitch variation.

Stockhausen was interested specifically in the many, varied forms of spatial motion of sound, not just in themselves but in relation to other parameters and to specific points in the musical form. As a serial composer, he worked with accurately set parameters, but one, the sound volume, had to be altered latterly for the special spatial sound and its eight-band realization.[39] Dynamic correction of the musical bands (i. e. parts) was needed to gain the envisaged sound proportions, which were naturally affected by the environment and external space of the piece.

But the figure given in the score of *Oktophonie* and the speakers placed in a cube for the performance did not necessarily appear acoustically as a cube. The square in fact approaches a circle, and at the moment when a piece with six or more sound sources encircles the audience, the geometric form they produce is immaterial, for in hearing terms it forms a circle. This assimilation applies also to the relation of a cube to a sphere as solid geometric forms. Nor are various points corresponding to the placing and relations of the eight speakers audible in *Oktophonie,* for the speaker broadcasts into the space, and except with especially loud or fast-moving sounds, the space disperses and blends them to a significant extent, so that the musical material emitted from the cube form essentially becomes spherical.

Mixing of sound groups

In some pieces the ultimate, complex sonority is reached by mixing the sound groups. It may come from mixing groups positioned in space and various temporal or spatial combinations of these. Basically, the mixing of sound groups can only occur in line with the musical materials. There are instances in some of the instrumental pieces Kurtág wrote in 1987–1991, where musical space gained a special role. Kurtág's decision on spatial disposition of the ensembles is understandable: it was not the spatial distribution of the sound that set the composing criteria, but the need for sharper articu-

[38] Stockhausen, *Texte zur Musik,* vol. 3, 153–187.
[39] Karlheinz Stockhausen, *OKTOPHONIE – Elektronische Musik vom Dienstag aus LICHT, 1990/91* (Kürten: Stockhausen, 1994), O XIX–O XXVIII.

lation of the music. The work *...quasi una fantasia...* op. 27 no. 1 composed in 1987–1988 provides an example.

Diffusely used spaces also exemplify uniform use of the whole sound space, i. e. a divorce from geometrical shapes. Where the sound sources are scattered, the role of the musical space may simply be auxiliary, to enhance the transparency of the sound, but it may be structurally important. Structures that increase diffusion (i. e. reduce connections) dispel attention too, while diffuse sound helps to concentrate and direct both the spatial points with stronger connections and the attention of listeners. There is a specific integrative intention behind the way diffuse spaces are approached by Cage. The goal at the birth of his music scattered over space was not to bring the various components into harmony (i. e. not to attain harmoniousness in a European sense), but for differing elements to coexist. With Cage the place where fusion occurred was not set by the environment; the ears of listeners freely placed within the musical space is where the connection is made.[40] Special criteria appear in Cage's *Variations IV* (1964) between the piece itself and how it sounds. The idea of the work, in fact, can be equated with its sound in space. Before the performance, an area is marked out *within* and *outside* which the events occur. It is evident that the expression "outside the space" is unknown in traditional European music as musical events naturally occur in a defined space. In European thinking, the size of the psychological space within listeners may change during the playing of a piece, as the spatial province appearing as new in the musical process may extend the space hitherto envisaged for it. With Cage the psychological space does not alter: for him, the surrounding world is the space taken up by a work or by music in general. In *Variations IV,* sounds also have to be located outside the area assigned by the composer (or somebody else), as the listening space breaks the bounds of the composed space and exceeds it. The venue becomes the space psychologically defined by the listeners, even though the compositional space was defined before the performance. For he uses chance as a means of composition in choosing the sounds, as when defining the space; so in those terms there subsists a strong connection between the compositional method of the space and the other parameters.

One can accept as a spatial form according to the traditional European concert outlook pieces of music where performers sit on a stage separate from listeners, even if their spatial disposition differs from the traditional one. Numerous works of the last 50–60 years exhibit this composing method.

Berio's *Coro* (1977) for large orchestra and chorus quite overturns the traditional orchestral seating plan. The fact that the same material is not played by musicians assigned to one part or one instrument type binds together the instruments playing similar material, not those with a similar tone color. The sound is uniformly served by "mixing

[40] Cage, *Lectures and Writings,* 18–56.

up" the musical materials and the placement of the sound sources.[41] Another important factor is the use of the chorus, whose placement is likewise diffused like the orchestra's. (There is one singer by each instrument, usually producing the same part.) So a vast new sound source develops out of the combination of the choral and orchestral sounds. The complex disposition may also contribute to a kind of diffusion in sounding and spatial combinations.

The special orchestral positioning in Xenakis' *Terretektorh* (1965–66) is marked geometrically by a circle, but the sound is not circular. The audience are seated among the players, so that they are "immersed" in the sound. In terms of the individual experiences of the sound it is a little more complicated, as the actual place occupied by the listener is decisive. When *Terretektorh* is heard from various locations, its sonority changes, as the work provides a new experience in spatial terms depending on the listening position. (In this case, the ideal would be the center of the orchestra, or the conductor standing in the middle to receive the most balanced sound.) Also important is physical proximity between the sound source and the listener. Closer sounds can be heard louder and with more saturated spectrums, and the virtual motions of sound alter as well.

Stockhausen chose a quite individual orchestral disposition for his *Luzifers Tanz* (1983). Instead of being on the same plane as the audience, the orchestra is placed vertically, on a great wall. The vertical production of the sound does not assume this guise for its own sake, but to emphasize the connections. Many links appear between the spatial arrangement and sound on the one hand and the rhythmic, timbre-related, and dramatic system on the other. The vertical orchestral sound is formed and expanded step by step by the special orchestral disposition, so that the temporal form of the spatial sound image and of the spatial conception is a consequence of the dramatic structure of the piece.

(So thanks to the continual changing of the space, the sonority, despite being limited to one location, constantly alters.) The spatial sonority is in practice two-dimensional, as vertical (up/down) and horizontal (left/right) musical connections can apply. (Looking at these two directions, Brant goes on to note that the horizontal is more effective at a distance than the vertical.[42] In the latter case, he is convinced that spatial heights are associated in our minds with sound heights – not absolute pitches but differ-

[41] The rich sound produced by grouping instruments of various timbres and sound emissions in a mixed way can be understood on acoustic grounds, as diffusion evens the spread of energy, so that the sound is indeed richer. On the sound emissions made by musical instruments in various types of hall, see Tamás Tarnóczy, *Zenei akusztika* [Musical acoustics] (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1982), 414–426.

[42] Brant, "Space as an Essential Aspect".

ences within the register.)[43] An acoustic effort to match spatial with frequency heights can be observed also in *Luzifers Tanz,* as the instruments are placed largely in line with their register; from the upper part of the vertical "visage" there are mainly heard higher instruments (flutes, oboes, clarinets), from the middle part horns, trumpets, and saxophones, and from the lower deep instruments (trombones, tubas).

Irregular spatial arrangements that differ from simple geometric shapes also appear in spatial music. Irregularity, in our thinking, generally means lack of a fixed point or points of reference, and in spatial music absence of a center. Trochimczyk dubs the type of music that lacks a center or point of reference a "net", observing that just as a "net" has no beginning or end point, so that it can be increased infinitely, so there is no hierarchy or focus: a net lacks a "super-structure".[44] So Trochimczyk thinks Cage's "unintentional" music can best be a net or spatial net.

Further shapes can be formed by combining the spatial schemes presented so far. Three criteria of spatiality are touched upon in spatially scattered groups of Nono's *Prometeo, tragedia dell'ascolto* (1984), which draws heavily on the polychoral tradition of Venice. The space/timbre connections eschew even a minimal symmetry, so that they bring a kind of random diffusion into the listener space. Furthermore, artificial reverberation is signal to *Prometeo.* Such resonance allows the acoustic sounds to be extended to such an extent that the borders of reality are far exceeded, yet they remain in touch with the sound origins. On first hearing these extenuated notes suggest the appearance of a larger resonance space, i. e. they bring about a drastic change in the psychological space, but the experience tips over into the unreal after a while. So the impossibly long reverberations gives rise to another kind of strange, non-existent tradition or church resonance. The sounds, through their extension into the internal space and the mediation of sound create a dynamic acoustic space.[45] The soft mixture of spatiality born out of tradition and forward-looking electronic sounds in *Prometeo* brings a strange duality to every minute of it.

The spatial disposition of music heard out of doors, or more precisely the direction of its sound sources, is only one factor in the sound result. More important is the nature of the "*resonance* of the environment of the musical event" and "*structure of the sound space. […]* Occasionally this question also includes the spatial placement of the instruments".[46] With music in which sound sources move (e. g. Handel's *Water*

[43] Brant's experiences in this respect appear in his work *Voyage Four* (1963), of which a description appears in Harley's PhD dissertation: Harley, *Space and Spatialization,* 245–247. The relation to the space of the pitch space mentioned and the other parameters is not so plain to all other composers. Xenakis, for instance, considers even the expression "pitch space" overly contrived.

[44] Maja Trochimczyk, "From Circles to Nets". Trochimczyk's earlier name was Maria Anna Harley.

[45] Jürgen Stenzl's liner notes to "Luigi Nono: *Prometeo – Tragedia dell'ascolto*" (EMI Classics, 5 55209 2, 1995).

[46] Ujházy, "A 15–16. századi zene".

Music or Brant's *Bran(d)t aan de Amstel* – Fire on the Amstel) or listeners move with the individual sound sources (as in Cage pieces), there is no ideal listening location, or rather all locations may be ideal. Composers for whom the placing of listener or sound source, the resonances of sounds, and the absence of environmental noise are structurally important can rarely identify with outdoor music.

Electronic music in space

The prime aspect of the spatial presence of electronics is its virtual effect. Electronic sound sources allow modeling of virtual motions (direction, pace, distance) for which there are few acoustic possibilities. Further possibilities are presented by combined use of electro-acoustic and acoustic sound sources. Individual solutions can arise from the production of identical intensity levels, in tone color and in space. In that case the variety of timbres of sound is doubled, as the acoustic and amplified sound spaces are replaced by a special, more complex space. Amplifying electronically the acoustic sound sources preserves the sounding gestures of the original musical materials. Amplification may be used exclusively for purposes of spatial positioning, i. e. the acoustic sound source – usually instruments impossible or problematic to move – can be moved virtually from their original location to a new point within the space, thereby allowing the sound to assume a different shape.

Amplification can also be used to change the internal space of the sounds. Reasons for raising the volume of sounds audible only from very near may not just be about dynamics. When soft, whispering sounds are raised, their external space alters, as they assume a new position in line with the placing of the speaker, and originally soft, intimate sounds become public, so that their internal space alters too. Furthermore, amplification makes it possible to decide which part of the spectrum and temporal length of the sound source to amplify, so that an entirely new sound may emerge.

In Eötvös's *Shadows* (1996), the solo flute, clarinet, and percussionist are amplified with microphones, which makes the players' breathing, other noises made by the instruments, and other instrumental sounds audible. Without amplification these sounds remain sublimated as they do not penetrate through the sounds of the music at customary player/listener distances. Close placement of microphones and amplification brings the three instruments (flute, clarinet, percussion) physically very close to the listeners, and thanks to the written material and dramatic structure of the piece, psychologically as well. The soloists play the louder notes further from the microphone and the softer ones nearer. This technique produces automatic spatiality, changing the internal space of the sounds. The solution can be compared to a kind of amplified whispering, in which the whisperer and the ear whispered to enter into a more intimate relationship. That gives a message more significance than normal speech does. The phenomenon applies both psychologically and acoustically, because sounds heard closer impart a greater quantity of information. Once the speaker speaks louder, that intimate relationship is lost.

Amplification of acoustic sounds can also be achieved in a way that makes them heard in the original (acoustically) and amplified (electronically). This duality of timbre results in spatial duality as well. Apart from the amplification, the living transformation of the sound and mixing proportions of the two types of sounding also allow the spatiality to be polished. Some components of a complex acoustic sound source (say a symphony orchestra) can be amplified, while the acoustic sound of others undergoes special mixing that affects their tone color and spatiality. The exciting part of this mixing is to achieve balance. A typical example is Eötvös's *Atlantis* (1995).

The special spatial presence in *Atlantis* is given by the orchestration, the unusual disposition of the instruments, and the mixing of amplified and acoustic instruments. The electronic timbres are composed of the amplified acoustic instruments (strings, cimbalom, saxophone, harp, and voices) and of the electronic instruments (bass guitar, two electric keyboards, and three DX–7 synthesizers). The orchestral core in space and musical texture is set by the non-amplified winds and percussion. The percussionists sit around the wind groups in a semicircle. The overall picture of the full orchestral sound, in timbre and spatial disposition, rests on a complex orchestral basis.

The composer's aim here is to meld the sounds scattering through amplification with the acoustic sound of the whole orchestra. The use of various directions is intended to blend the musical materials, not disperse them spatially. This idea is strongly centered on the orchestra. Thanks to the speakers in *Atlantis* and dispersal of the sound in the hall, the spatial mixing of the three types of sounding (synthetic, amplified, and non-amplified acoustic) creates a complex combination of realistic, virtual, and virtually projected real internal spaces. Eötvös, in aiming to produce these mixed acoustic and electronic sounds, may have found that his conducting experience equipped him to compile a basically traditional, yet wholly overturned system of orchestral sound with electronics.

The traditional orchestral disposition is replaced by a "half-reversed" placing of singers and orchestra, so that the basis of the piece's musical material becomes the wind instruments, not the strings as in European orchestral tradition. The string players appear in the piece as soloists, while the wind instruments provide the orchestral sound, producing the basic texture and filling the space in the passages where the full orchestra plays. The solos of the strings bear the same proportion to the wind *tutti* as wind solos do to string *tutti* in classical music. However large a bloc of music comes from the wind instruments at whatever volume, the soloists can still rise above it, thanks to the amplification. Moreover the unusual seating of the orchestra changes the importance of the orchestration. The increase in the total volume can be explained by the strength of the wind instruments and by the amplification adjusted to that. The positioning of the winds also gives the spatiality of the *tutti* a fine, yet varied character, for they are not placed on the stage by type, but separated from each other in heterogeneous groupings. So the materials played by the homogeneously sounding instruments are expanded in space, and a fine spatial diffusion is produced within the identical chords of different timbres.

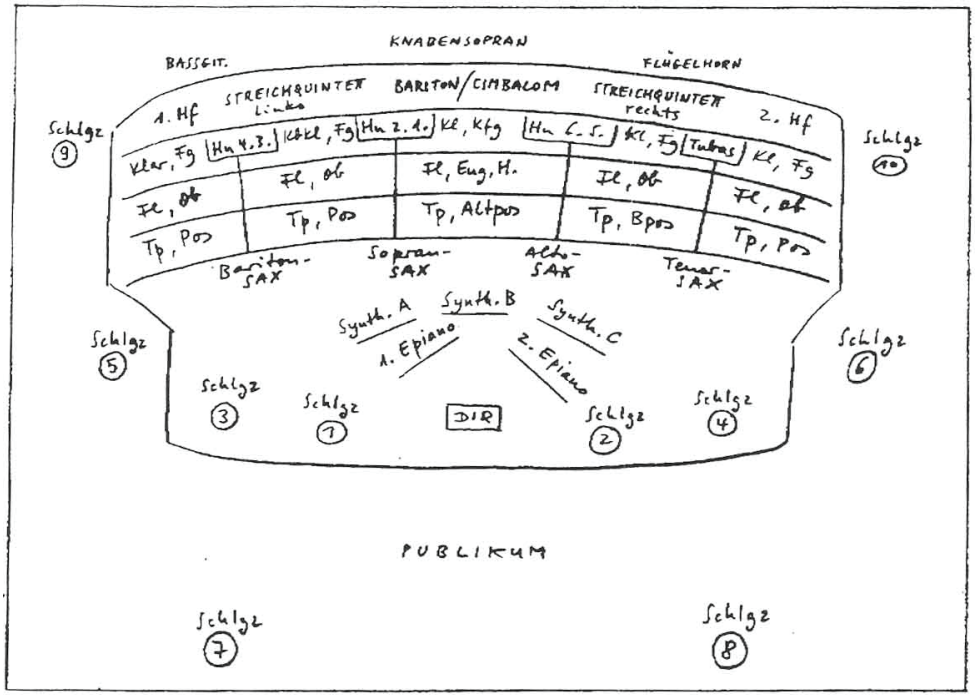


Figure 2: Orchestral seating plan for Péter Eötvös: *Atlantis*

The bass guitar, fluegelhorn, harps, and the cimbalom placed at the highest point, are amplified. So their spatiality and tone color clash with the *tutti* of the orchestra, even though they often play together in a homophonic fashion. This tone-color and virtual spatial mix too serves to create a new kind of spatial experience.

The sense of distance is enhanced noticeably by two wind quintets placed at the back of the stage, playing solo material against the orchestral *tutti*. Their place is set mainly by the material they play. When they eventually sound after a long rest, they gain immediate prominence in space, in tone color, and in their musical material. The distance of the two quintets from the orchestra, in sound and in placement, derives from the amplification, while they stand in a stereo relation to each other.

Amplification and use of electronics are a major factor behind the spatial sounding of *Atlantis*. Eötvös amplifies only certain types of sound, but these are often mixed with

acoustic ones, so that in some situations, non-amplified materials gain an advantage over amplified. At the beginning of the first movement, for instance, the amplified soprano saxophone plays a solo role. It plays for a while with the four oboes, which follow the saxophone in canon by ear, not as accurate notation. The persistent lag this makes has the effect of an echo, not through the amplification but through absence of it, as the echoing oboes also lag somewhat behind each other, although they are softer and dryer in tone than the amplified saxophone, from whose timbre they differ as well. The sound of the five instruments becomes a kind of whole, to which an even softer echo of trumpet chords is added, heard quietly as a background to the saxophone/oboe playing (see *Atlantis,* 1st movement, bars 6–32).

5. The relation of musical space to other compositional parameters

How can musical space work as a component of equal rank with the other parameters of a composition? How can the composition and the space it occupies associate with the other factors in a work? Three types of spatial composition can be identified here.

Space as a separate or special parameter: employed space

The spatiality of many pieces does not follow or drive the musical events. There does not develop any notable mutual influence between the work's spatiality and its other parameters, i. e. loose organization of its system of relations causes space as one parameter to split off from the others. We can talk of the presence of employed space where the parameter of spatial treatment is not tied closely to other elements of the compositional structure and does not affect them, but tends to become an acoustic experience rather than a compositional factor. A clear example of employed space is Heinrich Biber's *Missa Salisburgiensis*. He consciously calculated the disposition of the instrumental groups into the music (in this case an external one); spatiality serves primarily as a kind of acoustic "spectacle" for increasing the number of composing layers beyond the traditional.

The American composer Brant, partly following Ives' thinking and partly Venetian tradition, shaped his polyphonic music in a dissonant way. Much of his life's work fits the employed-space category, as its material, style, consonance, and rhythmic systems are subordinate to a primary spatial experience. He treats space almost entirely as a sounding layer, paying less heed to the criteria of musical connections, as he works with simultaneous structures separate from each other, whose relations are created out of the broad, separated spaces. He first presented his ideas in a 1955 study: "The Uses of Antiphonal Distribution and Polyphony of Tempi in Composing", somewhat earlier

than Stockhausen's "Musik im Raum".[47] His ideas on the task of musical space and on spatial music appear mainly in his own work, but he saw them as applicable to any spatial music:

1) Spatial separation clarifies the texture.
2) Separated groups are difficult to coordinate.
3) Spatial separation is equivalent to the separation of textures in pitch space (if performers are together on stage).
4) Spatial arrangements must be planned exactly, but allow adjustments of details.[48]

Space without practical application: auxiliary space

By auxiliary space is meant space employment that the composer does not mark in his composition, although its presence makes the reception clearer, or even joins structurally with other parameters of the piece. Employment of auxiliary space can be traced also in the Fourth Symphony of Ives, who wrote of musical space that spatially separated bands of musical cooperation alter the way music is sensed, as they allow the audience to hear perhaps a single detail. Where the sound comes from two points

> the listener may choose which of these two rhythms he wishes to hold in his mind as primal [... and] can choose to arrange in his mind the relation of the rhythmic, harmonic and other material.[49]

Interestingly, he still does not specify the placement of performers in the Fourth Symphony, and references to the source of sound are rare in his other works as well. Here and there he may compose four or five musical layers to sound at once, but perception of these is far from easy if they are heard in a traditional concert situation: from an orchestra disposed in a standard way. At one point in the second movement of the Fourth Symphony, for instance,[50] he specifies two different tempi deviding the orchestra into two sections. In "Conductor's Note" of the score Ives requests that the previously playing instruments in their preceding tempo, generally notated at the bottom of the score should sit nearer to the audience, while those instruments who play the freshly specified tempo and are specified in the top of the score should sound through

[47] Henry Brant, "The Uses of Antiphonal Distribution and Polyphony of Tempi in Composing", *American Composers Alliance Bulletin* 4/3 (1955), 13–15.

[48] Source of the four points paraphrased by Maria Anna Harley, "An American in Space: Henry Brant's 'Spatial Music'", *American Music* 15/1 (Spring 1993), 70–92. Originally from Henry Brant, "Space as an Essential Aspect of Musical Composition", in *Contemporary Composers on Contemporary Music,* ed. Elliott Schwartz and Barney Childs (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), 221–242.

[49] Ives, "Music and its Future", 193.

[50] Charles Ives, *Symphony No. 4* (New York: Associated Music Publishers, Inc., 1965). See p. 26 of the score.

the previous orchestra.[51] Ives expressly favors soundings of the foreground/background type, whose compositional ties can be lifted out of the auxiliary space.

In principle a great many divided orchestral parts can be spatial, but in specific cases the musical material is what elicits the sense of spatiality. A "large number of *divisi* parts" can only point to the space in an associative way. Harley's slightly generalized view is that

> […] works in which the orchestra is split into several separate ensembles are spatialized. […] It may suffice to have a large number of *divisi* parts (as in Ligeti's "micropolyphony") to obtain a spatial texture, extended and varied within the confines of the stage.[52]

The type I call auxiliary space is termed "quasi-spatial" by Harley.[53] In music that calls for auxiliary space (such as Ligeti's: *Atmosphères, Lontano, Requiem;* Ives' Fourth Symphony; Tallis' *Spem in alium nunquam habui,* or Xenakis: *Pithoprakta*), the score does not mark the type of spatial arrangement, but the musical material (and in part the breadth of the register and the many divided parts) still create a great sense of space. Acoustically, this derives from the breadth of the orchestral placement (horizontal directions) and the distance from the audience (depth), not necessarily from the breadth of register.

If it is assumed that it is worth comparing Ligeti's early orchestral pieces (such as *Atmosphères* and *Lontano*) with Tallis' 1573 motet *Spem in alium nunquam habui,* there is no reference in either to a need to spread out the sound sources in space, but the material calls strongly for this. Ligeti's attraction to Renaissance vocal polyphony is clear, as is the acoustic and intellectual kinship of his work to Tallis' 40-part motet (Examples 2–3). The choir, divided into eight five-part groups, frequently exhibits an imitation process that appears from time to time in blocs which may range from one group to full *tutti.* What is typical of the piece is not the dialog between the choirs, but the simultaneous movement of polyphonic surfaces that bring blocs into being as chords. Spreading the choirs spatially allows listeners not only to appreciate the uniformity of the chordal blocs, but to concentrate also on the details. The great sound surface and the contrapuntal details in it join with the bloc-like treatment of harmony and the polyphonic weaving of the parts to give the Tallis a resemblance to Ligeti's *Lontano* (1967). In both works, hearing the internal parts is substantially assisted if the sound sources (instruments) are placed far apart within a closed space (say a church).

[51] The parts of the symphony are not covered in detail here as Harley treated them thoroughly: See Harley, *Space and Spatialization,* 110–112.
[52] Trochimczyk, "From Circles to Nets", 37–54.
[53] Maria Anna Harley, "From Point to Sphere: Spatial Organization of Sound in Contemporary Music (After 1950)", *Canadian University Music Review* 13 (1993), 123–144.

Musical space as integral to the composition: composed space

The composer's aim in works with a composed space is for it to play a structural role. Such works are central to my interest because the spatial sound (directions, distances, sounding forms) and act of thinking in spatial terms wholly connect the space with the composition and its various other parameters. Here the external space and the listening space or environment also connect with the conception, as

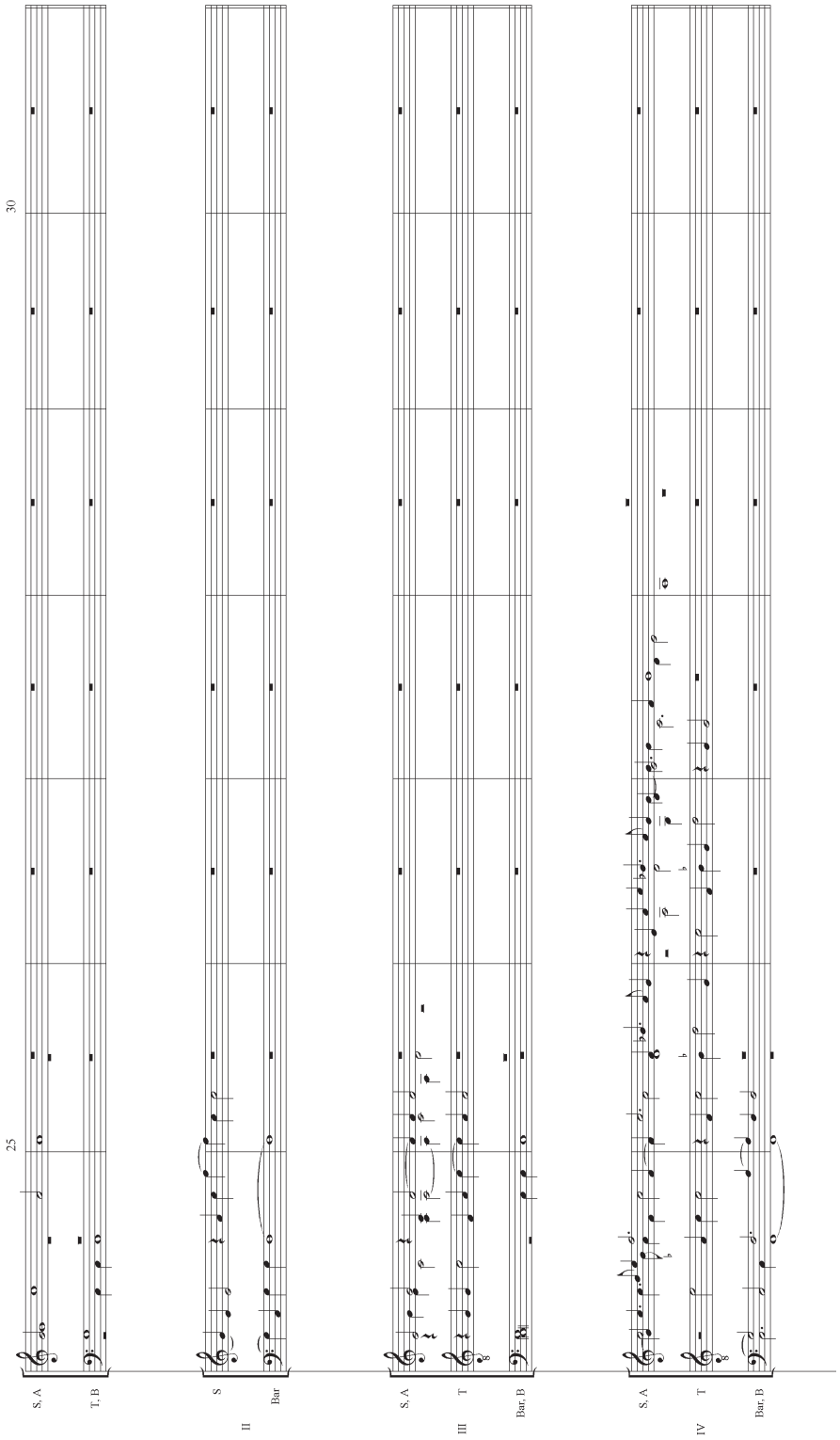
> the performance and perception of spatialized music takes place within certain acoustic environments, therefore the choice of these conditions may be part of the composition.[54]

The earliest examples of a composed space are compositions written for the unique acoustics of St. Mark's Basilica in Venice (polychoral works by Gabrieli or Schütz). A 20th-century composition with a classically composed space is Stockhausen's *Gruppen,* as the tempo and instrumentation tie in closely with the stereo and triple-sourced sound.

An important example of composed space is Boulez's work *Répons* (1981), which develops a circular sound also using electronics. As the title points out, it is built on responses, and he has specifically targeted the responsory technique of Gregorian, as *Répons* revives the traditional relation of solo to chorus. The observable links: one and many, and the spatial element brought about by placing the soloists and "chorus" far apart. So the responses on the one hand are between instrument groups of different sizes, and on the other between acoustic and electro-acoustic sounds. This medieval form, incidentally typical of Boulez's thinking, is not only suited to bringing out the various timbres of simpler elements (dialog among instrumental sounds through electronic transformations),[55] for this type of form directs the motion that occurs in space (see the dialog between the outer and inner rings).

The treatment of external space of *Répons* is important to Boulez's life's work for encompassing all the spatial issues the composer had discussed hitherto in theory. Yet in his eyes space is not an essential element in a composition, rather an index of the dispersal of sound, requiring "the articulation of textural details in complex sonorities".[56] He is in agreement with Xenakis that "space serves above all for the sound to assert itself unhindered",[57] although Xenakis views the parameter of space as of equal value with the others, in its structural application of musical space. Boulez, on the other hand,

[54] Trochimczyk, "From Circles to Nets", 37–54.
[55] In *Répons* the electronic sounds are governed by a "noise gate" adjusted to the soloist's acoustic instrument. When the latter is loud, so is the electronic sound: the synthetic sounds are also directed live by the acoustic sounds.
[56] Harley, *Space and Spatialization,* 143.
[57] Bálint András Varga, *Beszélgetések Iannis Xenakisszal* [Conversations with Iannis Xenakis] (Budapest: Zeneműkiadó, 1980), 112–115.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30
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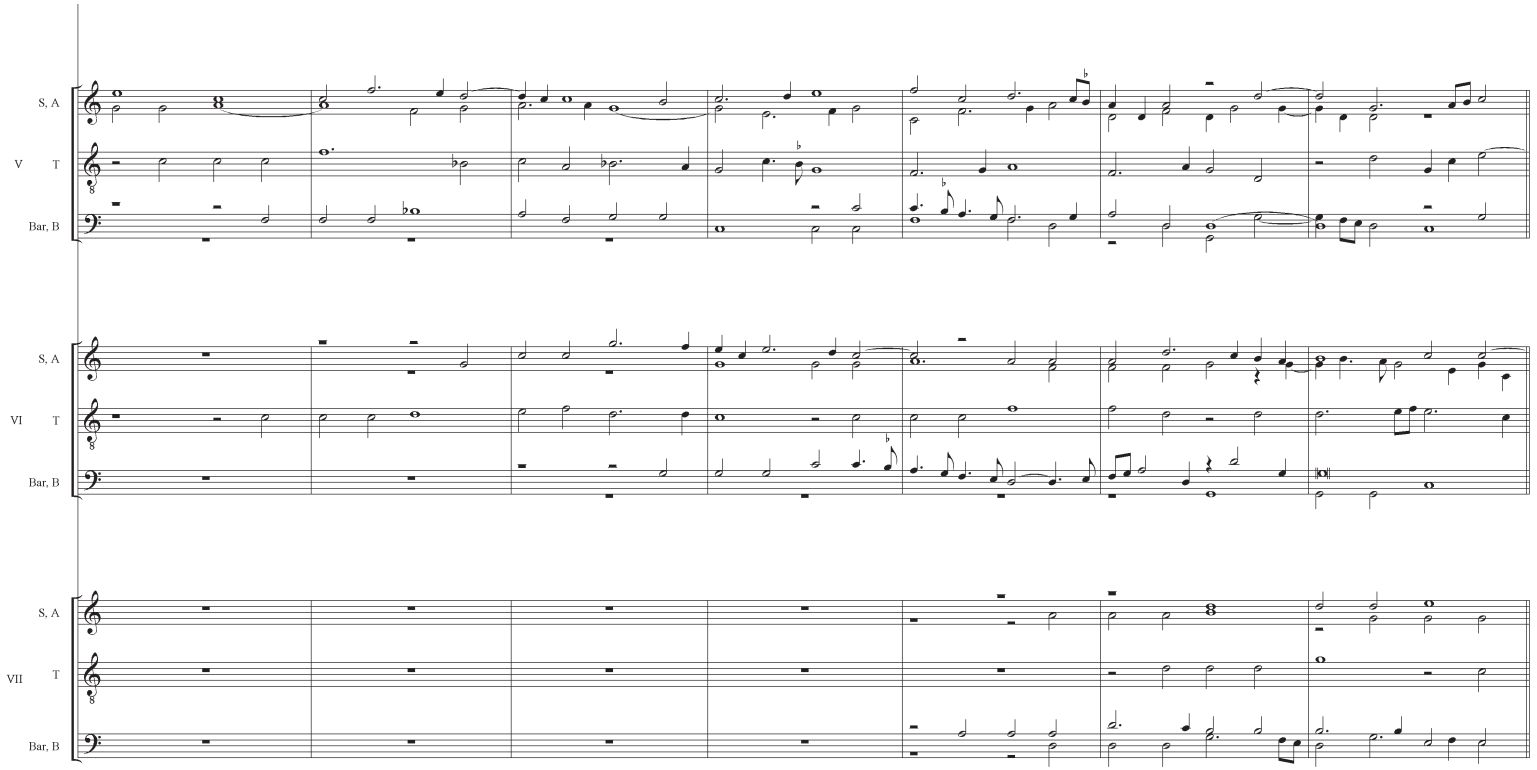
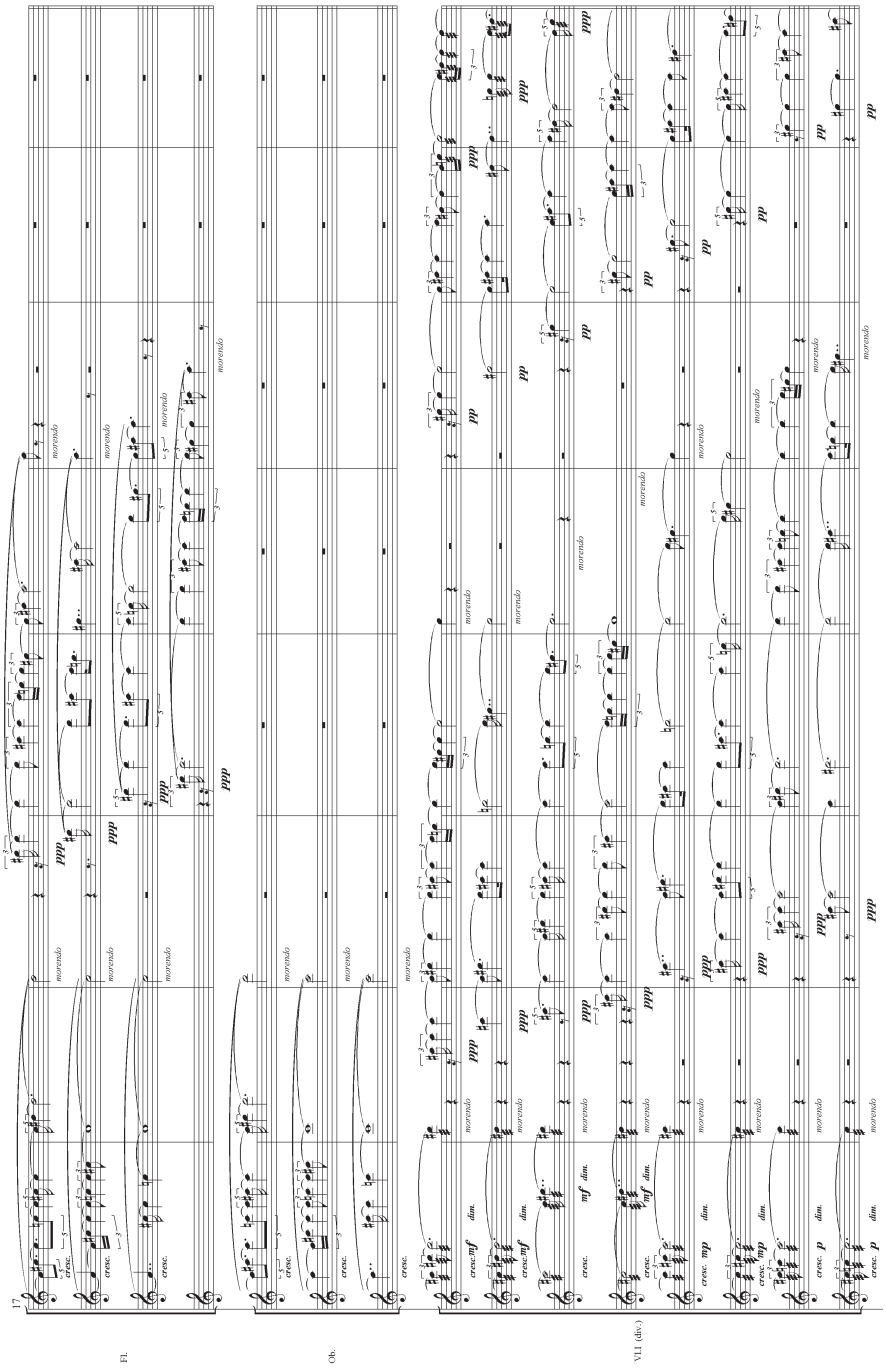
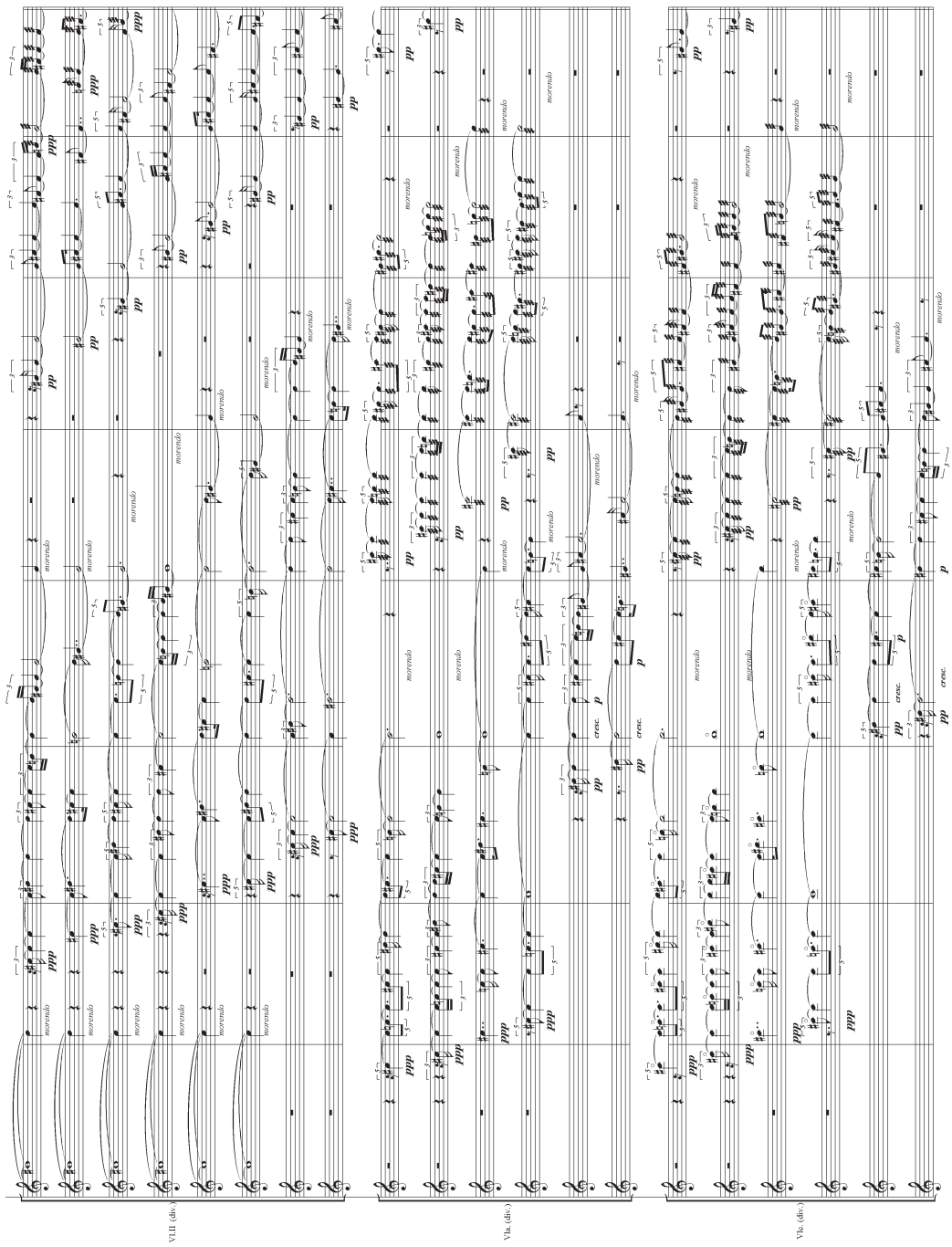


Example 2: Thomas Tallis: *Spem in alium nunquam habui*, bars 24–30 – excerpt (without text)



Example 3: György Ligeti: *Lontano*, bars 17–24. © SCHOTT MUSIC, Mainz – Germany


V.II. (div.)
Vla. (div.)
Vlc. (div.)
morendo
cresc.

sees the pitch and duration system as primary, because the other parameters (timbre, volume and space) are immediately apparent and understandable on hearing a piece. The composition that comes into being ultimately marks out its own complex spatial sounding through the more complicated operation of the other parameters. Boulez's description of "conjunct and disjunct movements" applies to the other parameters of music as well. His reason for employing these descriptions for the role of space is that space assists in the articulation,[58] by which he means the overlap (conjunct) and slippage (disjunct) in time of the chosen materials in space. (If two spatial sounds become remote from each other after a time, he interprets them as two separate events.) So he examines space expressly in connection with time, subordinated primarily to the rules for handling pitch and rhythm.

In *Boulez on Music Today,* the composer interprets the *glissandi.* In this respect, for example, he does not hold spatial *glissandi* or a sense of such to be important events. He prefers "static distribution", in which the intervals of spatial tying and division are fixed and he can examine the "elementary laws of regular or irregular symmetry, of asymmetry, and of the combinations of groups of instruments in space".[59] Boulez calls the combinations of groups in space "symmetric", and within those, "regularly symmetric" depending on the "homogeneous or non-homogeneous timbres" and weights. Homogeneity of a non-similar nature he calls "irregularly symmetric" (for instance, a brass group against a string group), "or if their non-homogeneity differs in quality and density; they will otherwise be asymmetric".[60]

Types of symmetry are interpreted retrospectively in the life's work of Boulez in *Rituel* (1974–1975). The fact that the forms and ordering of spatial sound develop gradually over time lends to space an important role of articulation, in terms of musical material and timbre. The situation with symmetry in *Rituel* displays the importance of the terms introduced by Boulez. *Rituel*'s external space appears as eight groups of instruments arranged symmetrically on the stage, in Boulez's categorization according to rules of "irregular symmetry". (The groups are more or less symmetrical in group and instrument numbers, but by being seated crosswise and in terms of numbers of group members the symmetry is irregular.)

Ultimately, the simple, static symmetry plan in the instrument numbers of the groups, and in the differences deriving from their global volume and timbre, reflect each other happily. It is as if the form of the piece is nothing other than the continuing construction and thickening of this spatial entity, coinciding in time with its symmetric breakdown, so that *Rituel* works in the psychological sense of space as a birth and as a decline and evacuation.

[58] On conjunct and disjunct motions, see also Boulez, *Boulez on Music Today,* 67–70.
[59] Ibid., 70.
[60] Ibid., 70.

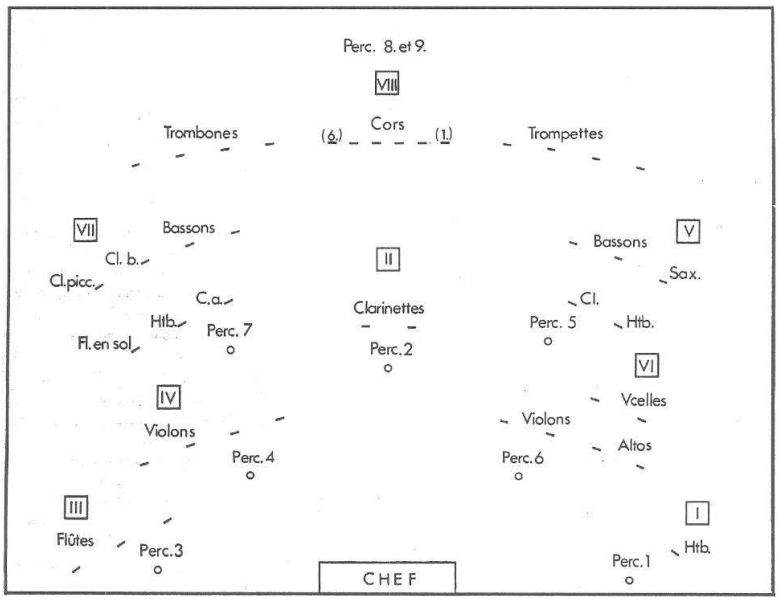


Figure 3: The orchestral seating plan for Pierre Boulez: *Rituel*
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6. Conclusion

To sum up it can be said that in most spatial music, irrespective of its origin, the spatial location of the listener is decisive, and its system of connections and complexity allow it to serve as a guide for classification. It is worth examining parameter by parameter pieces that employ a special spatial disposition, interpret the contextuality and arrive by experience at the general attributes of their spatiality. But the process of linking together various criteria results in so many possibilities that each composition can be judged in practice to represent a specific spatial event. However, it must be emphasized that the spatial role of the compositions is only one of the possible musical parameters. A piece can be said to possess a composed space if its space parameter can be tied in closely with its other parameters, and the mutual influence between them can become a factor adjusted to the structure of the work, or possibly even a directing force within it. If the spatiality is too obvious, it remains a component distinct from the musical structure: the composition simply employs the space.

The perception of spatial music and the nature of its sound sources cannot, in spite of its complexity, appear before listeners as an insuperable task, for as with other parameters, the acoustic result is interpreted from the whole sound heard as one. In an ideal case, spatiality does not appear ostentatiously in music: it must become an integral part of the music as a whole, not rule over it.

(English translation by Brian McLean)

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Balázs HORVÁTH (Budapest, 1976) received his diploma as composer and music theory teacher at the Ferenc Liszt Academy of Music, Budapest in 1999. He got his doctorate degree (DLA) at the same University in 2005. Between 2002 and 2013 he taught at the Composition Department of the Liszt Academy. Since 2013 he is senior lecturer at the Music Theory Department. Most of his compositions are written for symphony orchestra (*Borrowed Ideas, Faust Groteske, I got Riff,* etc.) or chamber ensemble (*POLY, Divergent, Assemblage,* etc.). His works are performed at major festivals and contemporary events. As a composer he worked together with artists such as Péter Eötvös, Kornél Fekete-Kovács, Rivka Golani, the Amadinda Percussion Group, the Ensemble Modern, the Göteborg Symfoniker, the Modern Art Orchestra, the Symphony Orchestra of the Hungarian Radio, the RSO Wien, the Tokyo Sinfonietta, the Ensemble UMZE. He received prizes at different composition competitions of which the two most important ones are the "In memoriam György Ligeti" competition (Berlin, 2007), where he received first prize for *POLY,* and the New Hungarian Music Forum, 2011, where his *Faust Groteske* won the first prize of the orchestral category.

Nóra KERESZTES was born in Pécs, Hungary in 1973. She graduated at the Budapest Liszt Academy of Music in choir conducting (with Valér Jobbágy) and music theory teaching (with Erzsébet Legányné Hegyi and Katalin Komlós) in 1996. She began her teaching career at Pécs Secondary School of Arts in 1996. Since 1998 she has been lecturing also at the University of Pécs (Faculty of Music and Fine Arts), since 2002 as a full time lecturer, in 2008 she became a full assistant professor. She studied for a

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